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Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. IV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καταιδοῦ, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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AN

Univerſal Hiſtory.

FROM THE

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CHAP. VII.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Jews* to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity.

SECT. VIII.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Jews *under their monarchical Government.*

WE return to the king of *Iſrael*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, choſe to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which ſolemnity there uſed to be always a vaſt concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elſewhere obſerved *. The ceremony began on the eighth day of the ſeventh month of the ſacred year, which was the firſt of the civil year, anſwering to the *The dedication of the temple,*

* See Vol. III. p. 195, & ſeq.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to archbiſhop *Uſher* opened the fourth millenary of the world (1).

(1) *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3001.

latter end of our *October*, and laſted ſeven days; at the end of which began the feaſt of the tabernacles, which was one of the three ſolemn feaſts of the *Iſraelites*, and laſted likewiſe ſeven days; ſo that the vaſt concourſe of people, who were invited by the king, and flocked to that ſolemnity, ſtayed at leaſt fourteen days in *Jeruſalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous proceſſion, in which the prieſts carried the ark, from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple; and depoſited it in the moſt holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which *Solomon* had cauſed to be made by *Hiram*, and to be ſet up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himſelf, accompanied by all his chief

(M) We have ſpoken elſewhere of the ſhape and poſition of thoſe which covered the mercy-ſeat (2). Theſe that were made by *Hiram* for the moſt holy place differed from them, and were of two ſorts; namely, theſe two which ſpread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and thoſe which were made in baſs-relief, to adorn the ſides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewiſe in bas-relief, and all of the fineſt gold. What the bigneſs of theſe laſt was we know not, but that of the two maſſive ſtanding ones may be gueſſed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and ſouth walls with one extremity, and joining at leaſt by the other over the centre, muſt have been each five cubits long, becauſe the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; ſo that one may reaſonably ſuppoſe the cherubims themſelves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was ſaid in the place above quoted.

There we took alſo notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utenſils and ornaments of the temple proportionable, both in bigneſs and richneſs, to that of the edifice: the *Moſaic* altar of burnt-offering, for inſtance, was ſet by on account of its ſmallneſs, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The ſame was done by the altar of perfume, and the table of ſhew-bread; which laſt, as well as the golden candleſticks, he increaſed the number of five or ſix fold.

Beſides theſe, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and ſilver veſſels and utenſils; concerning which the text only ſays, that they were without number (3); but the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian has given us ſuch a detail of them (4) that we chooſe to refer the reader to him for it, becauſe we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough or uſe for ſuch vaſt quantities. Thus he tells us,

(2) *See Vol. III. p. 273. not. (V).* (3) *2 Chron. xxi. 18. & alib.* (4) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 14. xx. & alib. & de Bell. Jud. c. 6. & alib. paſſ.*

that

chief officers, and the elders of *Iſrael*, marched before the ark; theſe were followed by a great number of prieſts and *Levites*, who ſang ſome canticles proper to the occaſion, and played upon various inſtruments. Next to the ark followed another number of ſingers and players, with other prieſts bearing the golden candleſticks, altar of incenſe, and other ſacred utenſils of the ſanctuary, which had been brought from *Gibeon*, where they and the tabernacle had ſtood ever ſince. Theſe were not depoſited in the ſanctuary, becauſe the king had cauſed a new ſet of them to be made, which were larger and more anſwerable to the ſpaciouſneſs of the place; but were laid up in ſome other repoſitory prepared for that purpoſe. To add the greater magnificence to the proceſſion, the king ordered the ark to ſtop at proper diſtances, and there cauſed a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the ſanctuary. Whilſt the prieſts were depoſiting the ark in the moſt holy place, the air rang with the ſound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the *Levites*, who ſang the praiſes of God, repeating theſe words at proper ſtanza's, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.* It was then that God ſeemed to come down in a viſible manner, to take poſſeſſion, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle; inſomuch that the prieſts could not ſtand to offer up the ſacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occaſion [x].

[x] 2 Chron. v.

that there were 10,000 tables to hold the ſacred utenſils, beſides thoſe of the ſhew-bread. He mentions likewiſe 10,000 candleſticks, beſides thoſe that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and though the text mentions but 100 baſons of gold, which ſeem to us to have been for the ſame uſe (5), and to have been ſufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 100,000, beſides double that number of ſilver ones. We may ſay the ſame thing of 1000 prieſtly ornaments, which he tells us *Solomon* cauſed to be made for the ſole uſe of the high prieſt; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common prieſts; and 200,000 more for the *Levites* and muſicians: all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor waſhed when ſtained with the leaſt ſpot, but were to be made into wicks for the lamps. To theſe we ſhall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 muſical inſtruments made of a mixt metal between gold and ſilver, ſuch as was called by the antients *electrum*; concerning all which we can only ſay, that the text is either ſilent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he ſays, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to *Moſes*'s appointment.

DURING

(5) 2 *Chron iv.* 8.

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who ſtood upon a brazen ſcaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpoſe, having commanded the attention of the people who ſtood in the court and the galleries round about; kneeled down, and ſpread his hands towards heaven, and dedicated the building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the Divine Mercy to make it its reſidence in favour of *Iſrael*, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people ſhould direct thither, from whatever part of the world, and what condition ſoever they were in, to grant their requeſt, and pardon their offences. All this while the prieſts had covered the ſpacious altar with proper victims, which as ſoon as his prayer was ended, were conſumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then, turning himſelf about, bleſſed the audience; after which they went about offering a vaſt multitude of other ſacrifices, which were furniſhed both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes; inſomuch that they were forced to rear a number of other altars in the court, the great one not being ſufficient for them. On the very firſt day of this ceremony, which laſted ſeven days, they (N) ſacrificed 22,000 bullocks and 120,000 ſheep for peace-offerings, which ſerved to feaſt the concourſe of people; beſides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feaſt of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewiſe obſerved with unuſual magnificence; after which the people were diſmiſſed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy and admiration of their wonderful monarch [y]. At the ſame time, leſt that young prince's heart ſhould be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a dream, on the firſt night of the dedication, expreſſed his acceptance of that ſumptuous edifice, and renewed his promiſes to him and his poſterity, provided he and they ſerved him with an upright heart: on the other

A vaſt number of victims offered.

[y] 1 King. viii. 12. & ſeq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii.

(N) The text ſays, indeed, that *Solomon* himſelf offered that vaſt number of victims (6); but it appears from the end of the verſe, and that which goes before it, that all *Iſrael* joined with him in it. We may likewiſe obſerve here, that it is not altogether clear from it, whether they were all ſacrificed in one, or in the ſeven days of the feaſt; the latter indeed is the moſt probable of the two, but the tenor of the words ſeems to lean more to the former.

(6) 1 *Kings viii.* 63.

hand

hand he aſſured him, that in caſe they provoked him by their idolatry and diſobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, ſhould infallibly become a deſolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations †.

As ſoon as *Solomon* had finiſhed this noble ſtructure, he ſet his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for himſelf, and another for *Pharaoh*'s daughter [z], and ſpared nothing that art or riches could furniſh, to raiſe it to a proportionable ſplendor with it (O). He was almoſt thirteen years in building them, ſo that he finiſhed thoſe three magnificent edifices, with all their coſtly furniture, utenſils, and ornaments, within the ſpace of twenty years (P). After this he ſent

Solomon's *palaces*.

† 1 King. ix. 1, & ſeq. [z] Compare 1 King. iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11.

(O) One of theſe palaces is called the houſe of the foreſt of *Lebanon* (7), though it was at *Jeruſalem*; the reaſon of its being ſo called, is not certainly known. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt calls it a ſummer-houſe, or houſe of refreſhment; others think it to have been built in that foreſt, after he had taken the city of *Hamath-zobah* (8); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the foreſt of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reaſon of the prodigious quantities of cedar and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple and other ſumptuous edifices; inſomuch, that it ſeems as if *Lebanon* had been tranſported to *Jeruſalem* (9). Upon this account, and perhaps alſo from the fragrancy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the pſalmiſt and ſome of the prophets (10).

(P) Theſe palaces were built with the utmoſt magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, ſilver, cedar and other precious woods, marble and other coſtly ſtones, the ſtupendous bigneſs of them, or the exquiſiteneſs of the workmanſhip, or for the richneſs of their furniture, and the ſumptuouſneſs of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among theſe there was one more ſpacious than the reſt, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and, on each ſide of it, the ſeats of his councellors. This porch was by far the moſt magnificent of all, becauſe it was both his ſeat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he ſhewed himſelf, either to his nobles, or to the ſtrangers that reſorted to him. It was placed in the midſt of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiouſly carved and covered, or rather inlaid, with gold. The throne

(7) 1 *Kings. vii.* 2. (8) *Vid.* Jun. *in loc.* & 2 *Chron. viii* 3. (9) *Ita Rabbin. vid.* & Munſt. Calm. & *al. in Pſal. xxix. xcii.* 12, 13. (10) *Pſal. xxix. paſſ. xcii.* 12, 13, & *alib.*

itſelf,

ſent back a great part of his *Tyrian* artificers; and to expreſs his gratitude to their prince, who had ſo generouſly furniſhed him, not only with vaſt quantities of ſtones and wood, but alſo with great ſums of gold, he preſented him with twenty cities in *Galilee*; but *Hiram*, coming ſoon after to view them, was ſo diſguſted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into ſome complaints againſt his brother *Solomon*, and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction by his refuſal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, *Solomon* built them anew himſelf, and planted colonies of *Iſraelites* in them †. The reſt of his workmen,

† Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & ſeq.

itſelf. which was in the faſhion of a nich, was covered with ivory, inlaid, and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold: the aſcent to it was by ſix ſteps, each ſtep being ſupported on each ſide with a ſmall lion, and the arms of the ſeat with two large ones as big as the life. All theſe, and even the ſteps themſelves were likewiſe covered with gold and ivory. The richneſs of the furniture of theſe ſumptuous edifices may be gueſſed at, by the plate and drinking-veſſels which were uſed in them, which were all of the fineſt gold. To theſe he added 300 ſhields of the ſame rich metal, which uſed to be carried before him when he went abroad, and then were ſuſpended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Beſides theſe, he likewiſe cauſed 200 targets to be made of a larger ſize, which were hung up in ſome conſpicuous places of the temple. All theſe were made of ſome precious wood, and covered with gold; theſe latter amounted to 600 ſhekels each, and the former to three pound weight (11).

(Q) כבול *Chabul*, which is the name he gave it, comes from כבל, which ſignifies a fetlock; and is ſuppoſed to have alluded to the extreme dirtineſs of it, becauſe one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

Joſephus derives it from a *Phœnician* word, which ſignifies *diſlike*, and adds, that *Hiram* refuſed to take them from *Solomon* upon that account (1); but as we find a city of that name as early as *Joſhua*'s time (2), it is not improbable, that *Hiram* took the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellative to all the reſt.

This *Chabul*, which our author calls *Chebalon*, was, according to him, ſituated in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, or between that and *Ptolemais* (3): that of *Joſhua* could not be far from it; and yet St. *Jerom* places them on the other ſide *Jordan* (4), in that part which was called *Decapolis* (5).

(11) 1 *Kings* x. 16, 17. 2 *Chron.* ix. 15, 16. (1) *Ant. lib* 8. *c.* 2. *See Vol. II. p.* 340. (2) *Joſh.* xix. 27. (3) *Ibid & in vit. ſua.* (4) Hieron. *in Amos i.* (5) *Vid.* Calm. *ſub voc. Chabulon.*

whether

whether *Tyrians* or others, together with the *Canaanitish* slaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in surrounding the city of *Jerusalem* with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-horon*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, and other places of consequence; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition. He built moreover some fortresses in *Lebanon*, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of *Syria*. Soon after this he brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites*, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him [a]. These were also probably forced to his works with the rest; for as for the *Israelites*, the text expressly says, that they were exempt from all kind of slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army [b].

To supply all these vast expences, *Solomon* went and built a navy at *Eziongeber*, upon the coasts of the *Red-sea*, and put it under the care of some expert *Tyrian* sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to *Ophir* (R), and in about three years Solomon's *navy.*

[a] 1 Kings ix. 15, & seq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 488 [b] 1 Kings ibid. ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that *Ophir* is to us a *terra incognita*, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices, by which the scriptures seem to lead us to it; such as those that follow. 1. That *Moses* speaks of *Ophir* the son of *Joktan*, who went with his brethren and dwelt from *Mesha* towards *Sephar*, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* (7), and set out from *Exion-geber*, a sea-port near *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom* upon the *Red-Sea* (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and algum wood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That *Ophir* not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11); and, lastly, That according to *Eupolemus*, an antient author quoted by *Eusebius* (12), the *Urphe*, or *Ophir*, from whence this

(6) *Gen.* x. 29, 30. (7) *Conf.* 1 *Kings* ix. 28. x. 22. xxii 48. & 2 *Chron.* xx. 36. (8) 1 *Kings* ix. 26, & *alib.* (9) *Ibid.* x. xx & *alib.* (10) *Ibid.* & 2 *Chron.* ix. 10. (11) *Ibid.* & *alib. pass.* (11) *Præp. Evang. l.* 9.

metal

years time, brought him back an immenſe weight of gold and ſilver, beſides ſeveral kinds of precious ſtones, ſpices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities [c]. The gold itſelf amounted to 450 talents yearly,

[c] Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron viii. 17. 18. ix. 21.

metal was brought, was an iſland in the *Red-Sea*; not that which we commonly underſtand by that name, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, but the great ſouthern ocean, which extended itſelf between *India* and *Africa* and waſheth up to the coaſt of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, and was called the *Red-Sea* from the colour which the perpendicular ſun-beams give it in thoſe hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Joſephus* ſays, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was ſince called *India*, or the *land of gold* (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, now called the iſland of *Malacca*, over againſt *Sumatra*; theſe, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out ſuch a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very ſpot of ground, yet at leaſt to the region, whence all theſe riches came, and yet there are ſcarce any two authors that have ſteered the ſame courſe.

But not to dwell long upon a ſubject that affords ſo little certainty, we ſhall content ourſelves with a bare mention of thoſe who ſeem to have viſibly erred from the point, and then give a ſhort account of thoſe who have ſpoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the firſt we may rank thoſe who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being inconceivable, how they could ſteer thither and back again in thoſe early days, without charts or compaſs, with ſo imperfect a knowledge of geography and aſtronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coaſting. If it be ſaid, that this was the method they ſteered by, and that they coaſted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and ſo on to *Hiſpaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; beſides that in ſuch a caſe, eighteen months will ſcarce be ſufficient for ſuch a prodigious round, how many iſlands might they have met with in *India*, that could have ſupplied them with all thoſe commodities, and eſpecially with gold? how came they at firſt to have ſuch knowledge of thoſe parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled ſo early? and if it was, which is ſcarce credible, were either its inhabitants ſuch expert ſailors, as to bring thoſe merchandizes to ſome famous emporium nearer to *Aſia*, or did any of the *Aſiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2, Thoſe who have gone no further than the coaſts of *Africa*, or even nearer for it (16); becauſe though it be probable, that ſe-

(13) *Vid.* Prideaux *Connect lib.* 1. (14) *Ant. lib. viii. c.* 2. (15) Genebr. Arr. Mont. Chriſt. Columb. Vatabl. Poſtel. *& al.* (16) Grot. *in* 1 *Reg. ix.* Huet. *Diſſert. de Navig. Salom.* Jean dos Saut. *& al.*

veral

ly, beſides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of thoſe precious woods the king did beſtow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of muſical inſtruments for the ſervice of God [d].

ALL

[d] Ibid. ver. 11.

veral parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, ſpices, ivory, and thoſe other merchandizes, or according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither; yet the fartheſt coaſt of *Africk* was not diſtant enough from *Ezion-geber*, to have taken up ſo much time as three years, though we ſhould allow, that they went to a different ſea-port for each merchandize; much leſs to thoſe places mentioned by ſome of thoſe authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Laſtly, we may reckon among them who have miſſed the mark thoſe who have fallen into the notion, that *Ezion-geber* was not on the coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17); in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* ſtumbled, by making the canal of communication between thoſe two ſeas to have been opened in *David*'s time, which is confuted by ſeveral learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a paſſage from *Ezion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*; it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ſituated any where but on the *Red-Sea*, without doing manifeſt violence to the text; becauſe there is not one ſingle inſtance of ים סוף *Yam Suph*, ſignifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red-Sea*; and ſecondly, becauſe *Ezion-geber* is ſaid to have been beſide *Eloth*, which laſt is always placed on the *Red-Sea* (19).

Among thoſe who have conjectured with more probability, we ſhall mention, firſt of all, thoſe who place it with *Joſephus* in ſome part of the *Eaſt-Indies* (20), though without adhering too cloſe to the particular place, which each of them has made choice of; whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the iſles of *Seylan* or *Taprobana* (21), or in *Siam*, (22), or in any of thoſe neighbouring iſlands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whoſe inhabitants pretend to be deſcended from the *Jews*, whom *Solomon* ſent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour loſt, to ſeek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandizes, which the fleet brought into *Judæa*, when they had time enough to fetch ſome from one place and ſome from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by *Indian* merchants, from ſeveral parts of *India*, into ſome common emporium. All theſe are probable conjectures, by ſuppoſing the

(17) Gorop. Becan. Bivar. Horn & *al.* (18) Marſh. *Can. Ægypt. ſæc.* 15. Calm. *prolegom. in Geneſ.* (19) *Vid.* Euſeb. *loc. Hebr. ſub voc.* Ιλαθ. Abulfed. *Deſcr. Arab.* Plin. Strab. Hieron. Procop. & *al.* (20) Luc. Holſtein. *not. in Ortel.* (21) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phal.* (22) *Ab* Choiſi. *in vit Salom.* (23) *Vid.* Lipen. *Tract. de Ophir.* (24) *Vid* Maff. & *aut. ab eo. citat.*

ALL this time, *Solomon* was ſtill mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the ſolemn feſtivals, and ſettling the courſes of the prieſts, *Levites*, muſicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his

fleet to ſail from the *Red-Sea* into the ocean, through the *Perſian* gulph.

Dean *Prideaux* obſerves next, that it was the voyage to *Tharſhiſh* which took up three years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judæa*, and the voyage performed in leſs time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former, for ſome commodities which the other did not afford; and conſequently, that any place in the great *Indian* ſea, at the diſtance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, ſilver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tharſhiſh*; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, algum-trees, and precious ſtones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the ſcriptures. So that if the ſouthern parts of *Arabia* produced the greateſt quantities of the beſt gold, as he ſhews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tharſhiſh* and *Ophir* might be diſtinct places, and at ſome conſiderable diſtance from each other; yet if the latter had been ſo nigh as ſouth *Arabia*, and had yielded ſuch plenty of the fineſt gold, algum trees, and precious ſtones, it is ſcarce credible, that they would have gone ſo much farther for ſuch inferior trifles as ſilver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely, that they went fartheſt for the fineſt gold, precious ſtones, and things of greateſt value.

Laſtly, A late author (26) has taken quite a different rout from all the reſt, and thinks, that he has found out the *Meſha* and *Sephar*, where *Ophir* the ſon of *Joktan* went to dwell; between mount *Maſſius* and the mountains of *Sephar*, ſomewhere towards *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; which rivers might be ſubſervient to this commerce. He adds ſeveral ingenious reaſons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection againſt this hypotheſis, and which, we think, he doth not ſufficiently anſwer, is, that the nearneſs of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we ſhould ſuppoſe, with him, that they took a large compaſs about from coaſt to coaſt; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three ſummers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the moſt probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impoſſible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in ſome of thoſe remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*; which laſt doth ſtill abound with the fineſt gold, and with ſeveral other commodities in which *Solomon*'s fleet dealt,

(25) Prid. *Connect. book* 1. (26) Calmet. *Proleg. in Geneſ.*

as

his father; and making all proper regulations for maintaining the ſervice of God, with a ſplendor and magnificence equal, at leaſt, to that of his kingdom [e]. Upon all which accounts he is juſtly obſerved, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

AMONG the great perſons whom his fame brought to *Jeruſalem*, the moſt conſiderable was the queen of *Sheba* (S), *The queen of* Sheba's *viſit to him.* [a]

[e] 1 Kings ix. 25. 2 Chr. viii. 12, & ſeq.

as ſilver, precious ſtones, ebony, and other valuable ſorts of wood; to ſay nothing of ſpices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other ſuch creatures †; and by its diſtance doth beſt anſwer to the length of the voyage.

All that we ſhall ſay farther is, that this *Ophir* gold was in great plenty in *Judæa* even in *David*'s time, ſince he left 3000 talents of it for the ſervice of the temple, beſides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the ſame purpoſe (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been ſo munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; ſhould we ſuppoſe it to have been even a third part, there muſt have been at leaſt 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious ſum could never be heaped together from the bare ſpoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reaſonable to believe, that having conquered the *Edomites*, and taken *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, *David* ſet himſelf about opening a commerce from thence, by the aſſiſtance of *Hiram*'s expert ſailors; ſo that his ſon did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying thoſe two places, and peopling them with the beſt mariners and ſhip-builders, and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to ſuch a degree, as made him by far the richeſt prince of his time, and his kingdom the moſt flouriſhing in the world.

(S) *Joſephus* calls her *Nicaulis*, and ſays, ſhe was queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (28); and elſewhere, that *Saba* was the metropolis of the latter, till *Cambyſes* called it, by his ſiſter's name, *Meroes* (29). The *Ethiopians* accordingly pretend, that ſhe was queen of that country, and preſerve ſtill a liſt of her ſucceſſors (30). They add, that ſhe had a ſon by *Solomon*, whom ſhe ſent to be brought up by him; they call him *Meilik* or *Menilehek*, and pretend, that twenty-four of their kings are deſcended from that prince ſucceſſively down to *Baſilides*, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some antient writers do likewiſe acknowledge, that that country was ſometime governed by women (32).

† *Vid.* Varen. & *al. deſcr. Japon.* (27) *Vid.* 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & *ſeq.* (28) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (29) *Ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (30) *Vid.* Hier. Almeid. & Ludolph. *Hiſt. Ethiop.* (31) *Id. ib. lib.* ii. *c.* 34, & *ſeq.* (32) Strab. *lib.* xvi. *c.* 17. Plin. *l.* vi. *c.* 26.

a princeſs of ſuch excellent wiſdom and extraordinary opulence, that ſhe ſeemed to have come to vie with the *Jewiſh* monarch, by the ſumptuouſneſs of her equipage, the richneſs of her preſents, and the number of hard queſtions ſhe put to him. She brought with her a vaſt number of camels, laden with gold, precious ſtones, and ſuch rich ſpices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in *Solomon*'s court. By all theſe one may gueſs at the ſplendidneſs of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would leave engaged with a prince ſo univerſally famed for wiſdom, if ſhe had not had ſome conſiderable ſhare of it herſelf: but, after having tried him with all the ſubtle and enigmatic queſtions ſhe had prepared for him (T), ſhe found in him ſuch a readineſs in ſolving, and ſuch a ſagacity in explaining his an-

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her *Balkiſh*, and pretend, that ſhe was queen of *Arabia*, had her reſidence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preſerved alſo her genealogy, as well as the hiſtory of her journey to *Judæa*, which they have ſtuffed with other fables; among others, that ſhe was married to *Solomon*; and that, after her return into *Arabia*, that prince uſed to keep an epiſtolary correſpondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *Hudhud*, a kind of lapwing or puet, which uſed to carry letters between them (33).

But, ſetting aſide theſe trifling ſtories, the opinion of thoſe who think that that princeſs came from *Arabia*, ſeems certainly the moſt probable of the two, among many other reaſons, becauſe ſhe is called, in the goſpel, *the queen of the South*, and is ſaid to have come from the uttermoſt parts of the earth (34); which anſwers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lieth ſouth of *Judæa*, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious ſtones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have ſeen in a former note, that it was part of the diverſion of princes in thoſe times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard queſtions. An annaliſt tells us, that among other ways that this princeſs tried to poſe the king, ſhe took a number of boys and girls, which ſhe had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, ſhe preſented them to him, to ſee which way he would take to know thoſe of one ſex from thoſe of the other. Wherfore he ordered them to waſh their faces before him; and eaſily found out the difference, by the robuſtneſs and effeminacy with which each ſex performed his command. The reader may ſee his authority for this ſtory in the author himſelf (35).

(33) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient. ſub voc. Balkiſh.* (34) *Matth. xii.* 42. (35) Mich. Glycaſ. *Annal. p.* 182.

ſwers,

ſwers, that he ſeemed even to prevent her thoughts [f]; inſomuch that ſhe owned herſelf fully ſatisfied, that he was not without juſt reaſon eſteemed the wiſeſt prince of his time. The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple, of his palaces, and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the richneſs of their furniture, the great number and excellent order of his ſervants, ſtables, chariots, guards, and, in a word, of all the magnificence that reigned both in his court and in the city. So many ſurpriſing inſtances of his wiſdom and greatneſs could not but ſtrike that princeſs with the deepeſt wonder; which as ſoon as ſhe could recover herſelf from, ſhe owned with a kind of extaſy, that the half of it had not been told her. After this, ſhe expreſſed her extreme ſatisfaction in the moſt reſpectful terms, and preſented the king with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious ſtones, and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too generous not to make her ſuitable returns, and diſmiſſed her with the ſtrongeſt proofs of his munificence [g] (V).

HITHERTO we have ſeen nothing in that prince's life, but what gives us the higheſt idea of his wiſdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far otherwiſe, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wiſe, beloved of God, and admired by all the world for ſo many excellent virtues, did become ſuch a ſlave to the paſſion of love in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of ſtrange women, without diſtinction of nation, country or religion, and without the leaſt regard to God's expreſs commands to the contrary; till at length he but too ſadly verified the divine warning [h], by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to 700, beſides 300 concubines, or wives of the ſecond rank; and his complaiſance for them went ſo far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; inſomuch that the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, if not the city itſelf, was filled with idols and temples; and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-againſt

His defection; idolatries;

[f] 1 Kings x. 3. [g] Ibid. 1, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ix. 1, & ſeq.
[h] Vid. Deut. vii. 3, & ſeq.

(V) *Joſephus* adds, that the *Jews* had a tradition, that the queen of *Sheba* brought with her the firſt branch of that precious balſam-tree, or balm of *Gilead*, which *Judæa* came afterwards to be ſo famed for. He mentions likewiſe a grove belonging to the houſe of *Lebanon*, which was ſuch a maſterpiece of art, that it raiſed the admiration of that princeſs, above all the reſt of his ſtately works (36).

(36) *Ant. l. viii. c 2.*

it,

it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemosh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to God; and *Solomon* was soon after made sensible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to *David*, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and lust, the text doth no where tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Christians* is about it, may be seen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his reign,

and death. Year of the Flood, 2024. Year before Christ 975.

(W) Among those that believe that *Solomon* did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudists*, who affirm, that God sent *Asmodeus* to strip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of *Israel*, weeping, and crying out, *I, the preacher, was once king of* Israel (37). 2. The generality of rabbies, antient and modern, if we except the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who finishes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it caused in his posterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); these pretend to have a tradition, that in the height of his remorse, he caused himself to be dragged several times about the streets of *Jerusalem*; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, desiring the doctors to chastise him for his faults; which they refusing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he scourged himself severely before them, and thinking himself unworthy to reign any longer, he stripped himself of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is false that his heart was ensnared by women to sin, or that he built any altars to *Moloch*, or any other heathenish diety; and say, that the text meant no more, than that he would have done it, if he had not been with-held from it by God's special grace (40). As for *Josephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakness of old age, without saying any thing of his repentance (41).

The *Christians*, both antient and modern, who have embraced the notion that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too nume-

(37) *Vid. Talmud Tractat.* קוהלת. (38) *Vid. Eccluf. xlvii.* 19. *& seq.* (39) *Ex fragm. cui titul de Solomone judicium, in fin. tom. vii. oper.* Bedæ. (40) *Vid.* Pined. *de reb. Solom.* Calmet. *Dissert. de salut. ejusd.* (41) *Ant. l. viiii. c.* 3.

rous

reign, and about the fifty eighth of his age, and was buried in the ſtately ſepulchre of his father *David*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Reboboam* [i]. *Joſephus* gives him eighty years reign, and ninety four of age [k]. Were that indeed true, his impieties might

[i] 1 Kings xi. 43. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31. [k] Ant. l. viii. c. 3.

rous to be quoted here; we ſhall inſert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reaſons which have led them to it. In the firſt place, many of them have followed the notion of ſome of the fathers above quoted, that the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* was the reſult of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a ſenſe of himſelf, and theſe are very numerous (43). There are indeed in that book a number of expreſſions, which are very like thoſe of a perſon, who feels a ſenſible remorſe for his paſt extravagancies, and is deſirous to forewarn others againſt them (44).

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promiſe made by God to his father, where ſpeaking of *Solomon*, whom he had choſen to build his temple; he adds, *I will eſtabliſh his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he ſhall be a ſon to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chaſtiſe him with the rod of men:— But my mercy will I not cauſe to depart from him, as I did from* Saul: and much more to the ſame purpoſe (45).

It is likewiſe ſaid in another place (46), that *Reboboam* and his ſubjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord (47). *Solomon*'s way therefore being put with that of *David*, and oppoſed to that of his wicked ſon, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been ſaid of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it; the one where he complains, that he was more brutiſh than any man, having neither underſtanding, wiſdom, nor knowledge of the holy one (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*: the other is ſtill wider, being only, according to the ſeptuagint verſion, which makes him ſay, *At length I repented, and have applied myſelf to live after a better rule*; whereas in the original he only ſays, that having obſerved the field of a

(42) Iren. *l.* iv. Marcio *ap. Epiphan. de Hereſ.* Bacchiar. *Epiſt. de recipiend. lapſis.* Hilar. *in Pſ.* lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. *Hieroſol. catech.* 2. Hieron. *in Ezek.* xiii. *& alib.* Gregor. Taumat. *& al.* (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo. Cardinal. Paul. Comeſtor. Genebrard. Chemnit. J. Henr. Heideg. Reymer. Mercer. Uſſer. Jun. Tremel. *& al plurim.* (44) *Vid. int. al. Eccleſ.* i. 1, *& ſeq.* ii. *paſſ.* iii. 17, *& ſeq.* xi. *& xii. paſſ.* (45) 2 *Sam.* vii. 13. *& ſeq. Pſ.* lxxxix. 19. *& ſeq. ad* 37, *& alib. paſſ.* (46) 2 *Chron.* xi. 17. (47) *Ibid.* xii. 14. (48) *Prov.* xxx. 2, 3.

ſlothful

might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage; perhaps alſo this was the motive, that induced the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian to ſpin out his life ſo far beyond the text. *Solomon* is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*; all the reſt are loſt, as well as thoſe of the prophets *Nathan*,

ſlothful man over-run with nettles—he conſidered well about it, and received inſtruction (49).

Laſtly, ſo willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And* Solomon *ſlept with his fathers, and was buried, &c.* (50), as a token of his repentance; becauſe there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent; ſuch as, *that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord*; *that he perverted his way*; *that he made* Iſrael *to ſin*; and ſuch like.

Notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not ſcrupled to call his repentance in queſtion, and ſome of them even to deny it (51). We ſhall ſubjoin ſome of their reaſons for this opinion. 1. *Solomon*'s ſins of idolatry and love of ſtrange women are recorded in the ſtrongeſt terms; but not a word is mentioned in the whole ſcripture about his forſaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his poſterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have executed it ſo punctually, if *Solomon* had repented? 3. *David* and others, who repented of their ſins, had not only part of the puniſhment abated, but their converſion is particularly recorded. Why ſhould *Solomon* be the only perſon whoſe repentance is omitted? Could he write the book of *Proverbs*, or of *Eccleſiaſtes*, after his converſion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue? or, if he had deſtroyed them, Why was it not recorded? or rather, Why is it ſaid, that they ſubſiſted till *Joſiah*'s time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death? What proofs are there, that the book of *Eccleſiaſtes* was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it? Laſtly, as to the *Rabbinical* traditions, doth not the authority of the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, mentioned above, out-weigh them all, and doth not that ſeem to imply, that he died in his ſins? Upon the whole then, we ſhall not venture to conclude any thing on either ſide, much leſs enter into the more dark and dangerous queſtion about his ſalvation, which almoſt all the authors above-quoted, and many more, have preſumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(49) *Prov.* xxiv. 30, & *ſeq.* (50) 1 *Kings* xi. *ult.* 2 *Chron.* ix. *ult.* (51) Cyprian. *de Unit. Eccleſ.* & *epiſt.* 6. *ad* Rogat. Tertul. *lib.* ii, iii, & v. *cont.* Marcion. Origen. Auguſt. *cont.* Fauſt. *l.* xxii. *in Pſ.* cxxiv. & *alib.* Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Proſper. Beda. de Lyra Toſtat. Bellarm. Perer. Vega. Maldonat. & *al. mult.* (52) 1 *Kings* xi. 9, & *ſeq.* (53) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13.

Ahijah, and *Iddo*, who are ſaid to have penned the hiſtory of that prince * (X).

WHILST *Solomon* ſpent the laſt years of his life in pleaſure and indolence, the ſeeds of the threatened defection were ſowing both in *Iſrael* and out of it; ſo that when his ſon *Rehoboam* came to the crown, he had three potent adverſaries to encounter againſt. The firſt was *Hadad*, king of *Edom*, who bore a mortal hatred againſt *Iſrael*, ever ſince *David*'s general had cauſed ſuch an univerſal maſſacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from *Egypt*, where he had been forced to take ſanctuary, during *David* and *Solomon*'s reigns [1]. The ſecond was *Rezon*, a ſubject of the king of *Zobah*, who fled likewiſe from *David*'s conquering ſword, and having put himſelf at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and eſtabliſhed a petty kingdom at *Damaſcus*, and never ceaſed annoying *Iſrael*, and revenging *David*'s old hoſtilities on the *Zobe-*

* 2 Chron. ix. 29. [1] 1 Kings xi. 14, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 142, 143.

(X) Several other books have been attributed to *Solomon*, eſpecially thoſe of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the *Wiſdom* and the *Pſalter of Solomon*, which are now univerſally owned to be of more modern date. The latter conſiſts of 18 pſalms, artfully collected out of the other pſalms and ſome of the prophets, a copy of which is in the *Vienna* library, and placed between the two former books (54); they ſeem alſo to have been in our *Alexandrian* manuſcript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn, or loſt out of it. As for the other writings, which the *Greeks* and *Arabians* attribute to that prince, they are leſs worth enquiring after: ſome of them are written in the magic ſtrain, others upon natural philoſophy, and others upon moral ſubjects (55). Some indeed pretend, that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to aſperſe his fame, by making him the author of them; but that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whoſe power extended over all creatures, and even over ſpirits, cauſed all thoſe writings to be locked up in a ſtrong iron cheſt, and buried under his throne; out of which however they were fetched after his death, by ſome demons or magicians, and publiſhed again under that monarch's name (56). There are ſome eaſtern authors, who attribute the invention of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* letters to him (57), and ſome make him the author of the book of *Job* (58); all without any foundation.

(54) Lambec. *Bibliot. Vindebon.* (55) *Vid.* Fabric. *Apocryph.* (56) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient. ſub voc. Solyman.* (57) *Vid.* Abr. Echellens, & Abulfarag. *Hiſt. Arab. & al.* (58) *Vid. Polychron in Job.* Dieg. de Stunic. & *al. præfat. in Job.*

ans [m]. But the moſt dangerous of the three was *Jeroboam*, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly made overſeer over his tribe and that of *Manaſſeh*, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet *Ahijah*, that God would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon*'s ſucceſſors; and either upon this account, or for ſome particular miſdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into *Egypt*, to avoid the king's reſentment, and there probably he concerted with the king of *Edom*, about cauſing an inſurrection in *Iſrael*. As ſoon therefore as he heard that *Reboboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a proper opportunity for it, and that weak prince ſoon after gave him ſuch a one as his heart could wiſh.

Rehoboam.

Reboboam was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at *Shechem*, but they refuſed to acknowledge him, unleſs he promiſed to lighten their yoke, which they complained his father had made too heavy for them. The king took three days to conſider of an anſwer, and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholeſome advice of his grave counſellors, and given the people ſome fair promiſes, which if he had, it is poſſible, he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occaſion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of ſome hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him, and inſtead of ſoothing the people on the third day, he anſwered them in a haughty tone, That he deſigned to govern them with greater ſeverity than ever his father had done, and that, if they dared to murmur, he would uſe ſcorpions inſtead of whips to chaſtiſe their inſolence. This inconſiderate anſwer did ſo provoke them, that they diſclaimed all further allegiance to the houſe of *David*, and having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had ſent to appeaſe the tumult, ten of the tribes choſe *Jeroboam* to be their head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, did cleave to *Reboboam*, and conveyed him with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*, to avoid any inſult being offered to him by the revolters. As ſoon as he was come thither, he cauſed an army to be raiſed out of the two tribes, which muſtered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the reſt to their obedience; but, whilſt they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and perſuaded them to deſiſt, which they readily did for the preſent, though there were

Rehoboam's *folly occaſions ten tribes to revolt,*

who choſe Jeroboam *to be their king.*

[m] 1 King. xi. 23, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 273.

continual

continual bickerings between thoſe two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, on the other hand, thought on nothing, but how to ſecure his new-gotten kingdom, and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Penuel*, the former of which he made the place of his reſidence (Y). But there was ſtill one thing which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the houſe of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jeruſalem*; and *Jeroboam* did not ſufficiently rely upon the prophet's promiſe, to run the risk of becoming the victim of the people's inconſtancy. This apprehenſion made him ſacrifice religion to his ſafety, and to ſet up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worſhip of God, without going to *Jeruſalem*. He likewiſe built ſome temples and altars in the high places, and becauſe the *Levites* did cleave to *Rehoboam*, he made prieſts to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or deſert [n].

His idolatry.

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *Iſrael*, and a great concourſe of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was ſent thither by God, to denounce the deſtruction of the new altar, by a future king of *Judah*, named *Joſiah*, and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it ſhould then receive ſuch a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the ſpot. *Jeroboam* was ſtanding by the altar, being juſt going to offer incenſe upon it (Z), and when he heard the prophet's

[n] 1 Kings xii. paſſ.

(Y) Theſe two places had been in a manner deſtroyed, the former by *Abimelech* (59), and the latter by *Gideon* (60). This laſt was an important place on the other ſide of *Jordan*, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. *Shechem* was alſo a ſtrong place by nature, about 40 miles from *Jeruſalem* (61), and ſo conveniently ſituate to become the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of *Samaria* by *Omri*, and reſumed that dignity after this latter had been deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*. We find it called *Sychar* in the goſpel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of *Judah* gave it after the revolt, and ſignifies *Drunkard*.

(Z) It ſeems by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had deſigned to join the high-prieſthood and the royal dignity together in his own per-

(59) *Judg.* ix. 34, *& ſeq.* (60) *Ibid.* viii. 17. (61) *Ibid.* Reland. *in Shechem.* (62) *John* iv. 5.

prophet's threatning, he ſtretched out his hand to cauſe him to be apprehended, but, to his great ſurpriſe, felt it withered in an inſtant. Upon his ſubmiſſion however he had it reſtored again, and invited the prophet to his houſe, intending to have rewarded him for the cure, but he, having been expreſly forbidden to ſtay in *Bethel*, even to drink a cup of water, refuſed his offer and went his way. He was nevertheleſs unadviſedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilſt he was refreſhing himſelf at his houſe, he was told by him, that his diſobedience would be puniſhed by a ſpeedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly ſoon after; for, as he was returning into the land of *Judah*, he was killed by a lion, which did afterwards lie quietly down by his carcaſs, without offering any further violence either to it or the beaſt he rode upon.

Jeroboam was nothing moved at theſe extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worſhip of God [o]. At length his ſon *Abijah* being fallen into ſome dangerous diſeaſe, he took it into his head to ſend his wife in diſguiſe to *Abijah* the prophet, who had foretold him that he ſhould be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her firſt coming, and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her huſband, that ſince he had proved ſo ungrateful to God, and had filled *Iſrael* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the leaſt puniſhment that ſhould fall upon him, for that his poſterity ſhould be cut off, ſo that they which died in the city would become the food of dogs, and thoſe that died in the field ſhould be devoured by the crows, all which was verified by the ſequel accordingly. Notwithſtanding all theſe threatnings, *Jeroboam* perſiſted ſtill in his idolatry, and gave thereby no ſmall advantage to the king of *Judah* [p].

[o] 1 Kings xiii. [p] Ibid. xiv. 1. ad 21.

ſon The places he made choice of to ſet up his two idols were not only very commodious on account of their ſituation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been reſorted to by the patriarchs, and conſecrated in a peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had ſeen the glorious viſion we read of in *Geneſis* 63; and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from *Micah*'s houſe, and for the concourſe of people that went afterwards to ſacrifice to it (64).

(63) *Ch.* xxviii. 12. *& ſeq. vid. & Ch.* xxxv. 1. *& ſeq.* (64) *Judg.* xviii. *paſſ.*

WHILST

WHILST *Jeroboam* was ſtrengthening himſelf in *Shechem*, *Reboboam* was doing the ſame at *Jeruſalem*; he built and fortified a conſiderable number of places in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, put gariſons in them, and ſtored them with arms and ammunition. At the ſame time the tribe of *Levi*, which was diſperſed over *Iſrael*, being diſpleaſed with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jeruſalem* from their reſpective cities, beſides a vaſt number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to ſerve God according to the law of *Moſes*; ſo that he ſaw his ſubjects in a little time as numerous as thoſe of his revolted rival [q]. But that weak prince had ſcarce continued three years in the true ſervice of God, before he fell into the vileſt idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Iſraelites* in them; inſomuch, that his memory is branded for having ſuffered the people to ſet up groves, and to provide them with men and women, fit for the moſt abominable and unnatural practices [r]. For theſe God ſtirred up a potent adverſary againſt them, *Shiſhak* king of *Egypt*, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthieſt of *Judah* into the metropolis for ſhelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occaſion to upbraid them with their wickedneſs, which had brought this diſtreſs upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his ſpeech had ſo good an effect upon them, that they humbled themſelves before God, and, by acknowledging the juſtice of this puniſhment, avoided the ſeverity of it [s]. *Shiſhak* contented himſelf with ſtripping the temple and palaces of all their golden ſhields and veſſels, and left them to ſubſtitute in in their room others of a baſer metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Reboboam*, after which he reigned 12 years longer peaceably, except a few skirmiſhes with the king of *Iſrael*, and died in the 18th year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 ſons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved *Maachah*, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter, of *Abiſhalom* [t], by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom he preferred to all his other ſons to ſucceed him, for which end he had him brought up under him, whilſt he diſpoſed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner ſuitable to their rank [u]. His hiſtory was written by the prophets *Iddo* and *Shemaiah* [x]. Reboboam's *death.*

[q] 2 Chron. xi. 5, & ſeq. [r] 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24. [s] See 2 Chron. xii paſs. [t] Comp. Ch. xiii 2, & 1 Kings xv. 2. [u] 2 Chron. xi. 18 ad fin. [x] Ibid. Ch. xii. 15.

Jeroboam

Abijah's *reign.*

Year of the Flood, 2041. Year before Christ 958.

Jeroboam had reigned eighteen years in *Israel*, when *Abijam*, or *Abijah*, as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, *Abijam* began with upbraiding his competitor with his base extraction and baser actions; in that, from being a servant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Rehoboam*'s weakness, to deprive him of the largest share of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it by debauching the people from the worship of God, to the most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruction, as a just punishment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came against him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. *Jeroboam* was too hardened a politician to suffer himself, or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches, and whilst he seemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to surprise him in the rear, whilst he attacked him in front; and this was so punctually executed, that the king of *Judah* saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This surprise caused an universal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have injected an universal pannic, had not providence declared on their side, so that they gained a complete victory over the *Israelitish* army, of which there fell 500,000 on the spot. *Abijah* pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jeroboam* so much, that he never could recover his strength again, during the short time of his reign, which lasted but three years in all. *Abijah* left 14 wives and 22 sons, and was succeeded by *Asa*; his history was written by the prophet *Iddo*[y]. All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the sinful ways of his father, instead of serving God with the same sincerity that *David* had done[z]. About two years after *Jeroboam* also died (A),

Defeats Jeroboam's *army.*

[y] 2 Chron. xiii. pass. [z] 1 Kings xv. 3.

(A) It is said in the 2d book of the *Chronicles* (65), that the Lord struck him with death; by which is meant, that he died some unnatural death; and, indeed, his character is constantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in *Israel*, which lasted till the dissolution of that kingdom.

(65) *Ch.* xiii. 20.

after

after having reigned in *Iſrael* 22 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nadab* [a].

Aſa ſucceeded *Abijam* in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*. He was a religious prince, and as the ten firſt years of his reign were bleſſed with peace, he ſpent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heatheniſh abominations, which his predeceſſors had introduced in it. So ſincere was his zeal in that good work, that he ſpared not his own mother, but depoſed her from the regal dignity, which ſhe had abuſed by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worſhip of ſome idol; both which he cauſed to be deſtroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He alſo put his whole kingdom in a good poſture of defence, by fortifying ſeveral important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judah*, famous for handling the target and ſpear; the reſt, which were moſt of *Benjamin*, are likewiſe celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the uſe of the ſhield and bow [b]. His riches increaſing with his might, he likewiſe adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels, in the room of thoſe which the king of *Egypt* had carried away. In the ſecond year of his reign, *Nadab* ſucceeded *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the ſins of his father, and his being killed at the ſiege of *Gibbethon*, a fortreſs belonging to the *Philiſtines*, by *Baaſha*, a man of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, who, having ſeized upon the kingdom, deſtroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word [c].

Aſa's *reign*, *and piety*.

AT length *Aſa* ſaw his kingdom attacked by an army of 1,000,000 *Cuſhites* beſides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* at their head (B). *Aſa*, who truſted more in his God than

His victory over the Cuſhites.

[a] Ibid. ver. 25. [b] Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9. [c] 1 Kings xv. 27, & ſeq.

(B) Archbiſhop *Uſher* (66) places this famous action in the firſt year of *Aſa*'s reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or leſs (67) of it. We have followed the author of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, which affirms, that there was peace during the firſt ten years (68); and that *Aſa* offered great ſacrifices at *Jeruſalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thankſgiving for his late victory (69).

(66) *Ann. ſub. A. M.* 3063. (67) *Vid.* & *S.* I. Newt. *Chronol. p.* 99. Calmet. & *al.* (68) *Ch.* xiv. 1. (69) *Ibid. ver.* 10. & *ſeq.*

in

in his own ſtrength, was nothing terrified at this numerous hoſt, but came againſt him with his army; and after a ſharp battle, which was fought at *Mareſhah*, did totally rout the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jeruſalem* laden with their ſpoil. At his return he was met by a prophet, who encouraged him with freſh promiſes from God, that he ſhould ſtill prove ſucceſsful againſt his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he ſacrificed a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil to the ſervice of God, and had the pleaſure to ſee multitudes flock to him from ſeveral of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or ſucceſs drew away from *Baaſha*, the new-made king of *Iſrael*.

Makes an alliance with Ben-hadad.

IT was probably this continual defection, which cauſed a ſeries of skirmiſhes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortreſs of *Ramah*, to ſtop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria*; and *Aſa*, afraid of engaging two ſuch powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe *Ben-hadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cauſe ſome powerful diverſion in his kingdom. To this end, he ſent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treaſury, and in that of the temple; which had ſuch an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphtali*, and obliged *Baaſha* to deſiſt from his enterprize, to go and defend his territories [e]. As ſoon as he was departed from *Ramah*, *Aſa* iſſued out a proclamation, and ordered his ſubjects, none excepted, to tranſport all the materials of that fortreſs to *Geba* of *Benjamin*, and to *Mizpah* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify thoſe two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Aſa* for his weakneſs in ſeeking help from *Ben-hadad*, when he had been ſo lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* hoſt; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reaſon of a diſtemper in his feet, probably the gout, was ſo exaſperated at his boldneſs, that he caſt him into priſon. He was likewiſe guilty of ſome cruelties towards other perſons, upon what pretence the text doth not ſay, but it is likely, that his diſeaſe had inclined him to it, becauſe it is obſerved to have leſſened his confidence in God, and to have ſent him to the phyſicians for help [f]. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoſhaphat* (C).

His diſeaſe, and death.

Year of the Flood, 2085.
Year before Chriſt 912.

Baaſha

[e] 1 Kings xv. 18, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 275.
[f] 2 Chr. xvi. 12. & ſeq.

(C) The book of *Kings* doth barely ſay, that he was buried with his-

Baaſha all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in conſtant war with the king of *Judah*; when *Jehu*, the ſon of *Hanani*, came from the Lord to tell him, that ſince he had imitated his predeceſſor in his ſins, he ſhould likewiſe ſhare in his puniſhment, and be cut off with his poſterity. *Baaſha* died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Elah*, who aſcended the throne in the 26th year of *Aſa*'s reign; he had ſcarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of *Jehu*'s prediction; he was then at the ſiege of *Gibbethon*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, ſlew him, and ſeized upon his kingdom. *Zimri*'s reign laſted but ſeven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being choſen king by the army: yet found he time enough, in that ſhort ſpace, to deſtroy the whole race of *Baaſha*, even to his fartheſt relations. *Omri* left *Gibbethon*, and came to beſiege him in *Tirzah*; but before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went into the royal palace and ſet it on fire, and burnt himſelf in it [g]; however, he reigned long enough to ſhew himſelf unworthy of the kingdom, by his propenſity to *Jeroboam*'s idolatry.

Elah, *king of* Iſrael, *murdered by* Zimri.

Omri had another competitor, *Tibni* the ſon of *Ginath*, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri*, being much the ſtronger, ſoon perſuaded the reſt to join with them; ſo *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31ſt year of *Aſa*'s reign.

DURING the firſt ſix years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal palace of reſidence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Someron*, or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer* for two talents of ſilver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another ſix years in *Samaria*, in all the ſinful ways of his predeceſſors,

[g] 1 Kings xvi. 1, & ſeq. ad 18.

his anceſtors *; but that of the *Chronicles* (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a ſtately bed, covered with ſpices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which ſome have concluded, that the cuſtom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Aſa*, and that they depoſited the bones and aſhes in their ſepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the ſeeming contradiction of theſe two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader †.

* 1 *Kings* xv. 24. (70) 2 *Chr.* xvi. *ult.* † *See Vol. III.* p. 362. *note* (V).

and was ſucceeded by his ſon, who proved ſtill more wicked than any of them [h].

Ahab *king of* Iſrael.

Ahab began his reign in the 38th year of *Aſa*'s; his unlawful marriage with *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Eth-Baal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a conſtant ſource of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his kingdom. His complaiſance for her made him ſuffer her to introduce the worſhip of the *Zidonian* deities, which conſiſted in human ſacrifices, and in the moſt abominable ceremonies †. Theſe were at firſt introduced into his court, for which a ſumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but as his weakneſs ſuffered him to aſſiſt at thoſe helliſh ceremonies, his example ſoon ſpread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was ſent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courſes, by aſſuring him, that God would ſhortly puniſh the land with a grievous famine, during which there ſhould be neither dew nor rain to refreſh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which he went and concealed himſelf, during the ſpace of three years (D) [i].

Year of the Flood, 2081.

Year before Chriſt 918.

WHILST

[h] 1 Kings ver. 21, & ſeq. † See Vol. II. p. 314. & alib.
[i] 1 Kings xvii. 1, & ſeq.

(D) There are many particulars relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the hiſtory of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reaſon we chooſe to give them in a note in their order of time.

As ſoon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of *Jezebel*, and retired into ſome cavern upon the border of *Cherith*, a brook which falleth into the *Jordan*, where he drank of the water of it, and was furniſhed twice a day with bread and fleſh by the ravens. He ſtayed not long there, becauſe the exceſſive drought had dried up the brook, but went to *Zarephath*, a city of *Zidon*, which laboured alſo with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few ſticks without the walls of the place, having but ſo much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which ſhe deſigned for her ſon and herſelf, without knowing how to procure more when that was ſpent. The prophet, tired with his journey, aſked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and ſhe having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he deſired, aſſuring her, that as long as the dearth laſted, her barrel and cruſe ſhould not ceaſe furniſhing her with meal and oil enough to ſupport them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her, till he was commanded to return to *Samaria*. During his abode with this hoſpitable widow, her

WHILST *Ahab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Iſrael*, and murdering all thoſe, whether prophets or others, who dared to oppoſe them; *Jehoſhaphat*, who ſucceeded *Aſa* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Ahab*'s reign, was deſtroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worſhip of God in his own kingdom, with ſuch zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greateſt proſperity and ſucceſs. He was thirty five years old when he began his reign, and the firſt thing that he ſet about was the pulling down of all the monuments of idolatry, and ſodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to aboliſh; and, in the third year of his reign, he ſent ſome of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of prieſts and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to inſtruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the ſame time, he fortified all the conſiderable places of the land, and put garriſons in them, as well as in thoſe which his father had taken from the kings of *Iſrael*. Beſides theſe, he had the moſt numerous army of any of his predeceſſors, it conſiſting of above 1,100,000 fighting men (E). Upon all theſe accounts he was ſo proſperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared to moleſt him; the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* were tributaries to him; and his allies were ſtill increaſing his wealth by their preſents [k].

Jehoſhaphat *King of* Judah.

His piety, and ſucceſs.

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his ſubjects, whilſt war and famine were the reward of *Ahab*'s impiety in the kingdom of *Iſrael*.

[k] 2 Chr. xvii. paſſ.

her only ſon chanced to die; and ſhe, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accuſing the prophet, as the cauſe of her misfortune. Upon which *Elijah* took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having ſtretched himſelf upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he reſtored him alive to her again (71).

(E) We have had elſewhere occaſion to ſpeak of this prodigious number of ſoldiers (72), and to ſhew, that they were not kept like our ſtanding armies in conſtant pay and duty, but that their names were ſet down in the king's muſter-rolls, in order to be ſummoned to arms, whenever occaſion required it; which, conſidering the ſmall compaſs of the land, might be done with great eaſe, and in a very little ſpace; after which they returned to their families, and followed their uſual occupations. We may alſo ſuppoſe, that the garriſons might be relieved in the ſame manner every three months, more or leſs, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between thoſe intervals.

(71) 1 Kings xvii. (72) *See Vol III. p.* 368, & 373.

Elijah's *meeting with* Obadiah;

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and ſhewed himſelf to *Obadiah*, governor of *Ahab*'s houſe, as he was going in ſearch of ſome freſh ſprings of water, to ſave that little cattle they had left, whilſt the king himſelf went another way upon the ſame errand. *Obadiah* was a pious man, and had ſhewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Iſrael*, by ſaving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel*'s fury, and ſupporting them with food in their concealment, during the whole time of the famine. As ſoon therefore as he ſaw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a reſpectful welcome; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modeſtly excuſed himſelf from ſo dangerous a meſſage, being afraid, leſt, if the ſpirit ſhould catch him away, inſtead of appearing before the king, his life ſhould anſwer for the diſappointment; for, added he, there is ſcarce a nation or kingdom, from which *Ahab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. At length, upon the prophet's promiſing that he would ſhew himſelf to the king, *Obadiah* went and ſtopt his farther ſearch, by acquainting him with *Elijah*'s return, and his promiſe of a ſpeedy rain. *Elijah* accordingly appeared, and the firſt greeting between *Ahab* and him was ſuch, as might be reaſonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a perſon of that prophet's character. After ſome mutual invectives on both ſides, *Elijah* deſired, that all *Iſrael* might be gathered at mount *Carmel*, with all the prieſts of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their ſervice between God and *Baal*. "You ſee, ſaid he, that I am "the only prophet of the Lord that is left, and thoſe of "*Baal* are 450; let them offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and "I will offer another to the God of *Iſrael*; and let the "deity, whoſe ſacrifice is conſumed by a preternatural fire, "be henceforth the only object of your worſhip." As ſoon as the people had expreſſed their aſſent to his propoſal, the prieſts of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till noon; and not finding the leaſt ſymptom of anſwer, they began, according to their cuſtom, to cut themſelves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground *. All this while *Elijah* plied them with the moſt biting ſarcaſms, bidding them to cry louder, for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unleſs he were either aſleep, or more advantageouſ-

and Ahab.

Elijah's *zeal againſt* Baal.

* See Vol. II. p. 314.

ly

ly taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening ſacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve ſtones, according to the *Moſaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; and, having cauſed a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him that he would ſhew himſelf to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which conſumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches; at ſight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The* LORD *is the only God.* The prophet then, addreſſing himſelf to the people, told them, that if they were really perſuaded of it, they ought to ſeize on thoſe falſe prophets, pointing to the prieſts of *Baal*, who had ſeduced them from his worſhip to ſerve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kiſhon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obſtruct it, ſuffered them to be hurried away to death. *Elijah* then adviſed the king to make what ſpeed he could to *Jezreel*, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would ſhortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As ſoon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what a ſhameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the ſight of all *Iſrael.* One would expect, that the long-wiſh'd-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inſpired her with an uncommon reſpect for his perſon; but it happened quite otherwiſe, and the death of ſo many of her prophets threw her into ſuch a rage, that ſhe vowed to ſend the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a ſecond time to fly for his life (F)[1].

By

[1] 1 Kings xviii. paſſ xix. 1, 2, 3.

(F) The prophet ſeems, at this time, to have been under ſuch apprehenſions, that he could not ſtay till providence directed him what courſe to take, as he had done in his laſt flight. He ſtopped not till he came to *Beerſhebah*, a city in the land of *Judah*, and near 150 miles from *Samaria*; where having diſmiſſed his ſervant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderneſs of *Arabia Petræa.* At length, being quite ſpent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himſelf down under a juniper-tree, and, after

Ahab's victory and generosity.

By that time *Ahab* had reigned 18 years, *Ben-hadad*, king of *Syria*, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to *Samaria*; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatned both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who sallied out upon him at mid-day, with *Ahab* at their head, and forced to fly with a prodigious loss. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Israelites* with a terrible slaughter, and himself in danger of being taken prisoner in the city of *Apheck*; but, upon his sending from thence a submissive message, *Ahab* re-

after some bitter complaints, fell asleep. He was soon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refresh himself with some food, and when he looked about, he found a cake of bread and some water, and did eat, and drink, and fell asleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and so it proved indeed, for he went, upon the strength of it, forty days, till he came to mount *Horeb*, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and asked him, what he did there, and he answered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord, whom the idolatrous *Israelites* had not slain, after they had broken his covenant and destroyed his altars; and that, because he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they sought his life also. The voice commanded him then to stand upon the mount, where he should hear the Lord pass by him; that he should hear a strong wind capable of rending the rocks asunder, and afterwards an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifest himself in any of these, but in a small and still voice. Accordingly, when *Elijah* heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back, by the way of the wilderness, or by the desert paths, to *Damascus*, and there anoint *Hazael* to be king of *Syria*, *Jehu* to be king of *Israel*, and *Elisha* to be prophet in his room; telling him, that those three should not sheath their swords, till *Ahab*'s impious race and his idolatrous subjects were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we shall see in its proper place.

In his return, he passed by the grounds of *Elisha*, the son of *Shaphat*, where he and his servants were ploughing, and cast his mantle upon him *Elisha*, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feast, whilst he took his leave of his friends, but it doth not appear, that he stayed to partake of it, and indeed the place was too near *Samaria* and *Jezreel*, and it was dangerous for him to stay there; however, he went after him as soon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that *Elijah* went to anoint either *Hazael* or *Jehu*; it is most likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his translation, as will appear by the sequel.

ceived

ceived him with an amazing generoſity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generouſly diſmiſſed him without any further ranſom. The particulars of theſe two famous actions the reader will find in the hiſtory of *Syria* †. As ſoon as *Ben-hadad* was departed, one of the ſons of the prophets preſented himſelf before *Ahab*, with his face all beſmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that, during the action, a *Syrian* priſoner had been committed to his cuſtody, with a ſtrict charge not to let him eſcape, under pain of death; but that, whilſt he buſied himſelf about one thing or other, the priſoner was fled, and himſelf now in danger of being puniſhed for his neglect. *Ahab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no ſcruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and diſcovering himſelf to the king, ſoon let him know, that he had paſſed his ſentence againſt himſelf, and that ſince he had let ſo powerful an enemy of *Iſrael* go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life ſhould pay for that of his priſoner. *Ahab* was ſtruck with ſuch ſurprize at the boldneſs of the ſtratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation (G) [m]; nevertheleſs, he kept his word with the king of *Syria*, till his detaining of *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Iſrael*, contrary to his promiſe, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after [n].

IN the mean time, *Ahab* ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by *Jezebel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and to his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezreel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Ahab* offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his houſe; but, as it was reckoned ſcandalous to ſell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuſe the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. *Jezebel* was acquainted with it, and being re- Naboth *murdered.*

† See Vol. II p. 275, & ſeq. [m] 1 Kings xx. paſſ. [n] See *Uſher*'s Ann. ſub A. M. 3104.

(G) *Joſephus* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiah*, and adds, that the king cauſed him to be put into priſon for his boldneſs, which is not unlikely, becauſe when *Ahab* was afterwards going againſt *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had ſent for him at *Jehoſhaphat*'s requeſt, *Ahab* expreſſed a particular averſion againſt him, becauſe he was ever prophefying evil againſt him, and when he had fore-told him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the ſame puniſhment (74).

(73) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 8. (74) 1 Kings xxii. paſſ.

ſolved

ſolved at once to procure the vineyard, and to puniſh *Naboth* for his refuſal, ſhe ſent a letter to the elders of *Jezreel*, ſealed with the king's ſignet, commanding them to proclaim a faſt, and to hire ſome looſe fellows to ſwear treaſon and blaſphemy againſt him, and then to ſtone him to death for it. The *Jezreelites*, not daring to diſobey her orders, ſent her word ſoon after of *Naboth*'s death, and ſhe acquainted *Ahab* with it; but whilſt he was taking poſſeſſion of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the deſtruction that this murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his whole houſe; that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, where they licked that of *Naboth*, that *Jezebel* ſhould be devoured by dogs, and all his poſterity utterly cut off. This dreadful ſentence, from ſo conſiderable a prophet, did ſo alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home, filled with the deepeſt grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious reſpite; ſo that the calamites, that were to fall upon his houſe, did not happen till after his death [o]. It is probably about this time, that he is ſuppoſed to have made his ſon *Ahaziah* copartner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilſt he humbled himſelf in ſackcloth and aſhes, to avoid the impending judgment of God [p]; but this change was but ſhort-lived, and he ſoon returned to his former impieties.

All this while, *Jehoſhaphat* had enjoyed a profound peace, and ſpent his time, partly in ſtrengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter aboliſhing of idolatry, and promoting the worſhip of God. He is blamed only for two things,

[o] 1 Kings xxi. paſſ. [p] Vid. ibid. ver. 17. & ſeq.

(H) At leaſt this is the only expedient by which chronologiſts can reconcile the anachroniſms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raiſed to a partnerſhip with them. The reader may ſee an inſtance of it proved in archbiſhop *Uſher*'s annals (75), both in *Ahab* above mentioned, and in his contemporary *Jehoſhaphat*, who raiſed alſo his ſon *Jehoram* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further obſerved, that this method became very expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings uſed to lead their own armies, and often loſt their lives, to appoint their ſucceſſors, and to leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their abſence, upon which account, this wholeſome cuſtom prevailed alſo among many other eaſtern nations.

(75) *Sub A. M.* 3106.

his not totally demoliſhing of the high places, and his making of alliances and affinity with *Ahab* (I). It was in conſequence of this laſt, that he came down to *Samaria* to pay a viſit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his ſon *Jehoram*. By this time, *Ahab* had reſolved upon retaking *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of aſking his royal gueſt to aſſiſt him in the enterprize, to which he readily conſented, but deſired firſt of all, that God might be conſulted, concerning the ſucceſs of that expedition. *Ahab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samaria*, where the king of *Judah* and he ſat, each on a ſtately throne, and, upon his aſking of the queſtion, they one and all promiſed him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewiſe to foretel his ſucceſs, by ſome antick and awkward repreſentations and geſtures; but with ſuch ſeeming eagerneſs and aſſurance, as rendered them ſuſpected to *Jehoſhaphat*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be ſent for and conſulted. There was indeed ſuch a one as he deſired, *Micaiah* the ſon of *Imlah*, but his ſtrenuous veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaiſance to *Jehoſhaphat* to ſend for him, and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promiſes of the falſe prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewiſe anſwer, in a jocoſe tone, that the expedition could not fail of ſucceſs; but the king, obſerving that he did not ſpeak ſeriouſly, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of God: upon which, *Micaiah* told him, that he would certainly loſe the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had ſuffered his prophets to be poſſeſſed with a lying ſpirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was ſo far from being deterred by this ſpeech, from his favourite enterprize, that he ordered the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went reſolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoſhaphat*, being too eaſily perſuaded to accompany him, did narowly eſcape ſharing in the ſame fate: we have ſeen the ill ſucceſs of this expedition in a former chapter*. *Ahab*, wounded by a random ſhot, died in the evening; and as

Ahab's *expedition againſt* Ramoth.

His ill ſucceſs and death.

* See. Vol. II. p. 279.

(I) This affinity was in ſuffering his ſon *Jehoram* to marry *Athaliah*, the daughter of *Ahab*, a moſt wicked princeſs, who proved the author of great miſchiefs in *Judah* (76), and by whom he had a ſon named *Ahaziah*, who afterwards ſucceeded his father, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

(76) 2 Chron. xxi. 6. *& ſeq.*

ſoon as his death was known, his generals cauſed a retreat to be ſounded through his army, and both ſides withdrew before night. The king's corpſe was brought to *Samaria*, and buried in the royal ſepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harneſs, were brought to a pool in that place to be waſhed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood verified *Elijah*'s prophecy againſt him [q].

Year of the Flood, 2102. Year before Chriſt, 897.

Jehoſhaphat, on the other hand, having thus happily eſcaped, returned to *Jeruſalem*, and in the way was met by the prophet *Jehu*, who reproved him, in the ſevereſt terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Iſrael*, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had expreſſed for his ſervice, than to this laſt and unworthy action, he had certainly have ſuffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become ſenſible of his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more aſſiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progreſs through a great part of it, diligently examined how the prieſts inſtructed the people, the judges and magiſtrates adminiſtred juſtice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy ſo good a prince [r].

IN the mean time, *Ahaziah*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ahab*, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the ſecond year of his reign, and was ſo hurt by the fall that his life was deſpaired of. In this extremity he ſent meſſengers to conſult *Beelzebub*, the deity of *Ekron*, about his recovery; but theſe were met by *Elijah*, who ſent them back with this mournful meſſage to their maſter, that, ſince he had ſent to the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Iſrael* worth conſulting, he ſhould never ſtir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs of it, that they had met a prophet, who ſent them back with the ſentence of death from the Lord; and upon their deſcribing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died ſoon after, according to his prophecy [s] (K). During his ſhort reign, the *Moabites*, who had been

[q] 1 Kings ult. paſſ. [r] 2 Chron. xix. p. tot. [s] 2 Kings i. paſſ.

(K) The text adds, that *Ahaziah* ſent three officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him

been tributaries to *Iſrael*, ever ſince *Jeroboam*'s defection, rebelled againſt him; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram* came to the crown, he ſent to beg *Jehoſhaphat*'s aſſiſtance, who made no ſcruple, upon ſuch an occaſion, to go in perſon to help to reduce them. It was well for *Jehoram*, that he had ſo good a prince with him; for when their army was ready to periſh with thirſt, *Eliſha*, at his requeſt, obtained a miraculous ſupply of water, which did at once refreſh the confederate army, and, by the redneſs which it did caſt at ſun-riſing towards the *Moabitiſh* hoſt, did ſo ſcare them, that *Iſrael* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

Judah *invaded.*

AT length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoſhaphat* ſaw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with ſuch ſpeed,

† See Vol. II. p. 93.

him by main force, and that the two firſt companies were devoured by fire from heaven, but the laſt, addreſſing himſelf to him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only eſcaped their fate, but prevailed upon him to go to the king, where he only confirmed his firſt meſſage, and went his way.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was tranſlated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his ſpirit with *Eliſha*, who from that time became as famous in *Iſrael*, for his zeal and miracles, as his maſter had been (77), as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. As ſoon as he had loſt ſight of his maſter, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repaſſed the *Jordan*. Here he was met by a company of prophets, who, perceiving that the ſpirit of *Elijah* reſted upon him, proſtrated themſelves before him, and having obſerved to him the pleaſant ſituation of *Jericho*, whoſe ſoil however was unhappily barren, through the brackiſhneſs of its water; he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of ſalt into it, from which time it always yielded ſweet water, and the land became fruitful.

Eliſha went from thence to *Bethel*, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, *Come up thou bald man.* Theſe were, in all likelihood, the children of ſome of the worſhippers of *Baal*, who had been taught to ſhew an unuſual diſreſpect for the prophets of God. This ſeems at leaſt very probable, from the puniſhment which befel them; for the prophet had no ſooner curſed them in the name of God, than 42 of them were torn in pieces by two ſhe bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 *Kings ii. paſſ.* (78) *Ibid. ver.* 23, *& ſeq.*

that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this ſurprize he had recourſe to God, proclaimed a ſtrict and general faſt, and went at the head of the people, who were aſſembled at *Jeruſalem* upon that occaſion, to the temple, where having implored the divine aſſiſtance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was anſwered by the prophet *Jahaziel*, that God would ſpeedily deliver him from thoſe invaders in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that he ſhould have nothing to do but ſeize upon their ſpoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out againſt them with a ſmall army, whom he ſtill encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon GOD; but they ſoon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies ſeized with a kind of pannic phrenſy, ſlaughtering one another with greater fury than themſelves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the ſlain being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richeſt, which they were three days gathering *, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called *Berachah*, or *Bleſſing* (L). The army, in their return to *Jeruſalem*, marched at the ſound of muſical inſtruments, accompanied with canticles ſung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoſhaphat* ended his days in peace [t]. Some time before his death, *Ahaziah*, who was then king of *Iſrael*, and as impious as his father *Ahab*, obtained his conſent, to ſend ſome ſhips of his own to *Tarſhiſh* along with his fleet;

Jehoſhaphat's *miraculous ſucceſs.*

* See Vol. II. p. 95. [t] 2 Chron. xx. 1, & ſeq. ad 30.

(L) This valley is ſuppoſed, by many *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the ſame which is mentioned by the prophet *Joel* (79), and that it will be the ſcene of the univerſal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, there mentioned, is between *Jeruſalem* and the *Mount of Olives* (81), or in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* (82; but we can ſee nothing in that paſſage that refers either to the laſt judgment, or to this *Valley of Bleſſing*, and it is moſt likely, that, by the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, the prophet meant no more, than the literal ſenſe of the word imports, *Jehoſhaphat* ſignifying *the judgment of God*, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) *Ch. iii. 2, & 12.* (80) *Vid.* Aben-Ezr. Kimchi. & Munſt. *in loc.* (81). Beda *de loc. cit. & al in loc.* (82) Cyril. Alex. *in loc. & al.*

for

for which *Jehoſhaphat* was ſeverely rebuked by the prophet *Eliezer*, who foretold him, at the ſame time, the loſs of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reaſon he never would let any of the ſhips of *Iſrael* mix with his own [u]. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoram*. His hiſtory is ſaid to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* [w], which book ſeems to have been loſt, with many others, at the captivity. *His death.*

Judah *and* Iſrael *immerſed in idolatry.*

Jehoram, who, as we obſerved before, had born a ſhare in the government of *Judah* towards the latter end of his father's reign, did no ſooner ſee himſelf alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himſelf and his houſe all the curſes that had been pronounced againſt that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Iſrael* ſeem now but one kingdom, and one ſcene of all manner of idolatry and wickedneſs; they are both governed by kings of the ſame name; *Jehoram* king of *Judah*, is influenced by his wife *Athaliah*, the impious daughter of *Ahab*, and *Jehoram*, king of *Iſrael*, by his mother *Jezebel*; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been aboliſhed by his two predeceſſors; both of them bringing down the heavieſt judgments from heaven; the one, by forſaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in thoſe of his impious one; or what was ſtill more ſurprizing, whilſt the king of *Iſrael* did endeavour ſo far to reform from him, as to deſtroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Ahab* had reared up, and contented himſelf with the idolatrous worſhip of the two golden calves [x], that of *Judah* was adopting thoſe very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jeruſalem* [y]. Thus whilſt the former forſook the God of *Iſrael*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the ſame guilt, and in the ſame puniſhment; with this difference however, that that of *Iſrael* is entirely cut off, with his whole poſterity; whereas, in that of *Judah*, an infant is miraculouſly preſerved, to make good God's promiſe to the houſe of *David*.

Jehoſhaphat had left a numerous iſſue, and diſpoſed of all his ſons into ſeveral cities of *Judah*, under proper tutors, and with incomes ſuitable to their rank; but he was ſcarce cold in his grave, before his impious ſon ſignalized the beginning

[u] Ibid. ver. 36, 37. Comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49. [w] 2 Chron. ub. ſub. ver. 34. [x] 2 Kings iii. 1, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. viii. 17, & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

of

of his reign, with an universal massacre of them, and with all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose or dislike his cruelty [z]. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himself up to idolatry, and set up the worship of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For these he was severely reproved, by a letter sent him by *Elijah*, a little before his assumption; wherein that prophet likewise foretold him, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and his own death, by an incurable disease in his bowels [a].

Edom's *final revolt from* Israel.

THE first token of the divine displeasure, which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refused to pay him the usual tribute. *Jehoram* went out against them, and beat them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own over them, as we have seen elsewhere *; and in so doing they verified *Isaac*'s prophecy, that *Esau*'s posterity should, in time, shake off the yoke of *Jacob* [b]. At the same time *Libnah*, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of *Judah* [c], and upon the frontiers of *Idumæa*, revolted from *Jehoram* probably, to *Edom*, though the text says not to whom [d]; but these were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and these penetrated even to *Jerusalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram*'s wives and all his sons, except only *Jehoahaz*, who was the youngest, and succeeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with the extremity of his pain. He was buried in a sepulchre by himself, probably by reason of the corruption and stench which attended his disease, and without the usual ceremony of burning spices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years [e], four with his father *Jehoshaphat*, and the other four by himself; his disease having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his son *Jehoahaz*, otherwise called *Abaziah*, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram* king of *Israel* [f].

Year of the Flood, 2110.
Year before Christ 889.

[z] Ibid. 1. & seq. [a] Ibid. ver. 12, & seq. * See Vol. II. p. 145. [b] Gen. xxvii. 40. [c] Josh. xv. 42. 1 Chron. vi. 57. [d] 2 Kings viii. 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 10. [e] Ibid. ver. 18, & seq. [f] Vid. USSER. Ann. sub. A. M. 3115, & 3118. & 2 Kings viii. 25.

WHILST

WHILST *Judah* was in this diſmal plight, *Eliſha* was working wonders for *Iſrael*. We have ſeen elſewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he diſcovered all the ſecret deſigns of that prince to the king of *Iſrael* †, and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for ſome time, from ſucceeding in their attempts againſt him. But at length *Benhadad* came up, not by ambuſhes and ſtratagems as formerly, but with a numerous hoſt, and beſieged *Samaria* ſo cloſe, that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; inſomuch, that an aſs's head was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a ſmall meaſure of pulſe (M) for five. How long this ſiege had laſted is not eaſy to gueſs, but what might increaſe this grievous famine was. that it had begun ſome years before in the land, inſomuch, that *Eliſha*, who timely foreſaw it, ſent his kind hoſteſs the *Shunamite*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to ſeek for food where ſhe could get it, whilſt himſelf tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous ſupply of food [g], till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity, to which *Samaria* was reduced, ſeemed either to have obliterated all the former ſervices of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him ſuſpected of being

Samaria beſieged.

A great famine in the land.

† See Vol. II. p. 280, & ſeq. [g] Comp. 2 Kings iv. 38. & ſeq. with viii. 1, 2, & ſeq.

(M) As moſt tranſlations have rendered the word חריונים *Chirionim*, by *doves-dung*, they have given commentators a vaſt deal of trouble to find out ſuch uſe for it, as might anſwer this exceſſive price that was given for it, that a meaſure, which held but ſix eggs, ſhould ſell for above eleven ſhillings. It were endleſs to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart*'s verſion (84), who proves, that the word doth, among other things, ſignify a kind of peaſe, common in all thoſe countries, and which the *Jews* in particular uſed to parch over the fire for food (85), in the ſame manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an aſs's head was ſold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moſes*, we muſt attribute the eating of it, at that time, to their extreme want of proviſion, which in all ſuch caſes may be allowed to diſpenſe with law.

(83) *Vid. ſs lib.* Le Scene. & *Eſſ. on a new ver. pt. ii. ch.* 3. § 2. (84) *Hieroſ. tom. ii. l.* 1. *c.* 7. § 7. (85) *Vid. 2 Sam. xvii.* 28. & Hieron. *in loc.*

ſince

ſince gained over to the *Syrian* intereſt, ſince he ſuffered the city to labour under theſe difficulties, without interpoſing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occaſions. His ſuſpicion at length broke out with unuſual fury, upon the following dreadful occaſion: The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him and begged for juſtice againſt another woman, whom ſhe had admitted to eat a ſhare of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of him, her own ſhould be likewiſe dreſt to ſupply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refuſed to let her partake of it. Such a ſhocking ſtory, accompanied with all the tokens of deſpair, could not but fill the diſtreſſed monarch with the utmoſt horror; he rent his cloathes, and his fleſh appeared covered with ſackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwiſe, he ſwore, that *Eliſha*'s head ſhould pay for the diſtreſs of the people; and ſent immediately an officer to take it off. *Eliſha* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of *Iſrael*, who were at his houſe juſt as the meſſenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him ſtopped at the door, till the king himſelf appeared, and then, after he had repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of puniſhing an innocent perſon, for a calamity which was ſent from above [h] (N), he deſired him to have but patience till next

[h] Ibid. vi. & vii. paſſ.

(N) The text is ſomewhat obſcure here; the words run literally thus (86), *And behold the meſſenger came down unto him, and he* [but whether the prophet, or the meſſenger, or the king, is not eaſy to determine] *ſaid, Lo! this judgment is from the* LORD, *and what, or why, ſhould I wait any longer for the* LORD? They ſeem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of deſpair, and to have been rather ſpoken by *Jehoram*, and to imply thus much, *If it be true, that this evil, or this famine, is ſent us from the* LORD, *it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely therefore, that the king had deſigned, before this unnatural accident happened, to have ſurrendered the city to the king of *Syria*, and had been diſſuaded from it by *Eliſha*, with a promiſe of ſome ſpeedy relief. Under theſe dreadful circumſtances therefore, he goes and upbraids him with it; *Has God*, ſaid he, *reduced us to ſuch extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldſt thou ſtill flatter me with vain hopes of ſome relief, till all my ſubjects are periſhed with hunger and miſery, when I might and ought to have ſaved their lives by a timely ſurrender?* Whereupon, the prophet appoints the preciſe time of their deſpaired of deliverance to be on the very next day.

(86) 2 *Kings vi. ver. ult.*

day,

day, by which time there would be ſuch a ſupply of proviſions in *Samaria*, that a buſhel of fine flour ſhould be ſold for a ſhekel of ſilver, and the reſt in proportion. By this means the prophet ſaved his life, and though the king could ſcarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more adviſeable to defer his reſentment, till he ſaw the ſucceſs of this wonderful promiſe.

THE thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night ſome lepers, who lodged on the outſide of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, reſolved, whatever betided them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either ſome lucky ſupply of food, or, at the worſt, to be put to a ſpeedier death than that of ſtarving. They were ſurprized to find their tents full of proviſions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As ſoon therefore as they had ſatisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it ſtill the ſame; and after they had conveyed away a conſiderable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themſelves for not acquainting the famiſhed *Samaritans* with the happy news. The king, as ſoon as he was acquainted with the ſtory, ſuſpected it to be a ſtratagem of the *Syrians*, contrived to intice him out of the city; but, upon his ſending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and had left their tents, horſes, and richeſt baggage behind them; for, on the foregoing night, the Lord cauſed them to hear an extraordinary noiſe of chariots, horſes, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jehoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt* and other neighbouring nations againſt them *. This ſpread ſuch an univerſal pannic through the whole camp, that they did not ſo much as ſtay to mount their horſes, but fled in the utmoſt confuſion on foot, leaving, beſides an immenſe variety of rich plunder, ſuch a quantity of proviſions behind them, that a meaſure of fine flour was ſold for a ſhekel, and the reſt in proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Eliſha*. At the ſame time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an unexpected plenty, and had been anſwered by the prophet, that he ſhould ſee it without taſting of it, was appointed by the king to ſtand at the gate of the city, to prevent any diſorders, and was, notwithſtanding his care, trod to death by the preſs, and verified *Eliſha*'s prophecy †.

The ſiege raiſed.

A great plenty in Samaria.

* See Vol II. p. 283.

† 2 Kings vii. 17, & ſeq.

SOON after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of diſcontent, or by divine impulſe, took the way to *Damaſcus*, where the king lay ſick, being quite exhauſted through old age, fatigues, and diſappointments. What the deſign and reſult of that viſit was, the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *Syria* [k]. In the mean time, the king of *Iſrael* entertained himſelf, during his abſence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his ſervant *Gehazi* (O); who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raiſing of the child of his *Shunamitiſh* hoſteſs to life (P), and of

[k] Ibid. viii. 1, & ſeq. See alſo, Vol. II. p. 284, & ſeq.

(O) This ſervant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetouſneſs, inherited *Naaman*'s leproſy (87), which was, according to *Eliſha*'s word, to ſtick to him as long as he lived, and ſuch perſons were obliged to live apart from the reſt. It is therefore ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the king of *Iſrael* would converſe with a man, whom the meaneſt perſon in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be ſaid to it is, either that he was made to ſtand at a convenient diſtance, and with his mouth covered; or that the king's curioſity made him overlook ſuch nice circumſtances at that particular juncture.

(P) The occaſion of this miracle was as follows: The woman, who was rich and childleſs, having obſerved the prophet to paſs very often by her houſe, as he went through the city of *Shunem*, prevailed upon her huſband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candleſtick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleaſed. *Eliſha*, deſirous to gratify them for their hoſpitality, asked his ſervant what he might do for them; and being anſwered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time ſhe ſhould embrace a ſon, as a reward of her kindneſs to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himſelf with reapers, he was one day brought home ſick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As ſoon as he was dead, ſhe laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haſte ſhe could to mount *Carmel*, where he then was; and as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of him, ſhe fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her ſon's death. *Eliſha*, ſurpriſed that the Lord had never revealed this accident to him, gave *Gehazi* his ſtaff, and bid him run with all poſſible ſpeed, and lay it upon the dead child; but the woman, not daring to truſt to that, embraced his legs, and begged, that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The ſervant, however, was got

(87) *Ibid.* v. *ver. ult.*

to

of his ſending of her and her family to ſeek their bread out of the kingdom, during the ſeven years of famine. He had ſcarce made an end of the ſtory, when the woman herſelf came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiſcated during her abſence, and gave *Gehazi*, who preſently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumſtances could not but render her ſuit ſucceſsful; but the king

to the houſe long before his maſter, and had laid the ſtaff upon the child, but without any ſucceſs. At length, the prophet went up himſelf, and laid himſelf upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling ſtill upon God to reſtore him to his ſorrowful mother, which he at length obtained;- and whilſt ſhe received him with a maternal joy, ſhe owned, that ſhe was now more than ever convinced, that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (88).

During the famine, one of the prophets widows came to *Eliſha*, and complained, that her husband died in debt, and that her two ſons were now upon the brink of being ſeized and ſold by the mercileſs creditor. The prophet, moved with compaſſion, and unable to aſſiſt her any other way than by a miracle, asked her what ſhe had in her houſe that could be turned into money; and being anſwered, that ſhe had nothing left but a poor cruſe of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many veſſels of her neighbours as ſhe could, and to fill them out of the cruſe; which ſhe did, and the oil did not ceaſe flowing out of it, till ſhe had filled all the other veſſels. *Eliſha* then bid her ſell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the reſt for her own uſe †.

After this, *Eliſha* tarried ſome time in *Gilgal*, with the reſt of the prophets; and having one day ordered ſome pottage to be made for them, one of the ſervants went to gather a lap full of herbs, and inadvertently cut ſome wild gourd, or night-ſhade, among them; as ſoon as they had taſted it, they cried out, that death was in the pot; but when he was appriſed of it, he cauſed ſome meal to be thrown into the pottage, after which they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a preſent of firſt-fruits, being twenty barley loaves, and ſome new parched corn, *Eliſha* bid his ſervant to ſet it before the company, who were about 100 in number. The ſervant heſitated ſome time, thinking it inſufficient for ſuch a multitude; but upon his telling him, that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his maſter had ſaid, for they all eat their fill, and left ſome of it remaining (90).

(88) *Ibid.* iv. 8. & *ſeq.* † *Ibid. ver.* 1, 2, & *ſeq.* (89) *Ibid. ver.* 38, & *ſeq.* (90) *Ibid.* xlii. *ad fin.*

did even grant her more than she asked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and see, that she had not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded to her [1].

Jehoram's *second expedition against* Ramoth.

BY this time, *Hazael* having murdered *Ben-hadad*, and invaded his throne, according to the word of *Elisha*, *Jehoram*, who was then at peace with the king of *Judah*, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against *Ramoth-gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain. He sent at the same time to *Ahaziah*, who had succeeded his father in *Judah*, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. *Ahaziah*, who was then but twenty two years of age (Q), being the youngest of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah*, and by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint to him; and, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Israel*. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but in the event is proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to *Israel*, by giving *Hazael* an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by *Elisha*. Neither did it prove less fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to *Jezreel* to be cured, leaving *Jehu* at the head of a number of forces to secure the place, whilst the king of *Judah* probably returned to *Jerusalem*. In the mean time, *Elisha* sent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jehu* king of *Israel* privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance against the whole race of *Ahab*, even to the impious *Jezebel*, whose carcass should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent, with all speed, to avoid being

He is wounded there.

Jehu *anointed.*

[1] Kings viii. 5. See USHER. Ann. sub. A. M. 3120.

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but this is allowed to be an error †, unless we will understand those 42 years, not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from *Omri*'s coming to the crown to the reign of *Ahaziah*, as *Tremellius* doth, which amount just to that number (91).

† *See Vol. III. p.* 440. (91) *Vid.* Tremel. *in* 2 *Chron.* xxii. 2.

examined

examined about it. When *Jehu* came out, the officers that were with him asked him what buſineſs that mad fellow had been tranſacting with him (R); and as ſoon as he had acquainted them with the ſecret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Iſrael* by ſound of the trumpet. But *Jehu* did not think it proper to have the conſpiracy known, till he had reached *Jezreel*, and ſurprized the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppoſe him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they ſhould ſuffer none to get out of *Ramoth*, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilſt he rode with all ſpeed at the head of his men to *Jezreel*, which he did immediately after. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the place, the watch, alarmed at the ſight of a troop that drove with ſuch uncommon ſpeed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king ſent two meſſengers ſucceſſively to enquire, whether they came peaceably or not. But *Jehu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he ſent word of it to the king of *Judah*, who was come to viſit him, and theſe two went with their guard againſt *Jehu*, who by that time was known by the centinel by the furiouſneſs of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for

(R) The *Jews* rightly obſerve, that there was ſomething in the looks and geſtures of theſe prophets, which made them paſs for mad-men, among thoſe who did not know them ‡; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilſt the ſpirit was upon him (92). But what might ſtill add to the uncommonneſs of their figure and behaviour, was the oddneſs of their dreſs, their living by themſelves, and ſeldom appearing in places of public reſort, but upon ſome extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under ſome dread whilſt they were about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with ſuch ſpeed, before any one could know it, but the perſon to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that *Jehu*'s company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raiſe him up above the reſt, whilſt they paid homage to him. The place, where this is ſaid to be done, was upon the top of the ſtairs (93), which according to the ſame *Jews*, being out of the houſe, ſerved alſo for a ſun dial, the degrees of the ſhadow being marked againſt the wall (94), to ſhew the hours of the day (95).

‡ *Vol. III. p.* 431. (92) 1 *Sam.* xix. *ult. See Vol. III p.* 498. (93) *Vid.* Munſt. *in* 2 *Reg.* ix. *ſub. not* a. (94) *Ibid. ver.* 13. (95) *Child. paraph.* Kimch. & *al. vid.* & Munſt. *ub. ſup.*

which

which *Naboth* had loſt his life; and here *Jehoram* asked him, whether he came peaceably: but *Jehu* ſoon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother *Jezebel*'s, murders and idolatries, and by putting himſelf in an hoſtile poſture againſt him. The frighted monarch cried out in vain to *Abaziah*, that they were betrayed; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, *Jehu* pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to caſt his body into *Naboth*'s field, there to be devoured according to the word of *Elijah*. At the ſame time the king of *Judah*, frighted at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid ſharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-houſe; but *Jehu* commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the aſcent of *Gur*, they gave him ſo many deſperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of *Megiddo*, and was carried to *Jeruſalem*, and buried with his anceſtors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one ſon, a child, who afterwards ſucceeded him, when he was yet but ſeven years of age.

The kings of Iſrael *and* Judah *killed by him.*

WHILST *Jehu*'s men went in purſuit of *Abaziah*, *Jehu* himſelf marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezreel*, where *Jezebel* the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her ſon's fate, was waiting to give him ſuch an haughty welcome, as did not well ſuit with her preſent circumſtances; but ſhe hoped, perhaps, that he would ſhew ſome regard, if not to her quality, yet at leaſt to her ſex; perhaps alſo ſhe did think, that ſhe had ſtill charms enough, in ſpite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, eſpecially after ſhe had improved them by art, and with the richeſt ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jehu* entered the palace; and, in a haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predeceſſor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jehu* ſtayed not to give her an anſwer, but obſerving ſome eunuchs ſtanding on each ſide, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did; and in the fall ſome of her blood was daſhed againſt the wall, and her body ſoon after trampled to death, by the horſes that were in his retinue. As ſoon as he and his company had refreſhed themſelves in the palace, he gave orders to ſome of *Jezebel*'s ſervants to go and bury her corpſe, ſeeing ſhe was of the royal blood; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet, he made uſe

Jezebel *killed.*

of

of that circumſtance, to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah*'s prophecy [m].

BUT that prophet's ſentence did not ſtop at theſe three impious perſons, the whole race of *Ahab* was included in it, and he had left ſeventy ſons who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jehu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried, whether the chief magiſtrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the poſterity of their late king. To this end, he ſent letters to them, ſeemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the braveſt of *Ahab*'s ſons, and to ſet him upon the throne. But they, who did rightly gueſs at the meaning of ſuch a meſſage, and were but too much intimidated by his late ſucceſs againſt the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, choſe rather to ſacrifice that unhappy race to *Jehu*'s known valour, than to run the riſk of turning it againſt themſelves. They therefore ſent a deputation to him, to acquaint him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as ſoon as they ſhould receive them; whereupon, he ſent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody preſent of ſeventy heads was ſent to *Jezreel* on that very night; and *Jehu* ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and, on the next morning, the elders of that city came, and preſented themſelves before him there. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he ſpake to them to this effect: "You do, in all probability, "look upon me as the ſole author of all this bloodſhed, as "the murderer of your late king, and the uſurper of his "throne; but if I conſpired againſt *Jehoram*, did not you "murder all theſe young princes, in whoſe defence you might "have ſtood, if you had thought fit. Know you therefore, "that neither you, nor I, have done more than executed the "ſentence, which had been pronounced againſt *Ahab*'s po-"ſterity. But I have not yet finiſhed my task, as long as "there remain any of his kinſmen, counſellors, prieſts, or "any of the abettors of his crimes." This was his next work, and he did not leave *Jezreel*, till he had put them all to death.

70 *ſons of* Ahab *killed.*

Jehu took then the road to *Samaria*, and in his way he met forty two princes of the houſe of *Judah* (S), who were going

[m] 2 Kings ix. paſſ.

(S) The text calls them the brethren of *Ahaziah*, (96), but we have often obſerved, that it means alſo brother's children; and

(96) 2 *Kings* x. 13.

theſe

going down to pay a viſit to thoſe of the houſe of *Ahab*, all whom he alſo cauſed to be ſlain upon the ſpot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the ſon of *Rechab* (T), and took him up

theſe are called ſo accordingly, by the author of the *Chronicles* (97). The place where they are ſlain is called in the original בור בית עקד *Bor Beth-beked*, or, *the pit of the houſe for binding or ſhearing*, which was either a place of ſheep-ſhearing, or as ſome fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely neither from the text, that they, having heard of the ſlaughter that had been made in *Samaria*, and that *Jehu* was going thither in perſon, might hide themſelves, either in that pit, or in ſome of the ſhepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The *Rechabites*, ſo famous in ſcripture for the auſtere ſingularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the world, by a peculiar abſtinence from wine, from dwelling in houſes, from poſſeſſing either houſes, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this inſtitution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of *Rechab* in the רכב *Rekeb*, or *chariot* of *Elijah*, and that of the *Phariſees*, his ſuppoſed diſciples, in the פרשים *Phraſhim*, or *horſes* of it (1). So that, according to him the words of *Eliſha* ſhould not be rendered as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Iſrael, and the horſes thereof*; but, *My father Rechab*, &c. or at leaſt the former called themſelves *Rechabites* from the *Rechab*, *chariot*, and the latter from the *Phraſhim*, or *horſes* of it. Purſuant to this, our author obſerves, that when *Joaſh*, king of *Iſrael*, came to viſit *Eliſha* as he lay on his death-bed, he addreſſed him likewiſe in the ſame words, *My father the chariot of Iſrael*, and ſo on (2). He even ventures to prove that inſtitution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but ſuppoſe, that *Enoch*, was tranſlated in the ſame kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*, and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jehu* ſhewed ſuch regard, was only a perſon of the ſame name with the founder of that *Rechabitiſh* life, and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of ſuch

(97) 2 *Chron.* xxii. 8. (98) *Vid.* Tremel. *in* 2 *Kings.* x. 12. (99) *Jer.* xxxv. 6. 7. (100) J. Bolduc. *Eccleſ. ante Leg. l.* 3. *c.* 16. (1) 2 *Kings* ii. 12. (2) *Ibid.* xiii. 14. (3) *Gen* v. 24. (4) Scalig. *Elench Tribæreſ. vid.* Goodwin *Moſ. & Aar. lib.* i. *c.* 9. § 13. *& ſeq.*

up into his chariot to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witneſs of his zeal againſt the impious worſhippers of *Baal*.

As

an unpolite inſtitution. What he offers to prove the one, and diſprove the other, of theſe points, having more of oratorial confidence than ſolid reaſoning, we ſhall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that thoſe *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiah* ſpeaks of, expreſs themſelves in ſuch terms, as argue nothing leſs than the recentneſs of their inſtitution (5).

Between the extremes of thoſe two above mentioned authors, are thoſe who believe, that *Hobab* the ſon of *Jethro*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere, as he was a *Kenite* †, was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his name, and *Jehonadab* one of his deſcendants; and, laſtly, the *Heber* the *Kenite* was alſo an obſerver of the *Rechabitiſh* inſtitution (6). *Serrarius* is of the ſame opinion in moſt of theſe points, but diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of *Rechabites*, the one inſtituted by *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, and the other by *Jehonadab* (7); but all this is ſaid without foundation. We ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe who pretend, that they were, either of the tribe of *Judah* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9), or that they were *Rechabites*, or deſcendants of *Jethro*, by the father's ſide, and *Levites* by the mother's, and, as ſuch, that they were employed in much the ſame offices of the temple with the *Nethinims* (10). It is plain the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, deſcended from *Kemarh*, the father of the houſe of *Rechab* (11), though it doth not appear, that all the *Kenites* obſerved the inſtitution of *Jehonadab*, but only thoſe who were his immediate deſcendants.

For theſe reaſons, we rather chooſe the moſt received opinion, that *Jehonadab*, *Jehu*'s friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the ſcripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. *Jehu*'s behaviour to him, and his inviting him to be an eye-witneſs of his zeal for the God of *Iſrael*, and of the havock he was going to make among the worſhippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent perſon, not only for ſenſe and virtue, but alſo for his uncommon piety and zeal; and as ſuch he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the obſervance of it to his poſterity, perhaps through ſome diſguſt which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Iſraelites*, which made it needful to ſeparate from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for

(5) *Jerem. ub. ſup. ver.* 8. & *ſeq.* † *Vid. Vol. II. p.* 116, & *ſeq.* (6) *Vid. int. al* Arr. Montan. *in judic.* i. Sanctiu. *in Jerem.* xxxv. Minerval. *cap.* 13. & *ſeq.* (7) Serrar. *l.* iii. *c.* 9. (8) Theodoret *in* 1. *paralip.* (9) Hegeſip. *ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *Vid.* Calmet. *ſub. voc. Rechabit.* (10) *Rabbin aliq. ap.* Sanctium & Cornel. *in Jerem.* xxxv. (11) 1 *Chron.* ii. 55.

As ſoon as he was come to that capital, he cauſed a ſolemn feaſt to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that

not being ſo. The *Kenites* not being of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, many broils and diſputes might have ariſen between them about the poſſeſſion of lands, which might make him diſclaim even the uſe and culture of them. The almoſt continual depredations to which *Iſrael* was expoſed from their enemies round about, to ſay nothing of famine and peſtilence, made the paſtoral life ſeem to him much more eligible, becauſe in ſuch caſes it was more eaſy to remove into better or ſafer abodes, in imitation of the antient patriarchs. Wine was of too enſnaring a nature, and might in time have tempted his deſcendants into a looſer and more luxurious life; for which reaſon, he thought it neceſſary to forbid the uſe of it. Laſtly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he ſeems chiefly to endear it to his deſcendants by the proſpect of health, eaſe, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in *Judah* as in *Iſrael* for a conſiderable time, to ſay nothing of the frequent conſpiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of thoſe kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force, a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not ſay.

The queſtion will only be, how he could bind his poſterity to the obſervance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon other occaſions, concerning the power of parents in caſes of the like nature *, becauſe we do not find that *Jehonadab* did lay them under any curſe, in caſe of diſobedience; on the contrary, we find, that the prophet *Jeremy* was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to ſet wine before them, and invite them to drink it, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indiſpenſible obligation of abſtaining from it; and, on the other hand, the *Rechabites* refuſed it, not becauſe their father had laid them under any curſe if they diſobeyed him, but becauſe he promiſed, that they *ſhould live many days in the land wherein they were ſtrangers*, if they obeyed his voice (13); which promiſe, being alſo made to thoſe who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that ſtrict obedience, for which they are ſo highly commended by God, in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into *Jeruſalem* during the time of the ſiege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being ſo much as blamed for it by *Jeremiah*, is a proof, that they were not under an indiſpenſible obligation to live in tents and in the country. Though even here, we think, it had been much better for them to have removed farther out of

(12) *Jerem. ub. ſup. ver.* 7. *vid.* Peter. Martyr. Alting. R. D. Kimchi. *& al. in loc.* * *See Vol. III. p.* 229, *& ſeq.* (13) *Vid. Jerem. ubi ſup.* (14) *Exod. xx.* 12, *& alib.*

Nebuchadnezzar's

that deity, than any of his predeceſſors; and ordered all its prieſts, prophets, and votaries, to be preſent at it, none excepted, under pain of death; and as ſoon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the ſword, in the middle of their worſhip. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and cauſed that building to

Baal's *prieſts and temple deſtroyed.*

Nebuchadnezzar's way, inſtead of ſheltering themſelves in the city; where they not only ſuffered all the common calamities of a long ſiege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judah*; for we find ſome of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who ſettled themſelves at *Jabeſh*, or *Jabez* (15); and the *ſeptuagint* and *vulgate* have theſe words in the title of the 70th which is our 71ſt pſalm, *A Pſalm of* David *to the ſons of* Jonadab *and the firſt captives*; but as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we ſhall lay no farther ſtreſs upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to obſerve their father's injunction, and whether the *Phariſees*, *Aſſidees*, and *Eſſenians*, were their followers, is foreign to our preſent purpoſe, and may perhaps be inquired into, when we reſume the *Jewiſh* hiſtory after the captivity. It is true, the *Rechabites* had a promiſe from God, as a reward of their obedience, in theſe words, Jehonadab, *the ſon of* Rechab, *ſhall not want a man to ſtand before me for ever* (16); but this phraſe is far from implying, that they were either prieſts or *Levites*, and as ſuch ſhould continually miniſter at the altar, as ſome have fancied (17); or, that they ſhould have a ſeat in the great ſanhedrin (18), which we have proved elſewhere, was not yet in being †. The reader will ſee ſome better expoſitions of the words in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which it is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our *Jehonadab* was the founder of this inſtitution, his deſcendants did ſtrictly obſerve it during the ſpace of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards; for ſo long it was between *Jehu* and the *Babyloniſh* captivity. A *Jewiſh* traveller of the 12th century (20) doth, indeed, tell us, that they are ſtill in being, and ſtrict obſervers of their old inſtitution. He gives us alſo a fine deſcription of their country, princes, government, and other particulars; but that author is ſo well known to deal in fables, and the account itſelf is ſo fully confuted by the learned *Conſtantine L'empereur*, that we ſhall leave it to his *Jewiſh* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(15) 1 *Chron. ii. ult.* (16) *Jerem. ub. ſup. ver. ult.* (17) Theodor. & *al. ſub citat.* (18) *Vid.* Kimch. *in loc.* † *Vid. ſup. p.* 4. *not.* (H). (19) *Vid.* Scalig. *Tribæres. c. xxiv.* Alting. Goodwin. *ubi ſup.* & *al.* (20) Ben. *de* Tudel. *Itinerar. p.* 75. & *ſeq.*

be demoliſhed, and turned into a common jakes. But this metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*, for the infection had ſpread itſelf throughout the kingdom; wherefore he did not ſtop his hand, till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with ſuch zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleaſed with it, ſent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Iſrael* ſhould remain in his poſterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promiſe had encouraged him to have extirpated likewiſe the worſhip of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam*'s politics as long as he lived; for which reaſon, God began to cut *Iſrael* ſhort, even from the beginning of his reign; ſo that *Hazael* greatly prevailed againſt them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other ſide of *Jordan*, beſides ſome other frontier places on this ſide, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the ſword in the moſt inhuman manner (V), as we have ſeen in the *Syrian* hiſtory †. *Jehu* died in the 28th year of his reign, and was buried in *Samaria*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoahaz* [n],

Athaliah's *impious reign,*

WHILST *Jehu* was aboliſhing the worſhip of *Baal* in *Iſrael*, the impious *Athaliah* was uſing her utmoſt efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her ſon *Ahaziah*, and of forty two princes of his houſe, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a perſon newly raiſed to the throne of *Iſrael* by divine command, filled her with ſuch an abhorrence both for the race and the God of *David*, that ſhe reſolved not to ſheath her ſword, till ſhe had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promiſes of the other. But whilſt ſhe was wreaking her utmoſt fury againſt the ſad

† See Vol. II. p. 86. [n] 2 Kings x.

(V) It is not eaſy to gueſs at what period of *Jehu*'s reign this cruel war happened; *Uſher* doth make no mention of it till the time of his ſon (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* hiſtory (22), which is according to the chronology of our bibles; for though God had promiſed, that the crown of *Iſrael* ſhould continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal againſt *Baal*, yet he did not promiſe him a quiet reign, and his continuing in *Jeroboam*'s idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had aboliſhed that alſo out of his kingdom.

(21) *Ann. ſub. A. M.* 3148. (22) *See Vol. II. p* 86.

remains

remains of the houſe of *Judah*, providence conducted thither *and ſlaugh-*
Jehoſheba, the daughter of the late king *Jehoram*, who was *ter of* Da-
then married to the high-prieſt *Jehoiada* ° ; and that pious vid's *race.*
princeſs found means to ſave young *Joaſh*, her brother *Aha-*
ziah's ſon, who was then but a year old, from *Athaliah*'s Joaſh *is*
ſword, and to convey him and his nurſe out of the palace, *preſerved.*
unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Jehoiada*'s care, and kept there with the utmoſt privacy till he was ſeven years old. During thoſe ſix years, *Athaliah* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jeruſalem* with blood, and deſtroying the ſervants of the true God, that ſhe might the more effectually eſtabliſh the worſhip of *Baal* thro' the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were grown to ſuch a height, that *Jehoiada* ſaw himſelf forced to put a ſtop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s race, at once to convince the people, that God was ſtill mindful of his promiſe to that holy monarch, by preſerving him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin ; and to inſpire his deſponding ſubjects, with a brave deſire of ſhaking off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyranneſs. To this end, he privately called ſome of the chiefs and elders of *Judah*, upon whoſe valour and fidelity he could depend, and having bound them under the ſtricteſt oaths of ſecrecy, he ſhewed them the young monarch ; told them by what means he had been ſaved ; and exhorted them to ſtand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion and liberty. The deſponding chiefs, who thought that the cruel *Athaliah* had wholly extirpated *David*'s race, and had loſt all farther hopes in the promiſes made to his poſterity, received the news of their preſerved king with a ſurpriſing joy ; and, to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fidelity to him, promiſing the high-prieſt at the ſame time, that they would go out of hand, and raiſe what forces they could, whilſt he ſtrengthened himſelf in the temple, by retaining and arming all the prieſts, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*, who ſhould otherwiſe have gone out in their courſes, to make way for thoſe who came thither to vacate at the divine ſervice. All this was done with ſuch ſecrecy and diſpatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, unto whom *Jehoiada* appointed their ſeveral poſts ; by which time, the generals without had raiſed a ſufficient number of men, ready to ſecond them upon the firſt ſignal. When the day appointed was

° Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

come,

come, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the prieſts porch, attended with a numerous train of armed *Levites*; and there the high-prieſt anointed, and
and crowned. crowned him, and adminiſtred the uſual oath to him upon the ſacred volumes. He was immediately after ſeated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that ſacred place ring with, *Long live king* Joaſh.

Year of the Flood, 2121. Year before Chriſt 878.

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noiſe brought to the temple, was the frighted queen, but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not ſay. She ventured directly into the prieſts porch, from which her ſex and idolatry excluded her; and as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the young king ſeated on his throne, attended with ſuch numbers of armed men, ſhe rent her cloaths, and, in a deſperate fury, ruſhed in amongſt them, crying out treaſon; but *Jehoiada*, fearing leſt his zealous *Levites* ſhould pollute that ſacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was ſoon after conducted from
Athaliah *is ſlain.* the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-prieſt, who by this time was in the higheſt eſteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worſhip of *Baal*; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce *Baal* and all other falſe deities, and to adhere ſtrictly to the Lord. This was alſo immediately performed with uncommon readineſs and zeal; and as a mark of their ſincerity, they began with the temple of *Baal*, where having ſacrificed *Mathan*, the infamous prieſt of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabric to the ground; nor did they ſtop their hand, till they had likewiſe deſtroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worſhip, which *Athaliah* and her predeceſſors had reared up, both in *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*. On the other hand, *Jehoiada*, who, by reaſon of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming thoſe, who had ſhewed the greateſt bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the higheſt poſts in the government, inſtead of thoſe of the late uſurper; and by reſtoring that regularity in the divine ſervice, which had been interrupted during the reigns of ſo many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an expreſs prohibition to all ſtrangers, and idolatrous apoſtates, to enter into the temple of God, and by ſetting

ting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean perſons, of what kind ſoever, entering into it [p]. This gives us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it had been expoſed to ſuch ſecluded perſons, during the laſt reigns.

THUS did the divine providence preſerve the race of *David* from the brink of deſtruction, and *Joaſh*, who was proclaimed king in the 7th year of his age, and of *Jehu*'s reign, continued to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worſhip of God, during the good high-prieſt's life. One of his firſt cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered the prieſts and *Levites* to take their yearly circuits through all the cities of *Judah*, and to raiſe voluntary contributions among the people, beſides the pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finiſhing thoſe repairs. But the prieſts, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with ſuch ſhameful ſlowneſs, that he was forced to ſend for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for their miſapplying of the ſacred money; and to diſcharge them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and from receiving any further ſums towards it. The whole care of the work was committed to the high-prieſt, and other proper officers; and, to prevent all further delays and miſapplication, a capacious cheſt was ordered to be ſet up in ſome public place in the temple, where the money was depoſited, till it amounted to a ſum ſufficient to ſet about the work; which it very ſhortly did, through the generoſity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of *Judah*, who poured in their preſents with uncommon readineſs and munificence. This money was immediately diſtributed among faithful workmen, who carried on the work with ſo much uprightneſs

Joaſh's *piety and zeal.*

[p] 2 Kings x. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxiii. paſſ.

(W) The poll-money is ſuppoſed to have been the half ſhekel, which every ſoul was obliged to pay, firſt to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the deſtruction of it. As for the redemption money, it was ſuch as was to be paid to the prieſts, either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beaſt for another, and ſuch like; of which we have ſpoken at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the prieſts income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unleſs it were by way of repriſal for the former, namely, pole money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair, and which, it ſeems, they ſunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin.

and diligence, that, without being called to any account for the ſums they received from time to time, they finiſhed it to the ſatisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the cheſt, was by *Jehoiada*'s direction employed in making gold and ſilver veſſels for the uſe of the temple, ſuch as cenſers, trumpets, ſpoons, forks, and the like (X), inſtead of thoſe which *Athaliah* had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal* [q]. But *Joaſh*'s zeal did not long ſurvive *Jehoiada*'s life. That good old prieſt died in the 130th year of his age, and for his faithful counſel, as well as ſignal ſervices to the king and nation, was buried in the royal ſepulchre of *Jeruſalem*, and with him ſeemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the baſe princes (Y) of *Judah*, tired with diſſembling a zeal for God, which that pontif's authority had only forced from them, came and proſtrated themſelves before the king, deſiring that they might have leave to return to the old way of worſhip, which they had been uſed to in former reigns; which the eaſy king, pleaſed perhaps with their uncommon ſubmiſſion, having too readily granted, they immediately forſook the temple and worſhip of God, and ſet up new altars to thoſe filthy idols which they had formerly been uſed to worſhip in their groves, with the moſt abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after ſo ſignal a deliverance, was not however puniſhed, till they had been often forewarned, by ſeveral prophets, of the miſchiefs which it would bring

Joaſh *and his chiefs forſake God*

[q] Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 13, 14.

(X) There ſeems to be a contradiction between the book of *Kings*, and that of the *Chronicles*; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making veſſels for the temple (23), and the latter affirms the contrary (24); but the matter is eaſily reconciled, by ſuppoſing, that the firſt means only, that none of that money was uſed to thoſe purpoſes, till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raiſed, were fully finiſhed.

(Y) The author of the book of *Chronicles* calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for thoſe had been all deſtroyed by *Athaliah*, ſo that there were none alive then but *Joaſh*'s children; but here is meant only the chiefs of the families of that tribe, which, as well as thoſe of the other tribes, are often dignified with that title (26).

(23) 2 *Kings* xii. 13. (24) 2 *Chron* xxiv. 7, 14. (25) *Ibid.* ver 17. (26) *Vid int. al. Num.* vii. 2, & *ſeq.* xxv. 14. & *alib paſſ.*

upon

upon them. But when they proved deaf to all thoſe divine admonitions, God ſtirred up the *Syrian* king againſt them, who began to pour ſome ſmall number of troops into the land, and to commit ſevere outrages in *Judah*; whilſt the cowardly *Jews*, though much ſuperior in number, were delivered into their hands, as a puniſhment for their idolatry [r]. Among thoſe prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to aſſure them, that theſe would prove only the preludes of worſe miſchiefs, was the high-prieſt *Zechariah*, the worthy ſon and ſucceſſor of the late *Jehoiada*; but his zeal coſt him his life. The impious king cauſed him to be ſtoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard either to the ſacredneſs of the place, or of his character, as a prophet and high-prieſt, or to the great ſervices of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, *Zechariah*, being full of the ſpirit of God, foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would ſpeedily puniſh the murder upon the king and them, both which happened ſoon after accordingly: for *Hazael*, fluſhed with the ſucceſs he had had againſt *Judah*, and with the vaſt quantity of ſpoil which he had ſent from thence to *Damaſcus*, came up againſt *Jeruſalem*, and made a terrible ſlaughter among thoſe *Jewiſh* princes, who had been the firſt authors of that defection. The king himſelf found no other way to eſcape, either ſharing of their fate, or a ſhameful ſlavery, but by ſtripping the temple and his own palace of all their treaſure, and giving it as a ranſom to the *Syrian* conqueror, who thereupon left *Jeruſalem*, and returned to *Damaſcus* [s]. *Joaſh*, however, did not eſcape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under ſome grievous diſeaſe, his own ſervants conſpired againſt him, and murdered him in his bed, in the 40th year of his reign, and crowned his ſon *Amaſiah* in his ſtead. *Joaſh* was by this time in ſuch abhorrence for the murder of the high-prieſt, that it proved not only the occaſion of his own, but alſo of his being deprived of the royal ſepulchre; for though he was buried in the city of *David*, yet the text ſays, that they did not depoſit his body in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, but in ſome place apart [t].

Zechariah is ſlain.

The king of Syria invades Judah.

Joaſh is murdered.

Amaſiah ſucceeded him, in the twenty fifth year of his age, by which time *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, having reigned 17 years in *Iſrael*, had left the kingdom to his ſon *Joaſh*. During this time, nothing conſiderable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had alſo expoſed

Joaſh *ſucceeded by* Amaſiah. Year of the Flood, 2160. Before Chriſt, 839.

[r] Ibid. ver. 24. [s] Comp. 2 Kings xii. paſſ & 2 Chron. xxiv. paſſ. See alſo Vol. II. p. 287. [t] 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

them to the cruel oppreſſions of the king of *Syria*, till *Jehoahaz*'s repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance [u]; for the fuller account of which, we ſhall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his ſon's reign, we ſhall ſee in its proper place; in the mean time, the young king of *Judah* had no ſooner ſettled himſelf upon his throne, than he cauſed the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here obſerved, that he ſpared their children, according to the law of *Moſes*, which forbids them to be puniſhed for their father's crimes [w]; from which one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all his predeceſſors were not equally ſtrict obſervers of it. The truth is, that *Amaſiah* had ſeen ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted upon *Joaſh* his father and his apoſtate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too ſoon, and, like *Joaſh*, having began his reign piouſly and ſucceſsfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His ſignal ſucceſs againſt the *Edomites*, of which an account has been formerly given *, promiſed to him by God himſelf, did but too much ſwell the heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Iſrael*, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God, to diſmiſs thoſe auxiliaries, aſſuring him, that ſuch idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obſtacle to his ſucceſs, if he perſiſted in making uſe of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only ſolicitous how to get back the 100 talents of ſilver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he diſmiſſed the *Iſraelitiſh* troops, not without great reſentment and heart-burning on their ſide, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendſhip between thoſe two monarchs, and proved the ſource of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amaſiah* if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became ſo ſtupidly fond of the idols which he had taken from them, that, as if all his ſucceſs had been owing to them, he cauſed them to be ſet up in *Judah* at his return, and went ſo far as to burn incenſe himſelf before them. He was ſe-

Amaſiah's ſucceſs,

and idolatry.

[u] 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6. † See Vol. II. p. 288. under not. B. [w] Deut. xxiv. 16. * See Vol. II. p. 145, &c.

verely

verely rebuked for this by a prophet, who aſked him, among other things, what aſſiſtance he could hope for from thoſe falſe deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themſelves, from his hands? But the king, who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, aſked him, who made him his counſellor, and, in a threatning tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to puniſh his inſolence. After ſuch monſtrous inſtances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder, if he was abandoned by God to ruſh into his own ruin.

Amaſiah had indeed cauſe to reſent the ravages which the diſbanded *Iſraelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition againſt *Edom*, and had he been leſs proud of his ſucceſs, he might have taken more proper meaſures for doing himſelf juſtice for them; but he ſeems to have been above all theſe conſiderations, and the inſolent challenge which he ſent to *Joaſh*, the then king of *Iſrael*, and grandſon of *Jehu*, *Come and let us ſee one another in the face*, doth plainly ſhow, that he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him. On the other hand, *Joaſh* had no leſs reaſon to truſt to his own; *Joaſh*, ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown, had been paying a mournful viſit to the prophet *Eliſha*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to repreſent to that holy perſon, the melancholy ſtate in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already ſuffered the greateſt calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two laſt reigns; and the prophet, touched with a ſenſe of it, had propheſied to him, that he ſhould gain three ſucceeding victories over that domineering nation [x]. *Joaſh* therefore, who had by this time given ſuch ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, by thoſe three victories, which he had gained over the *Syrians*, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predeceſſors (Z), could not

Is defeated by the king of Iſrael.

[x] 2 Kings xiii. 14, & ſeq. See alſo Vol. II. p. 288.

(Z) It is not eaſy to determine the time when *Joaſh* won theſe three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from *Amaſiah*, when he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the *Syrians* ſoon after the beginning of it (28). Archbiſhop *Uſher* places it in the ſixth and ſubſequent years of his reign, when having, as

(27) *Vid* Uſſer. *Ann. ſub. A. M.* 3178. (28) *Vid.* 2 Kings xiii. 22, & *ſeq.*

not forbear expreſſing the utmoſt indignation at the receipt of this arrogant chartel. The anſwer he returned was couched in

he ſuppoſes, taken his ſon, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into conſortſhip with him, he left the kingdom under his care, whilſt he went out againſt the armies of *Syria* (29).

The manner, in which the good old prophet did foreſhow theſe ſignal victories, is too remarkable to be paſt by. The king having expreſt his ſenſe for the loſs of ſo great a protector, in the moſt pathetic terms, *Eliſha* bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himſelf in a poſture of ſhooting out of his window eaſtward towards *Syria*; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's and bid him ſhoot, and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from* Syria; and then told the king, that he would beat the *Syrians* in *Aphek*, till he had quite conſumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to ſmite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done ſo three times, the prophet was diſpleaſed at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have ſtruck the ground five or ſix times, it would have been a certain ſign of his totally defeating of his *Syrian* enemy; but ſince he had ſtayed his hand at the third ſtroke, he ſhould gain but three battles againſt him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and *Syria*, after having been kept under, during *Joaſh* and *Jeroboam*'s reign, began to recover itſelf again, after the death of the latter, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

As for *Eliſha*, he died ſoon after; and, before the year was out, ſome *Iſraelites*, going to bury a corps in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of *Moabites* coming towards them, for fear of whom, they caſt the dead body into *Eliſha*'s tomb and fled; but as ſoon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived and ran after them. What uſe a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relicks of their ſaints, is foreign to our ſubject: we have *Eliſha*'s panegyric in few words in the book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, "*Eliſheus*, ſays that "author, was filled with the ſpirit of *Elijah*; whilſt he lived, "he was not over-awed by any prince, neither could any bring "him into ſubjection, no word could overcome him; and after "his death he propheſied, &c (31)". The *Jews* add, that the man thus miraculouſly raiſed was called *Sallum*, and that he begat ſons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man, and, as ſuch, unfit to lie near the ſacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwiſe (32), neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is moſt in the right.

(29) *Ubi ſup. ſub A. M.* 3168. (30) 2 Kings xiii. 14. & *ſeq.* † *See Vol. II. p.* 288. (31) Eccleſ. xlviii. 12. & *ſeq.* (32) *Vid.* Munſt *in* 2 *Reg.* 13. *ſub not* f.

Some

in the moſt ſcornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a deſpicable thiſtle, which, having aſpired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been cruſhed under the feet of a wild beaſt: he concluded with adviſing him to reſt contented with his late petty victories, and not ſuffer his ambition to drive him into a deſperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loſs of his kingdom. But *Amaſiah*, who was not to be humbled by words, was only the more exaſperated at this anſwer, and haſted to go out againſt his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Bethſhemeſh*, where *Judah* was totally routed. *Joſephus* adds, that they were ſeized with ſuch a pannic, at the very firſt onſet, that they turned their backs without ſtriking one ſtroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror [y]. *Amaſiah* was actually taken priſoner, and *Joaſh* marched on with him and his own army to *Jeruſalem*, where he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and ſilver which were found either in the temple or in his own treaſury; after which, having demoliſhed about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken ſome hoſtages with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jeroboam*, the ſecond of that name, after he had reigned 16 years. As for *Amaſiah*, though he outlived his diſgrace above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when, having diſcovered a conſpiracy that was formed againſt him at *Jeruſalem*, he was forced to flee to *Lachiſh*, where, notwithſtanding his precaution, he was purſued and murdered by the conſpirators. He was carried back upon horſes to *Jeruſalem*, and buried with his anceſtors; and his ſon *Azariah* proclaimed in his ſtead [z].

Amaſiah taken priſoner.

IN the mean time, whilſt *Amaſiah* ſpent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive ſecurity in *Jeruſalem*; *Jeroboam* II *king of* Iſrael.

[y] Ant. l. ix. c. 10. [z] 2 Kings xiv. paſſ. ad ver. 21. 2 Chron. xxv.

Some authors however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out theſe words, with ſuch a loud voice, that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jeruſalem*; *This is he that is to deſtroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33)

(33) *Vid.* Dorotheus Epiphan. & Iſidor. *de vitâ prophet.* & *Chron. paſchal ap.* Calm. *ſub voc* Eliſee.

am II.

am II. the brave great-grandſon of *Jehu*, ſeemed ordained by providence to reſtore the kingdom of *Iſrael* to its priſtine ſplendor and greatneſs. His reign, which laſted 41 years, beſides thoſe 10 which he had ſpent in copartnerſhip with his father, gave him time more than ſufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah*, the ſon of *Amittai* (A), and *Hoſea*, the ſon of *Beeri*, who were cotemporaries with him, and foretold, that he ſhould compleat the deliverance of *Iſrael*, which his father had began, notwithſtanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predeceſſors. Accordingly, he took the *Syrian* capital, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah* [a], and all the country on the other ſide of *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the ſea of the plain, or the dead ſea [b]. The particulars of all theſe glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Iſrael*, long ſince loſt. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was buried with his anceſtors in *Samaria*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Zachariah* [c]. *Jeroboam*'s reign was indeed a glorious one, with reſpect to his conqueſts, but it ſtands branded for various idolatries, and for the injuſtice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time; inſomuch, that the prophets *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the diſorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Iſrael* (B), and were ſent to foretel the ſad and

[a] See 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Numb. xiii. 21.
[b] 2 Kings xiv. 25, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the ſame *Jonah*, or *Jonas*, as he is called in the goſpel (34), who was afterwards ſent to preach repentance to the *Ninevites* (35). *Uſher* juſtly obſerves, that he was a native of *Gathepher* (36), a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* (37) in *Galilee*, of the *Gentiles* (38), againſt that falſe affirmation of the *Jews*; That out of *Galilee* there never aroſe a prophet (39). It is uncertain, whether thoſe glorious ſucceſſes, which he foretold to the king of *Iſrael*, were committed to writing, and ſince loſt, or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being ſent to preach repentance at *Nineveh*, the metropolis of *Aſſyria*, and is therefore foreign to our preſent ſubject.

(B) The former of theſe prophets ſeems to accuſe the *Iſraelites* (40) of the ſame enormities, as had been formerly committed in

(34) *Matt.* xii. 41. (35) *Jona.* iii. *paſſ.* (36) 2 *Kings* xiv. 25. (37) *Joſh.* xix. 13. (38) *Iſai.* ix. 1. (39) *John* vii. 52. *Vid* Uſſer. *Ann. ſub an. M.* 3197. (40) *Hoſ.* x. 9.

Gibeah,

and total ruin, which their ſins would ſhortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was ſent from *Judah*, where he was a common ſhepherd, to denounce the moſt ſevere judgments againſt *Iſrael*, even to the total diſperſion of it; *Gibeah*, where the *Levite*'s concubine had been abuſed to death (41). He ſpeaks of their having multiplied their idols to a ſhameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practiſes, he denounces a total ruin and deſolation to the king and people; which he alſo lived to ſee accompliſhed in the ſixth year of *Hezekiah*, when *Iſrael* was carried away captive (42).

Hoſea's prophecy begins with the command, which he received from God, to go and marry a common proſtitute, and to adopt her ſpurious brood (43); a command, which has given ſo much offence to the pious, and has adminiſtred ſuch occaſion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to ſet the matter in a true light, for the benefit of thoſe, who have not leiſure, or opportunity, to conſult the beſt commentators upon it. And here we may ſafely reject the ſolution of thoſe ſubtile doctors, who pretend, that God may diſpenſe with the laws of purity; or of thoſe, who look upon this marriage to have been tranſacted only in a viſion, or that it is only a parable; ſuch evaſions do often leave a greater difficulty, than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious, than that the ſcriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had; thus the blind and deaf are ſaid to ſee and hear, the dead to live, ſinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not thoſe certainly who continued ſuch, but thoſe who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the prieſts, elders, and outwardly ſanctified *Phariſees* (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman, whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common proſtitute before ſhe became his wife? The prieſts indeed were forbid to marry ſuch women, but none elſe; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in ſuch marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the propereſt emblem of God's merciful dealings with the *Iſraelites*, whom he eſpouſed and adopted, notwithſtanding all their former wickedneſs, and from whom he might juſtly challenge the ſuitable returns of obedience, faithfulneſs, and gratitude; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection; ſuch as a woman in *Gomer*'s caſe would deſerve, if ſhe ſhould relapſe into her former vices, after ſhe had been ſo kindly reclaimed from them (46).

(41) *Judg.* xix. 14, & *ſeq.* (42) *Conf. Hoſ.* i. 1. & 2 *Reg.* xviii. 10. (43) *Hoſ. ibid. paſſ.* (44) *Mat.* xxi. 31, & *alib.* (45) *Vid. de* Lyra. Riber. Piſcat. & *al. in loc.* (46) *Vid.* Pfeifer. *Dubia. S. Script.* Le Scene, *Eſſay on a new ver. p.* 1. *ch.* 10.

We

it ; which he did under the types of graſhoppers, which deſtroyed all the fruit of the land ; of a devouring fire; and laſtly, of a plummet-line and a tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of *Iſrael* under its ruins [d]. For theſe prophecies he was accuſed to the king, by *Amaziah*, one of the idolatrous prieſts of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah* and propheſy there; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment againſt the meſſenger *Amaziah*, that his wife ſhould become an open proſtitute in the city, that his ſons and daughters ſhould fall by the ſword, and himſelf die in a polluted land [e], namely, that of *Aſſyria* ; whither the ten tribes were ſoon after carred away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zachariah

[d] Amos vii. paſſ. [e] Ibid. ver. ult.

We may add, that *Hoſea*, or, as the original calls him, הושע *Hoſheagh*, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Chriſt, who, we know, came to eſpouſe to himſelf a church, conſiſting, not of righteous, or of thoſe that thought themſelves ſuch, but of repenting ſinners, of all kinds and nations, and to reclaim them from their ſins by his precepts and example, as well as by his grace and holy ſpirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal ſalvation of *Judah*, and ruin of *Iſrael*, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the caſe, if we conſider the names, character, and other circumſtances. relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman; particularly their changing of their names from *Lo-Ammi, thou art not my people*, into *Ammi, thou art my people* ; and from *Lo-Ruhamah, ſhe ſhaall have no mercy*, to *Ruhamah, ſhe ſhall obtain mercy* ; as alſo, their becoming as numerous as the ſands of the ſea ; all which ſeem chiefly to relate to the converſion of mankind to the chriſtian religion. But theſe are out of our province

Hoſea is the firſt, whoſe prophecies we have had tranſmitted in writing ; he continued in the exerciſe of his prophetical office near the ſpace of 70 years, during the reign of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*. His prophecies are divided into fourteen chapters ; in the four firſt he expoſes the various iniquities of the ten tribes ; from thence to the 12th chapter, he denounces the puniſhments impending on them, particularly their deſtruction by *Shalmanezer*. The remainder is full of comfortable promiſes to the godly and penitent: what became of him at laſt, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to truſt to any thing elſe.

(C) As for *Ames*, as he was neither prieſt nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary caſe, to the latter, it is probable, that, after his return into the land of *Judah*, he retired into the city of *Tekoah*, where he continued to prophecy againſt *Iſrael*, for ſilencing

Zachariah ſucceeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the great-grandſon of *Jehu*; and ſo far was God's promiſe to this laſt fulfilled, that the kingdom ſhould continue in his family to the fourth generation; but his threatnings againſt that kingdom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfal of *Iſrael* from the reign of *Zachariah*. From that time, we read of nothing but treaſons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and univerſal deſolation: *Zachariah* had ſcarce reigned ſix months, before he was publicly maſſacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domeſticks, according to *Joſephus* [f], who ſeized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himſelf murdered by *Menahem*, *Zachariah*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As ſoon as this laſt was ſeated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the reſidence of *Jeroboam* I. [g], which place refuſing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on their pregnant women, that ever were done by the vileſt barbarians. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by *Pul* king of *Aſſyria* (E); and, as he was not in a condition to make head againſt him,

Zachariah. Year of the Flood, 2227. Year before Chriſt 772.

[f] Ant. l. ix. c. 11. [g] See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

ing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after *Jeroboam* II's death; the murder of his ſon and ſucceſſor; the coming of *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileſer*, kings of *Aſſyria*, againſt *Iſrael*, and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled againſt *Syria*, *Tyre*, the *Philiſtines*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*; and *Moabites*; and ſome againſt the kingdom of *Judah*. His ſtyle is plain and low, and his expreſſions ſuch as one might expect from a ruſtick or a ſhepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in antient fathers, we omit, becauſe we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbiſhop *Uſher* (48) obſerves here, that there muſt have been an inter-regnum of eleven years and half, before *Zachariah* aſcended the throne; without which ſuppoſition, it will be impoſſible to make his death and *Shallum*'s ſhort-lived reign to coincide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is ſaid to have happened (49).

(E) The ſame prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him *Sardan Pul*, as *Merodach* king of *Babylon* was called *Merodach-Baladan* from his father *Baladan*. *Pul*

(47) Amos ii. 13, & *ſeq.* iii. *paſſ.* & *alib.* (48) *Ann. ſub A. M.* 3220. (49) 2 Kings xv. 8. 17. (50) *Ub. ſup.*

him, he was forced to buy his friendſhip at the price of a thouſand talents of ſilver, which he levied upon the wealthieſt of his own ſubjects, whom he obliged to pay 50 ſhekels *per* head; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menahem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pekahiah*, in the 50th year of *Azariah* or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah* [h].

Year of the Flood, 2238. Year before Chriſt 761.

Azariah's *piety*;

and ſucceſs.

THE kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, whom the people had ſet upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder, (that is, as the text expreſſes it) in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* IId's reign [i] (F), was then but ſixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the the great wiſdom and piety of his counſels to the young monarch; ſo that, during the life of that faithful counſellor, *Azariah* became equally conſpicuous for his zeal againſt idolatry, for his pious imitation of his beſt predeceſſors, and for his great ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of his neighbours, eſpecially the *Philiſtines* [k]. He likewiſe for-

[h] 2 Kings xv. 13, ad 22. [i] Ibid ver. 1. [k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & ſeq. See Vol. II. p. 230.

is the firſt king of *Aſſyria* we find named in ſcripture from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed to have reigned in *Nineveh*, at the time of *Jonah*'s preaching; and to have been converted by him.

Thoſe who follow the verſion of the ſeventy believe, that *Pul* was invited by *Menahem* to come to his aſſiſtance. One of the prophets upbraids indeed the king and people of *Samaria*, with ſending to *Aſſyria* for help, for which he threatens them with being ſent thither captives (51); but the original affirms, that he came againſt, or invaded, the land (52); and the book of *Chronicles* ſays expreſsly that God ſtirred up the ſpirit of *Pul* againſt him, as he did afterwards that of *Tiglath-pileſer*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Joſephus* reckons this invaſion of *Pul* to have happened towards the latter end of *Menahem*'s reign (54); but *Uſher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(F) That is, as the ſame *Uſher*, and the margin of our bibles rightly obſerve, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father *Jehoaſh*, though but the 16th from his reigning ſole monarch.

(51) Hoſ. v. 13. viii. 9 13. x. 6. 13. (52) 2 Kings xv. 19. & *alib. paſſ.* (53) *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xv. 29. & 1 *Chron. v. ult.* (54) *Ant. l.* ix. *c.* 11.

tified

tified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demoliſhed by the king of *Iſrael*, and built ſeveral fortreſſes and magazines in ſeveral parts of his kingdom, and in thoſe countries which he had taken from the *Philiſtines*, *Arabians*, and *Mehunims* (G). His army conſiſted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, *Maaſiah* and *Hananiah*, and of *Jehiel*, his ſcribe, or ſecretary of war, who appointed each band their reſpective turns, according to the muſter-rolls. Beſides theſe, he had alſo 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and expe-rience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all ſorts to ſupply his army with, and which he kept in ſeveral ſtrong ſtore-cities all over his kingdom. To theſe he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large ſtones, and other deſtructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks; which are ſaid to have been contrived by ſome of his expert engineers. Whilſt he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the buſineſs of agriculture; on the contrary, the text ſays that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of huſbandmen and vine-dreſſers; and that he built towers and cots, and digged wells every where for the convenience of his ſervants and cattle. So that whether we look upon him in peace or war, he ſeems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth. *Army and magazines.*

BUT all this he unhappily loſt by one raſh act, his attempting to infringe upon the prieſtly office, and to burn incenſe upon the ſacred altar. He was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by the then high-prieſt *Azariah*, at the head of fourſcore other zealous prieſts, who repreſented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the ſons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not deſiſt from it, till he

(G) Theſe *Mehunims* the *Chaldee* paraphraſt renders במישר מעון, *The inhabitants in the wilderneſs of* Mahon, which was in that part of *Arabia-petræa*, toward *Gerar* and *Pharan*; for which reaſon they ſeem joined with the *Arabians* of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the ſame province; and as both were in the ſame neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah*'s fame was ſpread abroad, even unto the entring in of *Egypt* (55).

We ought to obſerve here, that theſe wars of the king of *Judah* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his hiſtory ſeems ſtrangely curtailed, but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(55) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg. l. ii. c.* 23. Le Clerc. *Com. in loc. & al.* (56) *Comp.* 2 *Chron. xxvi.* 1, *& ſeq. &* 2 *Kings xiv.* 21, *& ſeq.*

felt himſelf ſmitten with leproſy, in ſuch a ſudden and extraordinary manner, as made him ſenſible, that it was ſent from God, as a puniſhment for his preſumption. The prieſts, as ſoon as they perceived the firſt tokens of that polluting diſeaſe appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but *Azariah* was by that time ſtruck with ſuch terror and remorſe (H), that he ſaved them that trouble, and made what haſte he could, not only out of that ſacred place, but even out of the city; and went to live in a ſeparate houſe, where he continued, infected with that diſtemper, ſecluded from common ſociety, and deprived of the regal
His death. power, unto the day of his death; and was buried in a ſe-

(H) The reaſon of *Uzziah*'s being thus miraculouſly ſmitten with leproſy is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Joſephus* (57) adds a very remarkable circumſtance, which accompanied this puniſhment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that, while the king perſiſted to threaten the prieſts who oppoſed his impious deſign, God ſent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leproſy; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, ſtopt againſt another mountain, choaked the high-way, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbiſh.

Some of the prophets (58) do, indeed, ſpeak of an earth-quake, which happened in *Uzziah*'s days; but, beſides, that neither they, nor the ſacred hiſtorian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects againſt that monarch, it is plain, *Joſephus* muſt be out in his chronology, becauſe he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; (for he ſays expreſly, that he died of grief, ſoon after his misfortune,) whereas the former of the prophets above mentioned ſays, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziah* and of *Jeroboam* II. Now it is plain, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves, that this was long before *Uzziah* was ſmitten with leproſy, becauſe his ſon *Jotham*, who took the government upon him imdiately upon his ſecluſion, was not born till ſome time after *Jeroboam*'s death (59). This remark will alſo hold equally good againſt the reſt of the *Jews*, who, to make the earthquake and the king's puniſhment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25th year of his reign, that is before *Jotham* was born. Both therefore *Joſephus* and they, having joined two events together, to make the king's puniſhment appear more wonderful, which, it is plain from what has been ſaid above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years diſtance from each other.

(57) *Ant. l ix. c.* 12. (58) *Amos i.* 1. *Zechar. xiv.* 5
(59) *Vid.* Uſſer. *An. jub A. M.* 3221.

pulchre,

pulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his anceſtors [l]. He died in the 52d year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age [m], and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's ſecluſion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziah*'s hiſtory was written by *Iſaiah* the ſon of *Amos* [n]; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name [o].

Pekahiah *king of* Iſrael *murdered, and ſucceeded by* Pekah.

Two years before *Azariah*'s death, *Pekahiah* ſucceeded his father *Menahem* in *Iſrael*; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekah* the ſon of *Remaliah*, one of his generals, who aſcended the throne about a year before *Jotham* ſucceeded his father in *Judah*. The character of theſe two princes was very oppoſite: *Pekah* was a wicked prince, and followed the ſteps of his predeceſſors, ſo that his reign proved troubleſome and unſucceſsful, and ended in a violent death: *Jotham* was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wiſe and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's virtues without any of his vices, and was bleſſed with extraordinary ſucceſs. *Pekah*, having made a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt againſt *Judah*; but he was ſoon forced to go back and defend his own territories againſt *Tiglath-pileſer* king of *Aſſyria*, who had invaded the land of *Naphtali*, took the moſt conſiderable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilſt *Jotham* gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages againſt his neighbours, eſpecially againſt the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver, 10,000 meaſures of wheat, and the ſame quantity of barley [p]; as we have ſeen elſewhere †. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other publick acts, *Jotham* died in peace, after he had reigned ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ahaz*. As for *Pekah*, after he had had the mortification to ſee one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the laſt ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and ſucceeded by *Hoſhea* the ſon of *Elah*, in the 20th year of his reign [q], and about three years after *Jotham*'s death.

Jotham *king of* Judah.

HOWEVER, he was more ſucceſsful, during thoſe three laſt years, againſt *Jotham*'s unworthy ſon, whoſe impieties

[l] 2 Chron: xxvi. [m] 2 Kings xv. 2. [n] 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. [o] See Iſai. i. 1. vii. 1. [h] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. † See Vol. II. p. 108. [p] 2 Kings xv. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxvii. See alſo USSER. An. ſub A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

made

Ahaz's idolatrous and unsuccessful reign.

made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and successful. He was scarce seated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of *Israel* and *Syria*. *Ahaz* was then under the utmost consternation, at the news of two such powerful enemies coming up against him, and seems to have expected nothing less than the total dissolution of the *Jewish* monarchy; when *Isaiah* the son of *Amos* (I), who had began to prophecy even from the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign [r], came to him from the Lord, to assure him, that those two princes should try their strength in vain against *Jerusalem*, which they were then about besieging [s]. At the same time to assure him, that the final end of the *Jewish* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of God, though never so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency, and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name* Himmanu-el, *or* God with us, and so on (K). No

[r] See Isai. i. 1. [s] Ibid. vii. 1, 2, & seq. 2 Kings xvi. 5. See Vol. II. p. 289.

(I) *Isaiah*, called from the womb to be a prophet (60), and endowed with singular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the *Jews*, and believed by many *Christians*, to have been the grandson of *Joash* king of *Judah* (62). His first vision was about the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign (63); but his prophecies relate to his successors, namely, the first six chapters to *Jotham*, the six next to his son *Ahaz*, and the rest to *Hezekiah*; excepting, that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the Messiah, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by *Hezekiah*, who sent to consult him on all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by *Manasseh*, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere †.

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64) that such a miraculous child was really born in *Ahaz*'s time, to assure him of the promised deliverance; for as there is not the least mention of such

[t] (60) *Vid. Isai. xlix.* 1, & *seq.* (61) *Ibid. l.* 4. (62) *Ita Rabbin. omn. Vid.* & Hieron. *in Isai. pass.* (63) *Ibid. vi.* 1, & *seq.* † *Vol. III. p.* 313. *not.* D. (64) Whitb. *in loc. Literal prophec. & al.*

an

No ſooner had the firſt part of the propheſy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious *Ahaz* gave himſelf up to the vileſt impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worſt of his predeceſſors; burning incenſe to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of *Hinnom*, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other nations [t], till God was pleaſed at laſt to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himſelf amends for his ill ſucceſs againſt *Jeruſalem*, went and recovered *Elath*, a conſiderable ſea-port town upon the *Red-ſea*, which *Uzziah* had

[t] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, & ſeq.

an extraordinary birth, ſo neither do we ſee that there was any neceſſity for it, in order to convince the deſponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, *that the ſceptre ſhould not depart from* Judah—*till* Shiloh *was come* (65); much leſs that he was to ſpring of the lineage of *David*. But what ſtaggered *Ahaz*'s faith, and made him fear that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to ſet up a ſtranger upon his throne (66). All therefore that was wanting to diſpel his preſent fears about it, was for the prophet to aſſure him from God, that this *Shiloh* promiſed to *Judah* and *David*, who was to fore-run the total exciſion of the *Jewiſh* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character, and other remarkable circumſtances, ſuch as, he might be eaſily ſatisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the propheſy which is commonly urged on the other ſide, namely, *Before this* wonderful *child ſhall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorreſt ſhall be forſaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that if it be rightly underſtood, it will rather confirm our ſenſe of the propheſy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For*, (or rather, as the particle כִּי *Ki*, ſeems to import here,) *Nay before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou* (קָץ *Kotz*, not *abhorreſt*, as our verſion renders it, but) *art ſo ſollicitous about, or giveſt up for loſt*, ſhall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be underſtood, not the kings of *Syria* and *Iſrael*, for the former could not be called her (*Canaan*'s) king, and the latter had but a ſhare in it at beſt, but the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*; as it really was before the coming of the Meſſiah.

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we ſhall venture no further upon the argument, much leſs upon ſome other parts of this propheſy, leſt we ſhould be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(65) *Gen. xlix.* 10. *See Vol. II. p.* 441, *not.* (G). (66) *Iſai. vii.* 6. (67) *Ibid. ver.* 16.

taken

taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* ſubjects; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his ſucceſſors *. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly ſeen in the *Syrian* hiſtory †.

THE king of *Iſrael* was ſtill the more inveterate and ſucceſsful of the two, and it is not eaſy to ſay, how far he might have carried on his conqueſts againſt him, had not a prophet been ſent from God to put a timely ſtop to them. He had already killed in one ſingle battle, 120,000 of his braveſt ſubjects, beſides *Maazaiah*, *Ahaz*'s ſon, and ſome of the nobleſt that were next his royal perſon; and had likewiſe taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to *Samaria*; when *Oded*, that was the prophet's name, ſtopped them ſhort, and aſked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made ſuch a horrid and univerſal ſlaughter of their brethren, unleſs they carried away a much greater number into ſlavery? He added, that though the idolatries of *Judah* had drawn thoſe heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they perſiſted to carry thoſe innocent priſoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much ſeverer ones upon themſelves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to ſend their captives back to *Jeruſalem*; which they at length complied with. This ſpeech did even work ſo far upon them, that they did not diſmiſs them without ſome ſignal tokens of pity and humanity ‖.

A great ſlaughter of his ſubjects.

Edom *and the* Philiſtines *invade him.*

WHILST *Ahaz*'s affairs were in this diſmal plight, the *Edomites* and *Philiſtines* did invade other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered ſeveral conſiderable frontier towns from him ×. In this extremity he had recourſe to his old ally the king of *Aſſyria*, whom to gain to his aſſiſtance, he made no ſcruple to ſtrip both temple and city of all the gold and ſilver. *Tiglath-pileſer* received his preſents, but, inſtead of coming to aſſiſt him againſt the confederate kings, he turned his whole ſtrength againſt that of *Syria*, under a pretence of cauſing a diverſion (L); and having killed *Rezin*, and ſeized upon

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. † See Vol. II. p. 290. ‖ 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. × Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See alſo Vol. II. p. 230.

(L) This is, at leaſt, the beſt way to reconcile the book of *Kings* and that of *Chronicles*, the former of which ſays, that he came to *Ahaz*'s

upon his capital, *Ahaz* came thither to pay a viſit to him, upon what deſign is not eaſy to gueſs. Among the curioſities which he ſaw at *Damaſcus*, he was ſo taken with the elegance of a heatheniſh altar, that he cauſed a model to be taken from it, and to be ſent to *Urijah* the high-prieſt, with orders, that he ſhould cauſe one to be made after it, and to be ſet up in the temple. *Urijah* dared not diſobey, but cauſed the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been ſet up by *Solomon*; which laſt was put by on the north ſide of it. At his return, the king, highly pleaſed to ſee his orders ſo punctually executed, offered up incenſe, and a vaſt quantity of ſacrifices upon it; but he ſoon after cauſed the temple to be ſhut up, whilſt he reared altars in every corner of *Jeruſalem*, and every where elſe, to the *Syrian* gods, which he ſaid had been ſo ſucceſsful againſt him; and having abandoned himſelf to the moſt abominable idolatries, he finiſhed his impious reign in the 36th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hezekiah*; he reigned ſixteen years [y], and was buried in *Jeruſalem*, not in the ſepulchre of *David*, of

His idolatry, and death.

[y] 2 Kings xvi. 2.

Ahaz's aſſiſtance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather ſtraightned him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that *Ahaz* put himſelf too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependent upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him. This is indeed far from improbable, ſince he left his ſucceſſor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. This made *Tremellius* conjecture to be the reaſon why he is ſaid to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely, leſt *Tiglath* ſhould aſſault him that way, and ſo break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks that the ſame fear made him remove the מוסך *Muſſac*, or covering of the ſabbath, which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the kings uſed to ſeat themſelves during the ſervice of the temple; and cauſed it to be hid, leſt that prince ſhould carry it away with him. There might indeed be ſome ground for it, if we had the leaſt hint in the text of his coming towards *Jeruſalem*; but as that is not the caſe, we may ſuppoſe, that *Ahaz* did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own uſe.

This *Tiglath-pileſer* is the ſame with *Ninus* the younger, who reigned in *Aſſyria* 19 years, as will be ſeen in its proper place.

(68) *Conf.* 2 *Kings* xvi. 7, & *ſeq.* & 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 20, 21. (69) *Vid.* Uſſer. *An. A. M.* 3265. (70) Tremel. *in loc.* (71) 2 *Kings* xvi. 18. (72) Calm. *Hiſt.* V. T. *l.* v. *c.* 44. & *al.*

which he was eſteemed unworthy, but in ſome other place by itſelf [z].

THE kingdom of *Iſrael* all this while was in no better plight than that of *Judah*: *Pekah* had paid dear for his ſucceſs againſt it, being murdered by *Hoſhea* ſoon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of *Ahaz* (M). This revolution, however, proved ſo diſtaſtful to the *Iſraelites*, that it cauſed a kind of anarchy, which laſted almoſt nine years; during which time, *Hoſhea* found it a difficult task to keep himſelf upon the throne: and after he had quelled theſe commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hoſtile attempt, either againſt *Ahaz* or his ſucceſſor. He had indeed other buſineſs upon his hand, *Shalmaneſer* had, by this time, ſucceeded *Tiglath-pileſer* in *Aſſyria*, and whether *Hoſhea* had been forced to make uſe of his aſſiſtance to ſettle himſelf upon his throne, or whether his predeceſſor had committed any hoſtilities againſt *Iſrael*, during his alliance with *Ahaz*, *Hoſhea* was by ſome means, not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Aſſyria* [a], and was endeavouring to free himſelf from that yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the ſource of new troubles, which ended at laſt in the total exciſion of the *Iſraelitiſh* monarchy, as we ſhall ſee very ſoon.

Hoſhea *king of* Iſrael.

His trouble-ſome reign.

IN the mean time *Hezekiah* had aſcended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 12th, or as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoſhea*'s reign, that is, abating the firſt nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the laſt note. It was not difficult for him to diſcover the ſource of all *Judah*'s misfortunes, and the moſt effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he ſet about with the utmoſt diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had cauſed to be ſhut up, and commanded the prieſts and *Levites* to purify themſelves and it, and to renew the daily worſhip of God, according to the law of *Moſes*.

Hezekiah's *good reign.*

Year of the Flood, 2272.
Year before Chriſt 727.

[z] 2 Chron. xxviii. ult. [a] 2 Kings xvii. 3, & ſeq.

(M) The text ſays (73) in the 20th year of *Jotham*, but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his ſon and ſucceſſor. In the ſame manner we muſt underſtand what is ſaid in another place (75), that *Hoſhea* began to reign in the 12th year of *Ahaz*; by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reaſon of the ſtirs and tumults which aroſe after the murder of his predeceſſor.

(73) 2 *Kings* xv. 30. (74) *Ibid. ver.* 33. (75) *Ibid.* xvii. 1.

This

This good work was begun upon the firſt day of the year, it being the ſabdath [b], and was finiſhed on *Saturday* the 16th of the ſame month. The king then aſſembled the elders of *Judah* on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the prieſts and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the ſins of the nation; after which, they ſacrificed ſuch numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the prieſts who aſſiſted at the ceremony, being inſufficient for the ſervice, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their aſſiſtance, and theſe accepted the office with the utmoſt readineſs and joy (N). All this while the air was filled with the ſound of the trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, and with the voices of the ſingers, who accompanied the ceremony with pſalms and hymns, ſuitable to that extraordinary ſolemnity, which was concluded with expreſſions of the utmoſt joy and ſatisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not indeed but be a pleaſing ſight, to ſee a king and nation ſo ſuddenly turned from the worſhip of the filthieſt idols, to that of the living God [c]. One misfortune there was however, that the ſeaſon was paſt for celebrating the paſſover; that ſolemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, and it was now the 17th; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moſes*, where it is preſcribed, that thoſe, who, by reaſon of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that feſtival on the firſt, ſhould do it on the ſecond month †. The good king poſtponed it accordingly, and made uſe of that interval, to ſend circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his ſubjects to be preſent at that feaſt, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further;

The temple opened, and purified.

A ſolemn paſſover celebrated.

[b] 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. tot. † See Vol. III. p. 172, note (P).

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of prieſts had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, ſo that they could not vacate at the ſervice of the temple, for want of being purified, whilſt the *Levites*, who had ſhewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear; but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they helped to kill and prepare that vaſt number of victims, which were then offered; whilſt the prieſts were taken up with making the proper aſperſions with the blood, and offering the fat and fleſh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 *Chron.* xxix. 34. xxx. 15, *& ſeq.*

and the miſeries, under which the idolatrous *Iſraelites* groaned, inſpired him with a deſire of endeavouring, at leaſt, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end he wrote a moſt pathetic letter to them, which he ſent by proper deputies, wherein he diſcovered to them the ſource of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worſhip of the true God, and to preſent themſelves before him at the enſuing ſolemnity, as the moſt effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Aſſyria* had carried into captivity [d] (O).

Iſrael invited to it by the king.

WHILST the king's meſſengers took their progreſs from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, the *Jews* were taken up with burning and demoliſhing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jeruſalem*, and flung them into the brook *Kedron*, ſo that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed feſtival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but alſo from that of *Iſrael*, out of the tribes of *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, *Manaſſeh*, and *Iſſachar*. Theſe did not indeed come in ſuch numbers, there being many even of theſe four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jeſt of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hoſhea* did in any way oppoſe it, for it doth not appear that he did: On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far leſs wicked than any of his predeceſſors [e], it is probable, the bad ſituation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means, that would render providence more propitious to him. However, thoſe of his ſubjects, who came to the feaſt, either had not had time enough to purify themſelves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of thoſe neceſſary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Iſrael*, during ſo long an interval of diſuſe, ſo that they ventured to eat the paſſover with the reſt, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted *Hezekiah* with it, but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cheriſh their pious zeal, eaſily overlooked that circumſtance, and only prayed to God to do the ſame. How-

Several of them come to the feaſt.

[d] 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & ſeq. [e] 2 Kings xvii. 2.

(O) This ſhews, that *Tiglath-pileſer*, or his ſucceſſor, had invaded part of *Hoſhea*'s kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unleſs we will ſuppoſe with ſome authors (77), that it had began in *Pul*'s time: ſee the next note.

(77) *Vid.* Calmet. *Hiſt.* V. T. *Tom.* iii. *Ch.* 47. *ad fin.*

ever

ever, for the ſake of thoſe of his own people, who were alſo unpurified, among whom were ſeveral prieſts and *Levites*, he ordered the feſtival to be celebrated another ſeven days, that none might be excluded from it. This ſolemnity, the like to which had not been obſerved ſince the latter end of *Solomon*'s reign [f], inſpired the people with ſuch uncommon zeal, that, as ſoon as they were diſmiſſed from it, they went about deſtroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their reſpective countries, the king himſelf encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very braſen ſerpent, which *Moſes* had cauſed to be ſet up in the wilderneſs [g], did *Hezekiah* cauſe to be broken in pieces, becauſe he found, that the people had offered incenſe to it, and in contempt called it *Nehuſhtan*, that is, *a piece of braſs* [h].

HIS next care was to reſtore all the branches of the worſhip of God, to make an exact ſcrutiny into the genealogies of the prieſts, *Levites*, and muſicians, in order to ſettle their ſeveral claſſes, according to *David*'s model. He provided for their maintenance by reviving the laws of *Moſes*, concerning the firſt fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and ſuch like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them, ſo that by *October* following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper diſtribution had been made of it among them [i]. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was bleſſed with ſucceſs equal to his piety; and as ſoon as he found himſelf ſtrong enough to free himſelf from the tribute, which the *Aſſyrians* had forced from his predeceſſor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces againſt the *Philiſtines*, over whom he got ſuch conſiderable advantages, that he regained, with uſury, all that they had gotten during *Ahaz*'s unhappy reign †. Hezekiah's *ſucceſs.*

IT fared quite otherwiſe with the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and *Hoſhea*, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Aſſyrian* bondage. But *Shalmaneſer*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did ſoon diſcover and break all his meaſures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to ſtop his progreſs, he took care to ſecure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities [k], according to *Iſaiah*'s propheſy denounced three years before [l], and laying waſte all that land, and that of *Iſrael*, till he was come Iſrael *invaded.*

[f] 2. Chron. xxx. paſſ. [g] Num. xxi. 8. & ſeq. [h] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [i] 2 Chron. xxxi. paſſ. † See Vol. II. p. 230. [k] Ibid. p. 96. See alſo USHER's Ann. ſub A. M. 3280. [l] Iſai. xv. 1.

to

Samaria beſieged and taken.

to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid cloſe ſiege to it. *Hoſhea*, who had not been able to make head againſt him, had however ſo well fortified himſelf in that city, that it held out almoſt three years againſt the *Aſſyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this ſiege or war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, the reſt of the kingdom was forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his ſubjects were carried away into captivity, and diſpoſed of into the ſame provinces of that empire, whither their brethren had been ſent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in ſome of the prophets, who deſcribe the diſtreſs of the people in the ſtrongeſt terms [m]. The *Aſſyrians* committed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and daſhing their children againſt the ground [n]; and, having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbiſh [o], and laid waſte all the land, returned home laden with the ſpoil of *Iſrael*. As for the land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been ſought in vain by the learned of all ages: what the moſt probable conjecture is concerning it, will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. This was the ſad and fatal end of the *Iſraelitiſh* kingdom [p], after it had ſtood divided from that of *Judah* 254 years [q]. It happened in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*, and in the 9th of *Hoſhea*. A great number, however, of the *Iſraelites* did eſcape with their lives, ſome into *Egypt*, and a much greater number into the kingdom of *Judah*; where they

[m] Hoſ. paſſ. [n] xiii. 16. [o] Micah. i. 6. & alib. [p] 2 Kings xvii. paſſ. [q] Vid. USSER. Ann. in A. M. 3283. See alſo Vol. III. p. 435.

(P) The firſt book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that God ſtirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pilneſer*, kings of *Aſſyria*, againſt the impious *Iſraelites*, and that the latter did carry away the two tribes and half from beyond *Jordan*, and ſent them into the countries of *Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gozan* (78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe of *Naphtali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried away by *Enemeſſar*, who is the ſame with *Shalmaneſer*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and himſelf in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he left ten talents with his kinſman (79). What thoſe countries were, which we mentioned out of the *Chronicles*, and how they are underſtood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at leaſt a double invaſion of the land of *Iſrael* by the *Aſſyrians*, and a double captivity.

(78) *Ch. v. ult.* (79) *Ch. i paſſ.*

weaned

weaned themſelves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became ſubjects to *Hezekiah* and his ſucceſſors. On the other hand, the *Aſſyrians*, *Joſephus* ſays *Shalmeneſer* [r], but it was more probably his ſucceſſor, ſent colonies from ſeveral of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthah*, to repeople the land of *Iſrael*, from whence theſe new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans* [s] (Q).

Hezekiah, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and *Sennacherib*, the new king of *Aſſyria*, contenting himſelf with the tribute which both he and his predeceſſor paid to him, had ſuffered him to enjoy the fruits of his piety and conqueſts; but as ſoon as he found him to fail in it, he came againſt him with ſuch a powerful army, and took from him ſuch a number of fortified cities, in ſo ſhort a time, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. *Hezekiah*, who ſaw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion; he ſent an embaſſy to *Sennacherib*, acknowledging his fault, and promiſing him to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould impoſe upon him; and accompanied it with the richeſt preſents, for which he was forced to ſtrip the temple and his own treaſury of all their ſilver and gold. This wrought ſo well upon the conqueror, at leaſt for the preſent, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of ſilver, and 30 talents of gold. But this reſpite, though ſo dearly bought, did not

[r] Ant. l. ix. c. 14. [s] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. JOSEPH. ub. ſup.

(Q) The text adds (80), that theſe new colonies were like to have been deſtroyed by lions, *Joſephus* ſays by peſtilence (81), upon their very firſt ſettlement, for their diſregard to God; ſo that they were forced to ſend into *Aſſyria*, to deſire the king to ſend them ſome *Iſraelitiſh* prieſts, to inſtruct them how to worſhip and appeaſe him. This being complied with, they ſet themſelves immediately about it, but without forſaking the worſhip of their own gods, which they had brought from their reſpective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the *Iſraelites*; conſiſting in the worſhip of the true God, and of a number of falſe deities. Hence ſprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and theſe always diſclaiming any kindred with them in time of adverſity, though forward enough to claim it in time of proſperity (82).

(80) 2 *Kings* xvii. 25, & *ſeq.* (81) *Ant. l.* ix. *c.* 14. (82) *Id. ibid.*

laſt

laſt long; for the treacherous *Aſſyrian* king, who continued ſtill at *Lachiſh*, did ſoon after ſend his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabſaris*, and *Rabſhakeh*, directly againſt *Jeruſalem*; ſo that *Hezekiah* ſaw himſelf in much greater danger than ever of loſing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST theſe were coming againſt him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, ſurrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good ſtore of arms and proviſions for the ſiege. He likewiſe cauſed all the fountains about the city to be ſtopped, and the courſe of the brook *Gihon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as poſſible, all ſupply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city; and exhorted them, in a grave and pious ſpeech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be diſcouraged at the number and ſtrength of the faithleſs *Aſſyrians* †. It is not, indeed, eaſy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illneſs, or after it, more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him; for about this time he was ſeized with a dangerous diſeaſe (R), and forewarned by the prophet *Iſaiah* to ſet his affairs in order, ſince he would certainly die of it. The good king, who, about a year or two before, had received a ſevere reproof from that prophet, and probably alſo about the ſame time from *Micah* the *Moraſhite*, for truſting too much upon *Egypt*, and ſeeking for help from thence [t], received the dreadful ſummons with inexpreſſible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to ſhorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age [u]. *Joſephus* attributes this exceſſive ſorrow to another cauſe, namely, his dying then without an heir to ſucceed him [w]; which is not at all improbable, becauſe his ſon was but twelve

† 2 Kings xviii. 13, & ſeq. [t] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21. 2 Chr. xxxii. 24, & ſeq. Iſai. xxx, & ſeq. & Jerem. xxvi. 18.
[u] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the laſt note. [w] Ant. l. x. c. 1.

(R) This diſeaſe, if we may gueſs at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the ſpeedineſs of the cure, ſeems to have been a kind of quincy, or impoſthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

years

years old when he aſcended the throne [x]. As ſoon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hezekiah* turned himſelf towards the wall, and addreſſed himſelf to God in the moſt humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved ſuch powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was ſcarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove ſo ſpeedy that he ſhould be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, *Iſaiah* was bid to aſſure him, that his life ſhould be prolonged fifteen years, and himſelf and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger [y] (S).

THESE glorious promiſes did not, however, gain credit with the deſponding king; he could not eaſily reconcile two ſuch different meſſages from the ſame prophet, and therefore thought, that he had a right to inſiſt upon ſome more ſignal proof to aſſure him of the laſt. The prophet ſoon obtained, by his prayers, ſuch an authentic proof, as ſhould at once convince, both him and his whole kingdom, that it was backed with the divine ſanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the ſun's ſhadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which a cataplaſm of dried figs was effectually

[x] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. [y] 2 Kings xx. 1, & ſeq. Iſai. xxxviii.

(S) This ſickneſs of the king is, indeed, poſtponed in the ſacred hiſtory, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Aſſyrian* hoſt (83); but it is plain, that it muſt have happened before it; 1. becauſe the prophet aſſures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. becauſe he promiſes him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now *Hezekiah* reigned but twenty nine years in all (85), from which the fifteen being ſubtracted, it is plain, that he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Aſſyria* began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T) The text runs literally thus in the original; *and the Lord brought back the ſhadow of the ſteps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial,* or degrees of *Ahaz, ten degrees or ſteps* (87), which we purpoſely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & *ſeq* Iſai. xxxviii. 1, & *ſeq.* (84) 2 Kings *ibid.* ver. 6. (85) *Ibid* ch. xviii. 2. (86) *Ibid.* ver. 13. *vid.* Uſſer. *ſub A. M.* 3291. *p.* 70. (87) 2 Kings xx. 11.

tually applied by the prophet's direction; and the king, thus happily recovered by the time appointed, compoſed that noble pſalm,

miracle †, to ſhew, that the ſacred hiſtorian had expreſſed him in ſuch terms, as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the ſolar ſyſtem now commonly received.

It is true, that *Iſaiah*, who relates the ſtory in almoſt the ſame words, and mentions only the ſhadow, when he put it to the king's option, whether it ſhould go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the ſun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the pſalmiſt ſays; *the ſun ſhall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89); and in *Jonah*, that *the ſun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expreſſion in all languages, the ſun comes in at ſuch a window, or ſuch a part of the houſe, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus, *and* the beams *of the ſun* (being miraculouſly inflected) *cauſed the ſhadow to go back over ten of the degrees*, or ſteps, *which it had paſt, upon Ahaz*'s *dial*, or flight of ſteps. This was miracle ſufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying, it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to ſuppoſe, as they do, that the whole fabric of the univerſe went back, or even that the earth alone did ſo, was not only needleſs, becauſe the buſineſs was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Joſhua*, but only to put the ſhadow back ſo many degrees: but it ſeems to carry a further abſurdity; for either this extraordinary motion muſt have been cauſed all at once, which, conſidering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the univerſe round it, is ſcarcely conceivable; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in caſe *Hezekiah* had choſen to have the ſhadow go forward inſtead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole hiſtory, it ſeems, as if the thing was done in an inſtant, and not gradually. What need then is there to ſuppoſe, that God did interpoſe his miraculous power, to cauſe ſuch a retrogreſſion, even in the bare earth, when the end might be anſwered by the ſole inflection of the ſun's rays? To ſay that either of them was equally eaſy to an omnipotent power, is too unphiloſophical to deſerve an anſwer, becauſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that God acts with leſs œconomy in his ſupernatural, than he doth in his natural, works.

This hypotheſis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the moſt received, becauſe attended with feweſt difficulties, will ſave us a great many needleſs enquiries, ſuch are thoſe that follow;

† *See Vol III. p. 72. not.* (G).

(88) Iſai. xxxviii. 8.
(89) Pſal. cxxi. 6.
(90) Jonah iv. 8.

pſalm, wherein he expreſſes the exquiſiteneſs of his anguiſh and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer,

low; What portion of time is implied by thoſe ten degrees: How much the day was lengthened by it: Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the courſe of nature was again haſtened by the ſame miraculous power to its priſtine harmony, either by ſubtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way: Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judea*: And many more of the like nature.

The *Jews*, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already ſhortened one day by ten hours, when wicked *Ahaz* died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only reſtore the univerſe in *ſtatu quo* upon this occaſion. But ſuch an expeditious way of anſwering all thoſe enquiries will ſcarcely be allowed of by any but *Jews*. However, archbiſhop *Uſher*, who believed, that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet obſerve, that the divine providence ſo ordered it, that the conſtant and ever ſelf-like motion and harmony of the heavenly bodies, did receive no hindrance from it; he proves it by three previous eclipſes of the moon, out of *Ptolemy*, whoſe calculation, being traced back from this time, coincides as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no ſuch retrogreſſion had happened in nature (91); But is not this multiplying the miracle without any neceſſity?

But what confirms ſtill farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle conſiſted in the bare reverſion of the ſun's beams, is, that if either the ſun or the earth be ſuppoſed to have gone back ſo many degrees, it muſt have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary ſeems plain to us, from the embaſſy which *Merodach-Baladan* ſent to *Hezekiah*, to inform himſelf about this miraculous phœnomenon (92); for if it had been ſeen at *Babylon*, there would have been no neceſſity for ſending into *Judæa* to know the truth of it; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that he ſent thither to be informed about the cauſe of it. The *Babylonians* were much better aſtronomers than the *Jews*, or rather, theſe laſt were known to be perfectly ignorant of that ſcience, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. It ſeems then much more probable, that this retrogreſſion was only felt about *Judæa*; and if ſo, it cannot be better accounted for, than by ſuppoſing an inflection of the ſun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judæa*, we ſhould certainly find ſome footſteps of it in profane hiſtory, it being hardly to be ſuppoſed, that ſo re-

(91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. *p.* 71. (92) *Vid.* 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.
† *See Vol. III. p.* 426.

liverer, and promiſes to be everlaſtingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promiſe, the deliverance from the

markable a change could go unobſerved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield ſo many good aſtronomers and hiſtorians; or that the memory of it ſhould be ſince entirely loſt, when we can find ſo many footſteps of the ſun's ſtanding ſtill in *Joſhua*'s time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For theſe reaſons, we ſhall wave all farther enquiries which reſult from the other ſide of the queſtion, and only add ſome few remarks concerning the moſt probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be conſidered, 1. That the original, מעלות *Meghaleth*, doth ſignify no more than *ſteps* or *ſtairs*; 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* paraphraſts render it, the former ἀναβαθμους, and the latter by אבן ששוא *a ſtone of time*, accordingly; 3. That the *Jews* did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94); 4. that the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flouriſh till almoſt 200 years after *Hezekiah*; and laſtly, That there is not a word of a ſun-dial in all the writings of *Homer*. All theſe will at leaſt amount to a ſtrong preſumption, that it muſt have been a kind of ſteep aſcent, leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper diſtances with figures, ſhewing the diviſion of the day; rather than a regular piece of dial-work.

We have indeed a much finer deſcription of it in *Grotius*, out of one Rabbi *Eliab Chomer*, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemiſphere, on which were drawn, at proper diſtances, the ſeveral lines which divided the day into 28 parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been obſerved above, that ſuch a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of thoſe early times? for our part, we cannot think, that even this flight of ſteps was originally deſigned by the architect to ſerve both for that and for a ſun-dial: on the contrary it ſeems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter uſe was owing to obſervation. Some ornaments, ſuch as pyramids, obeliſks, flower pots, and the like, might have been placed upon the rails or battlements of the aſcent, whoſe ſhadow being in time obſerved to go over thoſe ſteps, at certain periods of the day, might naturally induce ſome curious obſerver to mark down the ſeveral portions of the day; firſt into four parts, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom of dividing it, and then into as many ſubdiviſions as was thought proper; ſo that all that we think is meant in the text before us, is, that the ſhadow of the obeliſk, or whatever other ornament did ſerve inſtead of a gnomon, went back again over

(93) Joſh. x. 12. *See alſo Vol. III. p.* 72, *&* *ſeq.* (94) *See Vol. III. p.* 427. (95) *Vid.* Grot. *in loc.*

ten

the *Aſſyrian* power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals preſented themſelves at the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with *Hezekiah*'s miniſters; and as ſoon as theſe appeared upon the battlements, attended with vaſt crouds of people, who came to hear the purport of their meſſage, *Rabſhakeh* addreſſed himſelf to them in a haughty and threatening ſpeech, filled with the bittereſt invectives and opprobrious language, not only againſt the king, but even againſt the God of *Iſrael*. It was ſpoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the liſtening people; and when they were deſired to ſpeak in *Syriac* to them, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, they only renewed their threatnings of reducing the kingdom to the worſt extremities, unleſs they prevented it by a timely yielding of themſelves captives to the great *Sennacherib* [s].

THIS vapouring ſpeech was, by the king's order, anſwered only by a deep ſilence; but the *Aſſyrian* generals being ſoon after informed, that their maſter was forced to go back to defend his own territories againſt *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia*, who was then invading him; they left *Jeruſalem* and marched directly after him. But before *Sennacherib* departed from *Lachiſh*, he ſent a threatning letter to *Hezekiah*, to aſſure him, that if he ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal of yielding himſelf his captive, he would ſhortly come again with double fury againſt him, and make him ſeverely feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he ſhould find as weak and impotent againſt his irreſiſtible power, as thoſe of many other nations had hitherto proved. As ſoon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief miniſters, and ſpread it before the Lord, and in the humbleſt terms, beſought him, that he would make good his late promiſes, and vindicate his honour

Sennacherib's *proud letter.*

[s] 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & ſeq. Iſaiah xxxvi. 2, & ſeq. xxxvii. 1. ad 10.

ten of thoſe ſteps, which it had already paſt. But what portion of time the ſhadow did uſually take in going over thoſe ſteps, is impoſſible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the reſult of what we find written upon the ſubject; yet, for the ſatisfaction of ſuch of our readers, as deſire to be further informed about it, we ſhall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(96) Cyril. Alex. & Hieron. *in loc.* & *in Iſaiah* xxxviii. 8. Scalig. Grot. Vatabl. Munſt. Salmaſ. Gaſpar. Sanctius, Le Clerc, Calmet, & *al.*

againſt

againſt his inſolent and blaſphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of heaven to the ſenſeleſs idols of the more ſenſeleſs heathen. He had ſcarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious anſwer by the prophet *Iſaiah*, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces againſt *Jeruſalem*, yet God would ſo protect it againſt them, that they ſhould not ſhoot an arrow againſt, nor open a trench before it; that this proud inſulting enemy ſhould be forced to flee with ſhame and loſs, and fall at length by the ſword in his own land. This propheſy was likewiſe ſoon after verified. *Sennacherib* returned againſt *Judah*, flushed with his late victory over the *Ethiopians* [a], and breathing death and deſtruction, againſt the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hoſtilities againſt it, the beſt part of his army was ſmitten by an angel in one night, *Joſephus* ſays with peſtilence [b], inſomuch that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment did ſo alarm the proud *Aſſyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmoſt confuſion and ſpeed into his own capital, where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by two of his ſons, and ſucceeded by a third [c]. Thus was *Iſaiah*'s propheſy exactly fulfilled againſt that blaſphemous tyrant [d], and the kingdom delivered from the moſt imminent danger. As for *Hezekiah*, though one would expect, that ſo many extraordinary bleſſings would have inſpired him with ſentiments of the deepeſt gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; ſo that, inſtead of acknowledging the amazing goodneſs of his great deliverer, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himſelf and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death [e]. *Hezekiah* was a pious prince, but vanity ſeems to have been his predominant paſſion, and to have been ſwelled to an unreaſonable height by ſuch a wonderful ſeries of ſucceſſes; and God made uſe of the following juncture, at once to make him ſenſible, and to cure him of it.

His miraculous overthrow.

The king had, about this time, received a ſpecial embaſſy from *Berodach*, or, as *Iſaiah* calls him, *Merodach-Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon his late ſucceſs and recovery, and to inform himſelf about the prodigy of the ſun's retrogreſſion [f]; and, as his ſucceſs and the ſpoils of his enemy had made him exceedingly rich, he took a par-

[a] See *Uſher*'s Ann. ſub A. M. 3292. ex Iſaiah c. xviii. & xx. [b] Ant. l. x. c. 2. [c] 2 Kings xix. 1, & ſeq. to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 1 ad 22. Iſaiah xxxvi, xxxvii. [d] Ibid. [e] 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, 26. [f] Ibid. ver. 31.

ticular

ticular pleaſure in entertaining the embaſſadors with a ſight of all the wealth, grandeur, and ſtrength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Iſaiah* to the king, who had no ſooner acquainted him with his own weakneſs and oſtentation, than he received this dreadful meſſage from God; that thoſe very *Babylonians*, whoſe eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a ſhort time, not only ſtrip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive ſome of his off-ſpring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to ſuch a ſenſe of his overſight, that he acknowledged the mildneſs of the ſentence, ſince he was ſuffered to end his days in peace [g]. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to ſupply *Jeruſalem* with water; and to have been an encourager of huſbandry, himſelf having numberleſs flocks and herds in his own paſture-grounds, beſides vines, and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and *was buried in the chiefeſt of the ſepulchres of the ſons of* David. His funeral obſequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but alſo throughout the whole kingdom [h] (W).

Year of the Flood, 2306. Year before Chriſt, 693.

Manaſſeh was but 12 years of age when he ſucceeded *Hezekiah*; and, whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counſellors, we may date the ruin both

Manaſſeh's *wicked reign.*

[g] 2 Kings xx. 12, & ſeq. Iſaiah xxxix. [h] Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, & ſeq.

(V) The jubilee year ſeems likewiſe to have been about this time (97); at which ſolemnity there flocked a vaſt concourſe of people to *Jeruſalem*, which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis; becauſe upon ſuch occaſions the wealthy men of the kingdom were uſed to pour their rich preſents into the temple, eſpecially after ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text ſays, that they did ſo accordingly (98).

(W) Beſides the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Micah*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak, *Nahum* did likewiſe propheſy in the days of *Hezekiah*. It is he, who foretold the dreadful deſtruction of *Nineveh*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Joſiah*, and deſcribes it in the moſt lively colours, comparing it to that of *No*, a populous city in *Lower Egypt*, lately taken by the *Aſſyrians*, who committed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt her inhabitants (99).

(97) *Vid.* USSER. *in A. M.* 3295. (98) 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 23, & *ſeq.* (99) *Nah. paſſ. &c.* 1. 8. & *ſeq.*

of

of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his afcending the throne. He ſeems not only to have ſtrove to outdo all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, idolatry, tyranny, and ſacrilege, but even to have ſhewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct oppoſition to him. *Hezekiah*'s firſt care had been to root out all *idolatry out of his kingdom, and to reſtore* the worſhip of God, and the ſervice of the temple, to its priſtine order and ſplendor. His graceleſs ſon, on the contrary, made it his ſtudy to baniſh religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; beſides witchcraft, ſorceries, and every wicked cuſtom, that was uſed among the *Heathen* far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worſhip; the ſun, moon, planets, and a vaſt multitude of other heatheniſh gods, had alſo their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judah* and in *Jeruſalem*.

Idolatries. *Moloch* and the valley of *Hinnom* became more frequented than ever; the impious king encouraging his ſubjects to ſacrifice their children there, as *Ahaz* had done before. But the moſt execrable piece of wickedneſs and ſacrilege, was his

Sacrilege. introducing the vileſt of idolatries into the very temple of God, and cauſing a *graven image of the grove*, a filthy idol, worſhipped with the filthieſt ceremonies, to be ſet up in the moſt ſacred (X) place; as if he had deſigned to drive the God of *Iſrael* out of his habitation, and to diſclaim at once all thoſe great bleſſings, which he had promiſed to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all that did worſhip him there [1].

For theſe abominations he was often and ſeverely reproved by ſeveral prophets, who foretold him, that he was provoking God to bring ſuch dreadful deſolations upon him and his kingdom; that *Jeruſalem* would become like a diſh, that is wiped clean and turned upſide down. But theſe threatnings

[1] 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3, & al. paſſ.

(X) Some think, that he did even cauſe the ark to be taken out of the moſt holy place, to make room for his molten idol; becauſe it is ſaid in the *Chronicles*, that *Joſiah* did order the *Levites* to depoſite it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it ſhall be no longer a burden upon your ſhoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the prieſts had timely conveyed it out of the ſanctuary before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their cuſtody till *Joſiah*'s reign.

(100) 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 3.

Were

were ſo far from reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him ſeek only for the moſt violent means to ſilence not only thoſe prophets, but all that dared to expreſs a diſlike to his impieties. *Jeruſalem* became ſoon after the ſcene of the moſt horrid cruelties, which *Manaſſeh*, now become a tyrant of the firſt magnitude, cauſed to be exerciſed on prophets and prieſts, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood and with butchered bodies, from the one end to the other [k]. At length providence was pleaſed to put a ſignal ſtop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of ſome of the chief commanders of the *Aſſyrian* army, who came upon him ſo ſuddenly, that, ſeeing no way to eſcape, he went and hid himſelf in a thicket. He was, however, ſoon brought out of it, and loaden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there caſt into a dungeon by *Eſſar-haddon* or *Aſſaradin*, king of *Aſſyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy*'s canon, had made himſelf maſter of *Babylon* about ſix years before, and was by this time become ſole monarch over both empires [l].

His murders and tyranny.

His miſerable captivity.

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invaſion, or, which ſeems more likely, by ſome ſudden incurſion, nor in what year of *Manaſſeh*'s reign it happened; the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annaliſts. However that be, the diſtreſſed king ſoon opened his eyes to all his miſcarriages and impieties, which his proſperity would not ſuffer him to ſee; and, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, did ſend ſo many deep ſighs to heaven, ſo humble an acknowledgment of his fault, and ſuch earneſt prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and a happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y). How long his impriſonment

Reſtored to his liberty.

[k] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1. ad 10. [l] See USHER ſub A. M. 3323.

(Y) Theſe remarkable circumſtances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which ſays only that he reigned fifty five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All theſe particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Archbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves (2), from the following chapters out of the ſame author, that the kingdom of *Iſrael* had not been ſo far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a conſiderable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the ſame time, and perhaps by the

(1) *Ibid. xxxiii.* 11. *& ſeq.* (2) *Sub A. M.* 3327.

His repentance and reformation.

ment lasted (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not say; thus much is plain from it, that from the greatest sinner, he returned the greatest penitent (A), and from the bloodiest tyrant, became one of the best monarchs. So that after his return, he bestowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages, which his impiety same forces, which took *Manasseh* prisoner. This last and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by *Isaiah* about sixty five years before against *Israel*, under the name of *Ephraim* (3). We read, indeed, of several *Israelitish* tribes being invited to the passover at *Jerusalem* in a succeeding reign, but we take them to be those who came and sheltered themselves in the kingdom of *Judah*, during the siege of *Samaria*, to escape being carried into bondage by the *Assyrian* king; as we hinted under the last reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it lasted as long as *Essar-haddon* lived, that is, as our chronologers compute it, about six years (4). *Josephus* only says, that the king of *Babylon* gave him his liberty after some time, but doth not say how long (5); but the general opinion is, that he was set free in the very same year that he was taken prisoner. This is also the opinion of the *Talmudists*, who place both his repentance and imprisonment in the 34th year of his age; and this seems the more probable of the two, because the author of the book of *Kings* makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty five years reign, as if no such thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old testament, intituled, *The prayers of* Manasseh *king of* Judah, *when he was holden captive in* Babylon, which, if it was penned by him, expresses the greatness of his guilt, repentance, and misery, in the strongest terms; particulary, with respect to the last, it has this expression, That he was so loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentic proof of these, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; though we should be loth to deny, that this prayer was composed by him, during his imprisonment, because we find an expression in the book of *Chronicles* (6), which shews, at least, that there was some such prayer of his composing kept upon record; and it is scarce possible to pen one more expressive of his misery and repentance, than this we are speaking of.

It was also about this time, or soon after it, that the siege of *Bethulia* happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherously murdered by *Judith*; but as the story is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the history of the kings of *Judah*, we shall say no more of it here.

(3) *Isai. vii.* 8. T. *sub. A. M.* 3310. *xxxiii.* 19.

(4) *Vid.* Usher. *ib. sup.* Calmet. *Hist.* V.

(5) *Ant. l. x. c.* 4.

(6) 2 *Chron.*

had

had cauſed, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his firſt cares was to clear the ſanctuary and the court of the temple of thoſe idols which he had cauſed to be ſet up there, and which the prieſts had not had the courage or power to remove during his abſence; and to reſtore the ſervice of it to its antient order and ſplendor. He then ſent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his ſubjects to follow his example, and to demoliſh all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with alſo by the people every where; only the high places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal to go through with theſe, by reaſon of the people's obſtinate fondneſs for them. He took the ſame care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the ſenſe of his former miſcarriages not ſuffering him to think himſelf worthy to be depoſited among his anceſtors; and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ammon* [m].

His death. Year of the Flood, 2356. Year before Chriſt 643.

Ammon was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, ſo that he could have obſerved nothing in his father's example, but the greateſt tokens of piety and goodneſs; and yet ſo infatuated was he, that he gave himſelf up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give ſome early proofs, that he deſigned to outdo him in his moſt abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by ſome of his chief officers, who aſſaſſinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the ſame garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpuniſhed: the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, who had had no ſhare in this rebellion, roſe up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conſpirators, they placed his ſon *Joſiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age [n].

Ammon's idolatry, and death.

IT is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be ſo ſoon over-run with all kind of wickedneſs and idolatry, in the ſhort time of *Ammon*'s reign, after it had been ſo thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to ſuch a degree of impiety, when *Joſiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was cotemporary with

[m] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ad 20. [n] Ibid. ver. 21, to the end. 2 Kings xxi 19, & ſeq.

him, gives us a moſt dreadful catalogue of the licentiouſneſs and irreligion that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magiſtrates, reigned injuſtice, oppreſſion, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the prieſts, pride, avarice, corruption, and a ſhameful traffic of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men ſwearing with the ſame breath by the Lord and by *Malcom*; altars reared every where to *Baal*, to the whole hoſt of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen [o]; the very ſanctuary itſelf was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furniſhed with male proſtitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries [p].

Joſiah's good reign.

IN this ſad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it; ſo that it required nothing leſs than a miracle to reform it. But a *Joſiah* had been miraculouſly promiſed above 300 years before, by a prophet ſent on purpoſe to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel* †, one who was to work the greateſt reformation that ever was done in the land, ſince it was to reach through the two kingdoms; and this *Joſiah* was the perſon deſigned by God for that glorious work. However, his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps adviſing with ſuch pious counſellors, as could beſt inſtruct him, both about what was to be done, and the propereſt means of accompliſhing it. He married in the 15th year of his age, and in the 16th he had a ſon and a ſucceſſor born unto him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B); after which he ſet himſelf about his premeditated deſign, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, conſidering his years, and the arduouſneſs of the taſk, could be owing to nothing leſs than a ſupernatural impulſe. His extraordinary ſucceſs and expedition,

[o] Zephan. paſſ. i. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, & ſeq. † See before, p. 19.

(B) Probably in full confidence, that God would proſper his deſign, אליקים *Eliakim* ſignifying, *God ſhall eſtabliſh, make to proſper*, &c the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is eaſily inferred from his being 25 years old when he began to reign (7), for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was ſucceeded at firſt by *Jehoahaz*, who was younger by two years than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharaoh-necho* ſet upon the throne ſome three months after (9).

(7) *Vid.* 2 *Kings xxiii.* 36. (8) *Ibid xxii.* 1. (9) *Ibid. xxiii.* 31, *& ſeq.*

and

and the univerſal deſtruction he made, both in *Judah* and *Iſrael*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other idolatrous monuments, but alſo of the high places, which ſeveral of his predeceſſors had in vain attempted to aboliſh, do ſhew indeed, that he was aſſiſted by the ſame divine power, that had inſpired him with the deſign. This laſt kind of worſhip was not indeed an idolatrous one, becauſe it was directed to the God of *Iſrael*, to whom the prieſts, the ſons of *Aaron*, offered ſacrifices upon thoſe altars, which had formerly been reared by *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; but it was afterwards expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes*, and the tabernacle and temple ordered to be the only places for ſuch ſacrifices, unleſs it was otherwiſe commanded by inſpired perſons, and upon ſome particular occaſions, as we have elſewhere hinted *. The more effectually therefore to cure this obſtinate evil, *Joſiah* cauſed all thoſe places to be polluted with dead mens bones, and ordered all thoſe prieſts, who had vacated at that unlawful worſhip, to be for ever excluded, both from all ſacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewiſe ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combuſtible materials, which had ſerved to any idolatrous purpoſes, together with the chariots and horſes, which had been dedicated to the ſun (C), the veſſels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour,

Atotal reformation in his kingdom.

* See Vol. III. p. 289. not. (H).

(C) Theſe chariots and horſes, the text ſays (10), ſtood at the entrance into the houſe of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved, or molten, is not eaſy to determine. The antient *Perſians*, we are told, did indeed uſe to conſecrate white horſes and chariots to the ſun, with which they adorned their proceſſions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can ſee no reaſon, therefore, why ſo many learned commentators ſhould ſcruple to ſuppoſe, that the *Jews* had adopted this, among other far worſe heatheniſh idolatries, and rather chooſe to fancy, that theſe chariots and horſes were only carved, or caſt, and ſet up in a chapel dedicated to the ſun, or barely carved in baſs-relief, or even painted againſt the walls of it; eſpecially, conſidering how ſoon the prophet *Amos*, and from him St. *Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is of the ſun, as we have ſhewed more than once, and the ſtar of their god *Rempham*.

(10) *Ibid. ver.* 11. (11) *Vid.* Herodot. *lib.* 7. Xenoph. Q. Curt. Ovid. *faſt. lib.* 1. Juſtin. *l* 1. *c.* 10. *Vid.* & Bochart. Hieroz. *pt. I. l.* 2. *c.* 10. & *al.* (12) *Vid.* Hide *Rel. vet. Perſ.* Kopping. *Antiq. Rom.* (13) *Amos v.* 25. *Acts vii.* 43.

What

nour, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries, and those that could not be burnt he caused to be flung into the river *Kidron*.

FROM *Jerusalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, called also the mount of corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars, which had been set up there by *Solomon*, and repaired from time to time by several of his impious successors, and demolished and defiled them all. He did the same at the valley of *Hinnom*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of *Moloch*; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jeroboam*, the first king of *Israel*, set up one of his golden calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be digged up and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet, who came from *Judah* to denounce to *Jeroboam* that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes; by this means those of the lying prophet, who had been the cause of his disobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried close by him, escaped being disturbed, and perhaps being burned with the rest. After this, *Josiah* took a circuit through all the cities of *Israel*, many of which lay almost desolate, and destroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the *Israelites*, or the *Assyrian* colonies, had set up, and put all their idolatrous priests to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to *Jerusalem*, and set himself about

What convinces us farther, that these were real chariots drawn by horses, and bearing some image of the sun, is, that the text expressly says here, that *Josiah* did not burn chariots and horses, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horses, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleases, see what we have observed concerning this kind of idolatrous processions, in another place, out of some verses of the 16th psalm †.

(14) 2 *Kings xxiii.* 11. † *Vid. Vol. III. p.* 16. *not.* (O).

restoring

reſtoring the worſhip of God and the uſual ſervice of the temple (D).

By this time *Joſiah* had attained to the 26th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that ſacred place, which made it neceſſary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings uſed to be depoſited, to be opened, and the money to be diſtributed among ſuch faithful overſeers, as would ſet about the work out of hand; and to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilſt this was doing, the high-prieſt, who probably preſided over the work, ſent word to the king that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had ſent

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet *Jeremiah*, who began to propheſy in the 13th year of his reign (15). *Jeremiah* was a prophet altogether miraculous, being choſen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exerciſe of it whilſt he was but a child; he was the ſon of *Hilchiah*, not the then high-prieſt of that name, as ſome have imagined, but of the race of *Ithamar*, and lived at *Anathoth* (16), a place within two or three miles from *Jeruſalem*, it being the ſeat of one of their anceſtors (17); ſo that it is hardly poſſible, that he ſhould be unknown to ſo pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it muſt be remembered, that he delivered his prophecies at firſt only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*; but we find him very early, at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments againſt *Judah*, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18). As he continued to propheſy till the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and was often conſulted by ſeveral kings and nobles, we ſhall have occaſion, more than once, to ſpeak of him in the ſequel.

Zephaniah did likewiſe propheſy in the ſame reign, and much to the ſame purpoſe, with what we mentioned of *Jeremiah*; the main ſcope of their propheſies being chiefly levelled againſt the various abominations committed in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* (19); and both were probably deſigned to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent their murmuring againſt or obſtructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by *Moſes*, and by him ordered to be depoſited, with the ark, in

(15) *Jerem. i. 2.* (16) *Ibid. & ver. 5, 6.* (17) *Vid. 1 Kings. ii. 26.* (18) *Jerem. c. vii. & ſeq.* (19) *Zeph. i. 1, & ſeq. ii, iii. paſſ.*

the

sent to him by the secretary of the temple. *Josiah* delayed not to read it; and when he found what dreadful judgments were

the most holy place (20), but which some pious high-priest had caused to be thus hid, in the reign of *Ahaz* or *Manasseh*, to prevent its being destroyed with all the other copies of it; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the history, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much disputed, whether it was the whole *Pentateuch*, emphatically called התורה, *Hatborah*, the law; or only *Deuteronomy*, or even barely the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters of it. *Josephus*, by calling it the sacred books of *Moses* (22), seems to declare entirely for the first; others have declared for the second (23), because the book of *Deuteronomy* is a kind of repetition or epitome of the *Mosaic* law; lastly, a late commentator, among some others, holds the last of these three opinions (24), and thinks, that nothing more is meant here, than that short summary which is found in the 28th and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the blessings and curses, which so alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed, that part, which, we observed elsewhere, *Moses* enjoined their future kings to write, and preserve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded *Joshua* to set up upon mount *Gerizim* (26); perhaps it might also be all that he ordained to be read by the priests, in the audience of all the people, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles (27), though it is called the law in all those places.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole *Deuteronomy*, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the *Pentateuch* recovered? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, than this summary must have been in it; and it will be surprising, that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal, and if any such had been presented to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (28), that it was the whole *Pentateuch*; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

(20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & *seq.* (21) *It. Jud. per. omn. vid. lib.* Nitzachon. (22) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 5. (23) Procop. Gazen. & *al. ap.* Patric. *in loc.* (24) Calmet. *Comm. in loc.* & *Hist.* V. T. *l.* 5 *c.* 8. (25) *See Vol. III. p.* 36. *in fin. not.* F. (26) *Ibid* & *alib.* (27) *Ibid. p.* 39. (38) *Vid.* Munst. Grot. Jun. Usher. Le Clerc. Patric Prideaux. & *al. mult.*

If

were denounced in it, againſt thoſe very abominations, with which he had found the whole land over-run at his firſt coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expreſſed the moſt lively tokens of grief, not doubting, but both he, and his whole kingdom, would ſoon feel the effects of thoſe threatnings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jeruſalem*, a famed propheteſs named *Huldah*; to her therefore *Joſiah* diſpatched ſome of his prime officers, with the high-prieſt at their head, to inquire, what would be the fate both of the king and people, ſeeing they had incurred the curſes contained in that ſacred volume; and theſe brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all thoſe ſevere puniſhments upon his faithleſs and ungrateful ſubjects; but that as for himſelf, the concern and remorſe which he had lately expreſſed for it, had ſo far ſuſpended the divine vengeance, that he ſhould be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

IT was in the ſame year, and probably upon the reading of that ſacred book, that *Joſiah* became ſenſible, that they had been guilty of a ſhameful neglect of the three grand feſ-

If it be aſked, how the king could run over thoſe five books ſo quickly, as to come preſently to thoſe bleſſings and curſes, which are contained in the very latter end of the laſt of them; it may be anſwered, that that might be the very reaſon; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a conſiderable length, which were rolled up round one or two ſticks, it might ſo happen, that theſe laſt chapters proved on the out ſide, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have curioſity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the *Jews*, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Something like which we find happened under the goſpel (30).

What appears moſt ſurpriſing is, that all the copies of the ſcriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* ſeems to have cauſed to be written and diſperſed about his kingdom (31), ſhould be ſo ſoon vaniſhed, that neither *Joſiah* nor the high-prieſt had ever ſeen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be ſaid in the caſe is, that *Manaſſeh*, during the former part of his reign, had made ſuch havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preſerved them with the utmoſt caution and privacy. The *Jews* do even add, that he cauſed not only the ſcriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be deſtroyed.

(29) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* PRID. *Connect. lib.* I. (30) Acts viii. 26, *& ſeq.* (31) *Vid.* PROV. XXV. 1.

ſtivals enjoined by *Moſes*. To retrieve this fault, he aſſembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them, how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Moſaic* law, and read it himſelf before them; he then acquainted them with his deſign of expiating, as much as poſſible, their former neglect, by a more careful obſervance of it; and, as the ſolemn feaſt of the paſſover was near at hand, which he was reſolved ſhould be celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themſelves for that grand feſtival. Whilſt the people were purifying themſelves, *Joſiah* commanded the prieſts to make a more ſtrict ſearch into the temple, and to caſt out and deſtroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the ſacred utenſils, which had been removed out of it in ſome former reigns, and to depoſite them in their former place and order: All theſe were readily complied with both by prieſts and people; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paſchal lamb. This is again noted to have been obſerved with greater zeal and magnificence, than had been done by any of his predeceſſors ſince *Samuel*'s time. After this, the king took a ſecond progreſs through the kingdom, to purge it of all thoſe abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the firſt circuit; he expelled all the wizards, enchanters, and ſuch like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; ſettled courts of judicature every where, giving ſtrict charge, both to the magiſtrates, and alſo to the prieſts and *Levites*, to ſee that the people were inſtructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of *Moſes*[r].

The paſſover kept.

Thus did that good monarch endeavour, with the ſincereſt zeal, to reſtore the pure worſhip of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of ſuperſtition and idolatry; in hopes, if poſſible, to avert his impending judgment from falling upon them. But for all this, the text obſerves, that his anger was not abated in the leaſt againſt the people; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole hiſtory ſhews, ready for every market. They could ſo far comply with their pious monarchs, as to ſhew an outward zeal for God, and a diſlike for idolatry; but what proves their want of ſincerity, whenever they acted ſuch a part, is their readineſs to relapſe into the vileſt abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. Theſe forced reformations therefore could

[r] 2 Kings xxii, & xxiii. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxxiv, & xxxv. paſſ.

not

not but render them more odious in the ſight of God, ſo that, having denounced a total deſtruction againſt the land, by his prophet *Zephaniah* [r] and by the propheteſs *Huldah*, he haſtened to take the good prince to himſelf, according to his promiſe, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Joſiah had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when *Pharaoh-Necho* came up againſt the *Aſſyrians*, or rather *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemiſh*, (F) which was ſituate upon the river *Euphrates* [t]. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether *Joſiah* looked upon the deſign of this expedition to be levelled againſt his own territories; or, which is ſtill more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of tribute and obligation to thoſe of *Babylon*, ever ſince *Manaſſeh* had been reſtored to his kingdom; which would have made it a breach of faith in *Joſiah*, to have ſuffered an enemy of theirs to paſs through his territories, in an hoſtile expedition againſt them; or, laſtly, whether he had entered into ſome alliance with them; he came with a powerful army againſt him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo* (G). Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him from concerning himſelf in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by aſſuring him by his embaſſadors, that he had no hoſtile deſign againſt him; *Joſiah* would not be perſuaded, but diſguiſed himſelf, and drove directly againſt him. The text ſeems even to intimate, as if his chief deſign had been to fight him in perſon; but before he could reach him, he received

Joſiah *mortally wounded at* Megiddo.

Year of the Flood, 2389. Before Chriſt, 610.

[r] Zeph. i. 1, & ſeq. [t] See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

(F) This place, *Iſaiah* tells us, had formerly belonged to *Sennacherib* (32), and was now under the *Babylonians*; for theſe had, ere now, reduced the *Aſſyrian* empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in ſome former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of *Manaſſeh* (33), *Joſiah* might not only reſent his paſſing through his territories without his leave, but alſo think, that his deſign was to invade them, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations to the contrary, and his pretended commiſſion from God to make war againſt the king of *Babylon* (34). It is likely, indeed, that this laſt pretence from an *Egyptian* prince could not make any great impreſſion upon him, becauſe he had only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be ſuppoſed to come, not from the true God, but from his *Egyptian* deities. But *Joſiah* was given up to die by this expedition, and was ſuffered to ruſh into it, without conſulting the Lord about the juſtice or ſucceſs of it.

(32) *Ch.* x. 9. (33) *Vid.* Joſh. xvii. 11. (34) 2 *Ch.* xxxv. 20;

a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached *Jerusalem* [u], in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is supposed to have composed that most excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death [w]; wherein he expresses the mournful state of the kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than describe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the composition is of the acrostic kind, and as the subject of the whole is mourning, which is always most naturally and freely vented and expressed, when confined to number, so here every verse is a sentence, which abounds still with some new, strong, and lively image of the deepest grief (H). There was indeed the greatest cause to lament so good a prince's fall, since with him expired at once the religion, happiness, and glory of the nation.

Jehoahaz his short reign.

Josiah was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz*, whom the people set upon the throne, in the 23d year of his age; not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of *Josiah*'s (I) sons,

[u] Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. & seq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, & seq. See also Vol. II. p. 46. [w] Vid. Hieron. præf. in thræn. Usser. & al.

(H) The text says indeed, that *Jeremiah* composed a lamentation, which was sung by a number of singing men and women, both at his funeral, and passed into use afterwards upon all mournful occasions, and that they are written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Josephus* add (36), that they were still extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the same with those we have now under that name.

But as *Josiah*'s death was sudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible, that such a long elegy as this, could be composed, and set to music, against his funeral; and it is more probable, that that which accompanied his obsequies was much shorter, such perhaps as *David* made upon the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (37), and was since lost; and that this we are speaking of was composed in some subsequent reign, or perhaps, more probaby, upon occasion of the *Jewish* captivity (38); we find likewise, that the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded by God to compose such another *Lamentation* upon this last occasion *, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the first book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Josiah* left four sons, the youngest is there, and by *Jeremiah*, called *Shallum*,

(35) *Ibid ver.* 25. (36) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 6. (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, & *seq.* (38) *Vid. int. al.* Lament. i 3. * Ezek. xix. 1, & *seq.* (39) *Ch.* iii. 15.

but

ſons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he deſigned to reign as wickedly as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, but it was ſoon put out of his power: however, *Jeremiah* was at firſt ſent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, inſtead of making a ſhew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he ſhould be carried away captive and die in a ſtrange land[x]. *Pharaoh-Necho* came accordingly againſt *Jeruſalem*, in his return from the *Aſſyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having ſet his elder brother *Eliakim*, whoſe name he changed into that of *Jehoiakim* (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver and one talent of gold; he put the captive prince in bands at *Riblath*, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he ended his days[y] (L).

Deposed, and carried captive into Egypt.

Jehoiakim

[x] See Jerem. xxii. 1, & ſeq. [y] 2 Kings xxiii. 31, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4. Ezek. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

but is the ſame with *Jehoahaz* (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at leaſt two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he ſucceeded him, which he did three months after. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who thinks, that the people choſe him in haſte, leſt *Pharaoh-Necho* ſhould ſurpriſe them without a head, ſuppoſes, that they exchanged his name *Shallum*, which they thought unfortunate, becauſe the only king of *Iſrael* of that name had been murdered in the firſt month of his reign, for that of *Jehoahaz*, which they thought carried a more promiſing omen (41).

(K) The ſame learned prelate ſuppoſes this change of names to have been deſigned by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgment, that he owed his victory over the *Aſſyrians* to the God of *Iſrael*, by whoſe command he had undertaken that war againſt them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יְהוֹיָקִים, *Jehovah-Jakim*, that is, the God of *Iſrael* hath or ſhall make it to proſper, &c. But, as it was the cuſtom of conquerors to give new names to thoſe whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of ſubjection, this laſt ſeems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not eaſy to gueſs what induced the *Egyptian* monarch to ſhew ſuch preference to *Eliakim*, and to uſe *Jehoahaz* with ſuch ſeverity. It can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he laid ſo much ſtreſs upon the right of primogeniture, as to puniſh this laſt for having uſurped his brother's crown; perhaps the *Jews* have found out, for once, the reaſon of it from the words of *Ezekiel*; the prophet repreſents that young prince as a courageous undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey, and concludes with

(40) Jerem. xxii. 11, 12. (41) *Sub A. M.* 3371. (42). *Sub A. M.* 3394. *p.* 82.

this

Jehoiakim's *wicked reign.*

Jehoiakim was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; for this *Jeremiah* was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, and the place the court of the temple. He threatned them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquitted and set at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court; who, being persuaded that he spoke by divine command, reminded his accusers of some other prophets, who had formerly denounced the same heavy judgments unpunished and unmolested [z]. *Jeremiah* was not the only one who was sent upon this dangerous errand; *Uriah*, another prophet, was forced to fly towards *Egypt*, for having dared to utter much the same prophesies against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but the king was so exasperated at him, that he sent some of his men to fetch him back; and, as soon as he was come to *Jerusalem*, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcass to be thrown among those of the viler sort. *Jeremiah* had doubtless undergone the same fate, had he not had a powerful protector with the king, *Ahikam*, the son of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Josiah*, who found means to screen him from the fury of the king and people [a]; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon* [b].

Jeremiah *accused.*

Uriah *put to death.*

[z] Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19. [a] Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. [b] Ibid. xxvii. 1, ad 11.

this expression; *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their snare, and brought into* Egypt, *loaden with chains* (43).

From this passage they conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolved to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by him; but whether *Pharaoh* came against him to *Jerusalem*, or *Jehoahaz* went out against him to *Carchemish*, they are not agreed; but either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should in time undertake the same exploit against him (44).

(43) *Ch.* xix. 2, 3, 4. (44) *Vid.* Sanct. & Munst. *in* 2 Reg. xxiii. 33.

ABOUT

ABOUT four years after, finding, that his prophecies had had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and of the temple, and the *Babyloniſh* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he ſaid would laſt ſeventy years, ſoon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become deſolate (M). And in the ſame year, being ſhut up in priſon, either for that or ſome former propheſy, he cauſed *Baruc*, who was his ſcribe to write from his mouth the tenor of the ſame threatnings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then aſſembled at the temple, it ſeems, upon ſome ſolemn faſt (N), *Baruc* obeyed, and ſome of the chief miniſters, being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who was then ſitting by the fire. He had ſcarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and flung it in the fire, notwithſtanding the endeavours of thoſe that were preſent to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his meſſenger had doubtleſs felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpuniſhed. The prophet was ordered to write the ſame denunciations again[d], which were

The Babyloniſh captivity foretold.

Jehoiakim's impiety

[c] Ibid xxv. 1, 2, & ſeq. [d] Ibid xxxvi. 1, & ſeq.

(M) This captivity was likewiſe foretold, though not in ſuch plain terms, by *Iſaiah* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and alſo by *Habakkuk*. This laſt, expoſtulating with God about the incorrigible hardneſs of the *Jews*, is anſwered, that they would be ſhortly invaded and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewiſe foretold the vaſt ſucceſſes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the proſperity of that wicked prince and people, he is anſwered, that they alſo ſhould in due time become the ſcorn of other nations, and a prey to thoſe whom they had ſubdued.

(N) Probably that of expiation, which, as we obſerved elſewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month *Tiſri*, anſwering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here obſerved to have been towards winter; and we do not find, that they had any other faſt before the captivity †; neither do they ſeem to have been ſenſible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpoſe. It is indeed ſaid there, that it was in the 9th month, that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have elapſed, before thoſe nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with ſuch diſagreeable news.

(45) *Ch. xxiii. 15, & ſeq.* (46) *Habak. i. 2, & ſeq.* † *Vid. Vol III. p.* 201, & Uſſer. *ſub A. M.* 3397. *p.* 83. (47) *Jerem. xxxvi. 22.*

ſoon

Jehoiakim's reign. ſoon after fulfilled, by the coming of the *Babyloniſh* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commiſſion from God, againſt him and his whole kingdom; as we ſhall ſee in due time.

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worſhip, the only crimes with which *Jehoiakim's* reign is branded; he added to them the moſt horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodſhed; building and adorning the moſt ſumptuous palaces, by violence and oppreſſion; perverting juſtice, inventing crimes againſt the innocent to put them to death, and many more ſuch like impieties: beſides his being deaf to the admonitions of ſo many prophets. For theſe *Jeremiah* pronounced at laſt this dreadful ſentence againſt him; that he ſhould be given up into the hands of his moſt dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he ſhould die unpitied and unlamented, that he ſhould have the ſepulture of an aſs, and that his carcaſs ſhould rot upon the ground [e]. By this time alſo two ſingular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the reſt, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had, ſome time before, forewarned him from relying upon the aſſiſtance of the king of *Egypt*, whoſe army was ſtill at *Carchemiſh*, ſince it would be totally overthrown by the more ſucceſsful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar* [f], the prince pointed out by providence to ſubdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim's* reign, when that young victorious prince, having been taken into partnerſhip of the empire with his father, and ſent againſt the king of *Egypt*, gave him an entire defeat at *Carchemiſh*, took the place, put the whole gariſon to the ſword, and beat back the troops that came to its aſſiſtance †.

Jeruſalem taken. THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah's* misfortunes: the conqueror marched directly againſt *Jeruſalem* and took it (O); rifled the temple of its moſt precious furniture,

[e] Ibid. ver. 30. 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13. to the end.
[f] Ibid. xlvi. 1, & ſeq. † See Vol. II. p. 47, & ſeq. Uss. ſub A. M. 3397.

(O) This *Uſher* proves to have happened in the ninth month, from the anniverſary faſt which the *Jews* have kept ever ſince in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth obſerving, becauſe the ſeventy years captivity, foretold by *Jeremiah*, muſt be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(48) *Vid.* Uſſ. *ub. ſup.*

niture, and the royal palace of its moſt hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Iſaiah*'s propheſy to *Hezekiah* [g]; and the city of all its choiceſt youths, whether for blood, learning, wit or beauty, to be likewiſe ſent to *Babylon*. Among theſe laſt was *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at firſt put in bonds, and deſigned to be ſent away with the reſt; but, upon his ſubmiſſion, and promiſe of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conqueſts he found means to rebel againſt him, after a three years ſubjection, and continued about three years without paying him any tribute: this rebellion coſt him dear, for that prince, exaſperated againſt him, inſtead of coming in perſon, ſent an army into *Judæa*, conſiſting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who waſted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 priſoners; among whom, *Joſephus* ſays, was the prophet *Ezekiel* [h]; but it is more likely, that he ſtayed at *Jeruſalem* till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcaſs out of the city gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah*'s prediction (P). Jehoiakim's *death.*

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[g] Dan. i. 2, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [h] Ant. l. x. c. 8.

(P) This laſt circumſtance of the king's death is only inferred from the tenor of the propheſy above mentioned; for neither the book of *Kings*, nor that of the *Chronicles*, make mention of it; the former of which doth even ſay, that he ſlept with his fathers (40); by which muſt be only meant, that he died as they did. *Joſephus*, who relates this ſtory a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the *Babylonians*, doth however own, that his body was caſt out of the city, and left expoſed in the field (50). Other *Jews* think, that he died as they were carrying him priſoner into *Babylon*, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The laſt quoted place out of the *Chronicles* ſays, that his acts and *abominations* were recorded in the book of the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. Theſe abominations may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be his idolatries, murders, oppreſſions, and rebellion; but the *Targum* mentions, moreover, his having the image of *Baal* upon his forehead; others ſay, that he had ſeveral charms and ſtigmata

(49) *Conf.* 2 *Kings xxiv.* 6. 2 *Chron. xxxvi.* 8. (50) *Ant. l. x. c.* 8. (51) Abarban. *ap.* Patric. *in* 2 *Kings xxiv.* 6.

Jehoiachin's *wicked reign,*

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jehoiachin*, called alſo *Jechoniah*, and in contempt *Coniah* (Q), who, was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s mind, or endeavoured to ſhake off his yoke, the text doth not ſay, but only obſerves, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up againſt him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in an hoſtile but ſubmiſſive manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all ſent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the laſt note. The temple, palace, treaſury, and the whole city were a ſecond time ranſacked, and ſtripped of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utenſils of the temple, which had continued there ever ſince the time of *Solomon*, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewiſe tranſported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wiſdom; beſides 1000 of the beſt artificers in gold, ſilver, and other metals and materials; in a word, he left ſcarcely any behind, but the very common people to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is moſt generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he ſet *Mattaniah*, who was the ſon of *Joſiah* and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and ſubjection [1], returned to his dominions.

Year of the Flood, 2400. Year before Chriſt 599 — *and captivity.*

Zedekiah's *reign.*

Zedekiah began to reign in the 21ſt year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predeceſſors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* ſome few years, during which, he received ſome embaſſies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the ſame yoke with him; ſeemingly indeed to congratulate him upon

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 12, & ſeq.

found upon his body, which proved, that he dealt in deviliſh arts (52); and much more to the ſame purpoſe.

(Q) He is called by this laſt name in *Jeremiah*, who uttered this dreadful propheſy againſt him (53).—That he ſhould be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*; — that he and his mother ſhould end their days in a ſtrange country, wiſhing ſtill in vain to return into their own land: as it happened accordingly not long after.

(52) *Vid. de his Auct. tradit. Hebr. in paralip.* Hieron. *in loc* Eupolem. *ap.* Euſeb. Toſtat. & *al.* (53) *Ch. xxii. 24, & ſeq.*

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his acceſſion to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him againſt the *Chaldeans* †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their propoſal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, ſent to every one of the embaſſadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their reſpective maſters, adviſing them in the name of God to ſubmit themſelves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much ſeverer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying ſooth-ſayers and ſtar-gazers [k]. There were at the ſame time in *Jeruſalem* ſeveral pretended prophets, who endeavoured to perſuade the too credulous king that in ſpite of *Jeremiah*'s predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be ſhortly at an end, and that the ſacred veſſels which had been carried away, would be all reſtored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replied, that thoſe few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the reſt. Thus, for ſome years, there was nothing ſcarcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the falſe prophets, and deſolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raiſed him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judæa*, but even in *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as *Zedekiah* ſent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the ſeventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into *Judæa*, to deſire that he might be apprehended and puniſhed, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of *Iſrael*, but what the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him [l].

Deceived by his falſe prophets.

THIS conteſt laſted ſome years, during which, his enemies had in vain eſſayed to ſtop his mouth, by cauſing him to be apprehended and impriſoned. The infatuated king was at length perſuaded, by his falſe prophets, to ſhake off the *Babyloniſh* yoke, and that raſh enterpriſe compleated both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and haſtened the total deſtruction of the temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, waſted the whole country, ſeized upon his fortreſſes, and at length laid cloſe ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any proviſion either for his own defence or eſcape [m]. It was then that, ſeeing his error too late, he ſent privately for *Jeremiah*, to conſult with him what

Rebels againſt Nebuchadnezzar.

Jeruſalem beſieged.

† See Vol. II. p. 96.

[k] Jerem. xxvii. paſſ. [l] Ibid. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 1, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. & JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 10.

to do; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be deſtroyed, and himſelf and all his ſubjects carried into captivity (R); which anſwer did ſo exaſperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into priſon [n]. In the mean time *Pharaoh-Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army againſt the beſiegers: *Joſephus* ſays, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke [o]; if ſo, he was the only one that kept it with him; for as for all thoſe other princes, who ſent their embaſſadors to him at the firſt, it is plain, that they were ſo far from aſſiſting him, that they rather became his enemies and accuſers. However that be, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raiſed the ſiege for the preſent, and marched directly againſt them. This ſpread ſuch an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themſelves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their ſervice thoſe very ſervants whom they had but lately diſmiſſed, it being the ſabbatic year; not ſo much out of regard to the law of *Moſes*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*. The king, however, was not ſo ſanguine, but ſent to deſire *Jeremiah* to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation; but was anſwered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the ſiege with freſh vigour, and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his eſcape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be ſcourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time, *Nebuchadnezzar*, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the ſiege, and carried it on ſo vigorouſ-

[n] Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & ſeq. [o] Ubi ſupra.

(R) About the ſame time, *Ezekiel* propheſied at the captivity (54) much the ſame things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jeruſalem*; only with this difference ſeemingly, that the one ſaid, the king ſhould never ſee *Babylon*; whereas the other ſaid expreſly, that he ſhould be carried thither priſoner, and end his days there. This ſeeming contradiction, *Joſephus* tells us (55), ſtaggered the king's faith, and made him give leſs heed to them: but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himſelf, who adds, *that he ſhould die there*, though he did not ſee it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting out that unfortunate prince's eyes.

(54) Ezek. xxi. 1, & *ſeq.* xxiv. 1, & *ſeq.* (55) *Ant. l.* x. *c.* 10.

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ly, that the inhabitants began to labour under ſuch great ſcarcity of proviſions, that they found it impoſſible to hold it out longer. During this laſt ſiege, the king ſent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length ſome comfortable news; but neither his reſentment, nor the grievous things which he was made to ſuffer, could make him ſend a better anſwer, than that they muſt be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counſel, and tried to ſoften their conqueror by a timely ſubmiſſion; but inſtead of it, the king, to avoid the threatned captivity, endeavoured to make his eſcape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The *Chaldeans*, who were ſoon appriſed of it, purſued after them, and brought them back to their exaſperated monarch at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmoſt cruelty, by cauſing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody ſcene. This happened towards the end of the eleventh year of his reign; he was ſoon after ſent into *Babylon*, loaden with chains, and ended his days in a priſon. Zedekiah's *miſerable end.* Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before Chriſt 588.

IN the mean time, the *Chaldeans* having entered the city, fell to plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemen's houſes, and ſeized every where upon the richeſt ſpoil. *Nebuzar-adan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure, cauſed the two brazen columns, that ſtood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, ſilver, and coſtly furniture to be taken away, whilſt the reſt of his army made the ſame havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, anſwering to our *Auguſt* 27 [p], and a ſabbath day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the *The city plundered.*

[p] USSER. ſub A. M. 3416. p. 91.

(S) The ſame which *Solomon* had cauſed to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which we have ſpoken of in the deſcription of the temple. Theſe together with the large molten ſea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them maſter-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been ſpared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babyloniſh* general, who cauſed them to be all carried away, with a vaſt multitude of other ſacred utenſils, ſuch as cauldrons, cenſers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, ſilver, or copper.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, *& ſeq.*

whole

and burnt. whole city to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were next ordered to be demolished, and all the *Jews*, down to the very common people, to be carried away prisoners, except some few of the baser sort, whom he left to till the land [q]. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated and set at liberty, and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant left behind.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Israelitish* monarchy, after it had stood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the excision of the *Israelitish* commonwealth [r]; and had continued under the sun-shine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but their almost constant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes, which though become as abominable to God, as they were universally practised by mankind, yet seem to have flowed from a purer source, though corrupted by degrees to this vast height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind; but for this we shall refer the reader to the Appendix here annexed. How the *Jewish* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be seen in next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with respect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliah*, the *Jewish* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judah*.

HIS name was *Ishmael*, he had escaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nebuzar-adan*'s departure, he observed, that great numbers of dispersed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliah*, who gave them a kind

[q] 2 Kings xxv. pass. 2. Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. pass. JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 11. [r] See USSER. ubi sup.

(T) This *Gedaliah*, was the son of *Ahikam*, a person in such credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to screen that prophet from the resentment of the king, and fury of the people; so that it is very probable, *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nebuzar-adan*. And this might also be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judæa*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without some considerable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

reception,

reception, and plenty of proviſions to ſubſiſt upon, till they could come to till the land; and being moved with envy, and inſtigated by the *Ammonitiſh* king, came to him with ten reſolute fellows to *Mizpah*, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him. *Gedaliah* was indeed warned of his intent, but was ſo far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendſhip and reſpect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Iſhmael* an opportunity of murdering both him and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourſcore *Iſraelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there; he by ſome means enticed them to *Mizpah*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcaſſes into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of priſoners which he made at *Mizpah*, among whom were ſome princeſſes of *Judah*, whom the *Babyloniſh* general had left with *Gedaliah*; but was purſued by *Johanan* and ſome other *Hebrew* captains, who reſcued all the priſoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewiſh* officers, and the reſt of the people, ſo afraid of the *Chaldeans* reſentment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for ſafety. They conſulted *Jeremiah* about it, who gave them this anſwer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in *Judæa*, they ſhould be protected from the *Chaldeans*, but that if they perſiſted in their deſign of going down into *Egypt*, they ſhould all inevitably periſh there, and ſhare in the dreadful calamities of that periſhing kingdom. This ſpeech, however, was ſo far from deterring them, who were always bent upon diſobedience and contradiction, that, ſuſpecting him to have been inſtigated by *Baruc*, rather than inſpired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them alſo to go along with them. As ſoon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiah* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the deſolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar* [f]; which happened accordingly ſoon after, as we have ſeen elſewhere [†], and ſhall have occaſion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiah* is not known; ſome ſuppoſe him to have been ſtoned by his countrymen; but that is mere gueſs-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

[f] 2 Kings xxv. 23, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ubi ſup. ad fin. Jerem. xl, & ſeq. paſſ. [†] See Vol. II. p. 51.

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An APPENDIX,

Concerning the Rise and Progress of IDOLATRY *and* WITCHCRAFT.

WE hope our readers will not think it amiss, if we close this *Jewish* history with a short enquiry into the origin and progress of those two epidemic evils, *idolatry* and *witchcraft*, which had so long and so universally infected the world, and more particularly the *Israelites*; and proved so obstinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total excision of one of their kingdoms, and so long and severe a captivity upon the other.

WE shall, however, forbear descanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, because we think, that they have gone a great way for the causes of it, and overlooked those more natural ones which were just at their elbow. But here, with respect of the first of these evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of some judicious men [a], which fetches its origin from the promise, made to *Adam*, of the seed of the woman, or the Messiah and Mediator; from the progenitorship of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors suppose *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loss and disgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophesy; and instead of one mediator, to be born in after-ages of the line of *Shem*, to introduce the worship of a multiplicity of them, not of human race, but of some superior nature, among their posterity. And if it be at least a very probable opinion, that it was this very Messiah who appeared in some visible shape, and had frequent intercourses with *Adam* and the patriarchs; or though even these apparitions were, as others will have them, only those of angels, deputed by God, and speaking in his name †, but from whose intercourse he and his cursed posterity may be reasonably supposed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a superiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of those heavenly visiters, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus for instance, *Egypt* was the place, where *Ca-*

[a] Vid. int. al. ALIX. in Pentateuch. † See Vol. II. p. 371. not. (T). & p. 487. not. (S).

naan, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode; and how thriving a ſoil it proved for them, needs not to be repeated here; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their ſacrifices to the true God, upon thoſe altars only, which they occaſionally reared in thoſe places where he appeared to them, having but a very ſmall number of them, appeared vaſtly inferior to them in this reſpect in the eyes of an ignorant world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the riſe of polytheiſm, yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more abſurd and unnatural worſhip of ſtocks and ſtones, under various figures of the planets, and of ſeveral parts of the animal and vegetable creation; which is more particularly the ſubject of our preſent inquiry. For we cannot ſee, which way theſe can be ſaid, in any ſenſe, to have been introduced in conſequence of the former. As for thoſe who derive them from the cuſtom of deifying their heroes, and erecting ſtatues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worſhipped, inſtead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them; becauſe it doth not appear to us, that thoſe *Apotheoſes* began any thing ſo early as the times we are ſpeaking of; they ſeem rather to have been introduced in conſequence of the notion of polytheiſm; ſo that we muſt ſeek elſewhere for the ſource of idolatry. For as for what we have ſaid on this head in the hiſtory of *Egypt* *, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the beſt account, which the prieſts of that nation could give for their various kinds of worſhip to *Herodotus*, or as the conjectures of that, or other authors, concerning their ſuperſtitious and nonſenſical mythology.

BUT as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progreſs of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us, in the account which *Moſes* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob*'s parting [b]. The reader may remember, that theſe two, after a ſharp conteſt, being ready to depart, the one into *Meſopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themſelves and their poſterity, by a ſolemn oath on both ſides, to live in peace and friendſhip with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up a heap of ſtones in the place; which ſeems, therefore, to have been founded upon ſome antient and common cuſtom of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worſhipper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-hed*, *a heap of*

* See Vol. I. p. 455, & ſeq. [b] Gen. xxxi. 44, & ſeq.

witneſs, that is, an authentic record, of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement on his part: This was the pure original ſenſe of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect; this heap be both a *Galeed*, or *record* of our mutual oath, והמצפה *Ve-hammitzphah*, and alſo *a watchman*, or rather *a watch-tower*, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or thoſe, of *Nahor*, may behold and puniſh the aggreſſor, when we come to be at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that there will be none elſe to ſee and judge between us.

IT is true, indeed, that *Laban*'s words might be capable of a more figurative conſtruction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods [c] ſhew him to have been ſuch a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being underſtood in any other ſenſe. This made *Jacob*, who doubtleſs could beſt judge of his meaning, carefully avoid ſwearing by any other oath than by the Dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Iſaac* [d].

HOWEVER, not to lay greater ſtreſs upon this than we need, it is plain, that if ſuch a cuſtom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any ſolemn covenants, the tranſition was eaſy into the notion, that the Godhead, or rather ſome deity, took its reſidence in it, in order to puniſh the firſt aggreſſors; and how ſoon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beaſts, ſtocks, and ſtones, but ſun, moon, and ſtars, were called into the ſame office; though uſed perhaps at firſt, by the deſigning part of mankind, as ſcare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant: This is indeed the moſt that it ever did, even whilſt idolatry was at the heighth; whilſt the more cunning ſort laughed at it, and only made it to ſerve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the ſame kind of policy might oblige thoſe *Machiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as muſt naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of aſtrologers, enchanters, ſorcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar ſpirits, ſoothſayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the ſame nature, who were all greedily reſorted unto by the populace upon all occaſions; though, in matters of greater mo-

[c] Gen. xxxi. 30, & ſeq. paſſ. [d] Ibid. ver. 53.

ment,

ment, they were forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs; if he was really ſo, what we have ſaid will only ſhew how eaſy it was for him to compaſs his end. But tho' the ſcriptures ſeem plainly to intimate ſome kind of intercourſe between ſome men and women, and ſome kind of ſpirits, as in the caſe of the *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor*; yet we do not find, that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready ſoever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe the hypotheſis we are ſpeaking againſt ſuppoſes ſuch an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodneſs, whilſt it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable neceſſity of falling into all his ſnares, with thoſe little aſſiſtances they had, either from the dim light of reaſon, or the the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between ſuppoſing, that the devil firſt blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedneſs; and ſaying, that men having ſhamefully corrupted themſelves, proceeded from one wickedneſs to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable luſts, they became the ſlaves of that evil ſpirit, and were eaſily enticed by him into this exceſs of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their inſatiable deſire after wealth, their care of preſerving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of ſuperſtitious traſh we have been ſpeaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Iſraelites*, too prone to imitate them in all theſe, than to make their worldly happineſs riſe and fall, according as they ſhewed the greater abhorrence or fondneſs for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

THUS then the antient and truly religious cuſtom of ratifying oaths and contracts by ſuch monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-ſeeing eye, inſenſibly degenerated into the groſſeſt and abſurdeſt idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houſes, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence ſprung the trades of conjuring each reſpective deity to its particular idol, and uſe; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with thoſe deities; the art

of ſtar-gazing and aſtrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offenſive and defenſive, under their proper conſtellations; with the whole train of heatheniſh ſuperſtition, forbid under ſuch ſevere penalties by the *Jewiſh* lawgiver.

BUT if this ſhould not ſufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we ſhall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually; we mean the heretofore ſo much boaſted craft of enchanting ſerpents, inſomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it, and ſome learned fathers ſeem to expreſs ſuch an admiration of it, as if they had really ſeen, or had been ſome other way fully convinced of it. But the notion muſt have been of much older date, ſince the pſalmiſt, ſpeaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the ſad miſchiefs of an evil tongue to the poiſon of the deaf adder, that ſtoppeth her ears againſt the charms of the moſt cunning enchanter [e]. What pains hath it not coſt ſome antient fathers [f], and of late, eſpecially, the learned *Bochart* [g], to find out a ſerpent that anſwered the character given here by the pſalmiſt. Deaf ones we need not be at a loſs for; we have a ſort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the ſame colour with thoſe of our author, but rather of a reddiſh copper hue, ſeem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* ſpeaks of one that ſtoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice and this has given occaſion to various conjectures, which may be beſt ſeen in the author himſelf. For our part, we ſee no reaſon to underſtand theſe words literally, any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a ſyren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a baſiliſk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope, that in neither caſe there is now any neceſſity, either for diſproving the reality of ſuch creatures, or for vindicating the ſacred poet's alluſion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire, how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and ſo univerſally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old ſerpent in paradiſe [h].

AND here we need not obſerve, how much every circumſtance in the hiſtory of his ſeducing the woman; his being, according to the common verſion, called the moſt ſubtle of all creatures, his being choſen by the devil, as the fitteſt in-

[e] Pſal. lviii. 4. 5. [f] ORIG. EUSEB. in Pſ. lix. AUGUST. de Geneſ. ad litt. lib. ix. Reſponſ. ad quæſt. 44. vid. & SCALIG. de Animal. lib. i. [g] De Animal. ſacr. lib. iii. c. 6. [h] Gen. iii. 1.

ſtrument

ſtrument to deceive her, the curſe pronounced againſt him by God, and the enmity entailed between his and her ſeed, might contribute to the notion of ſerpents being infected with ſome diabolical peſtiferous quality, which made them thus ſtrangely deſtructive to mankind. But what we would firſt of all take notice of is, that though, in our former account of our firſt parents ſeduction †, we followed the current of all verſions, which repreſent that reptile as the moſt ſubtle of all living creatures, yet the term ערום *Harum*, which *Moſes* there makes uſe of, ſignifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive ſignification, *naked*; accordingly he ſays, in the preceding verſe, that our firſt parents were ערומים *Harumim*, *naked*; ſo that in a figurative ſenſe, it may properly enough ſignify a harmleſs inoffenſive creature. It ſeems even probable, that the ſacred hiſtorian takes notice of this circumſtance, as one main reaſon of *Eve*'s being ſo eaſily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpoſe than ſuch a one, which was furniſhed with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one ſingle part, even for its own defence? had it indeed been really the craftieſt of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, ſeeing he gavē them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly miſtruſtful of him, ſo that he would have been the laſt that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would obſerve, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceleſs, and inoffenſive appearance, though adorned perhaps with all thoſe beauties of ſhape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before under that head *, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the ſame term is uſed afterwards to ſignify *cunning*, as it ſometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, *naked* or *ſimple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmleſs and inoffenſive, became the moſt dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of ſhape; a power to kill infuſed into it, without the addition of any offenſive part; inflicting a ſure and ſpeedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a ſeemingly ſlight prick. What could an infant world attribute all theſe ſurpriſing effects to, but to ſome deadly occult quality, which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the firſt riſe to it, than the enmity entailed

† See Vol. I. p. 119. * Ibid. p. 123.

tailed

tailed between mankind and the ſerpent, after the prophetic ſenſe of it had once been obliterated with the far greateſt part of the world? and whence ſhould they expect a remedy againſt this ſuppoſed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? ſo that though we are far from thinking, that it ſent men to the devil for help, for charms, and enchantments, yet it might eaſily induce thoſe who firſt found out a cure for the bite of thoſe venemous creatures, to aſſume to themſelves ſome ſupernatural ſkill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their ſecrets. How much farther theſe pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical vertue in ſerpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vaſt variety of ſurpriſing tricks, which they attributed to them [i]; one of which, and that not by far the moſt extraordinary, was that of ſtopping their ears, that they might be proof againſt all enchantments; and it is this, we ſhall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but theſe cunning artiſts had acquainted themſelves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of ſerpents; ſome of which, ſuch as our common ſnakes, being found to be perfectly harmleſs, might ſerve them to amuſe the ignorant, by pretending, that they had charmed them into that inoffenſive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmoſt wonder; others of a more dangerous nature, ſuch as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle uſage, or rendered harmleſs by breaking thoſe two teeth, through which they inject their poiſon; the latter therefore might be uſed as an amuſement, and the former to try experiments, to find out remedies; and both together to deceive the world, by ſhewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, inchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many caſes, and againſt the bite of ſome kinds of ſerpents, they had no other way to ſave themſelves, than by pretending, that thoſe had a particular virtue, which was proof againſt their charms; and as the deaf kind is the moſt deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms conſiſted in the ſound of certain words, pro-

[i] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat. & Pomponac. de incant. Trithem. Steganogr. Texir. Hiſt. Perſ. Delrio. Diſquiſit. magic. & al. mult.

nounced

nounced in the hearing of thoſe reptiles, which could therefore have no effect againſt them, becauſe they had the ſkill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they ſtopped either with the end their tail, or by laying it cloſe to the ground, whenever they found themſelves in danger of being inchanted; and many others, equally abſurd, invented on purpoſe to account for the pretended ſuperiority of ſkill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

THUS we hope, that the hiſtory of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at leaſt very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and abſurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at firſt foiſted into the world from the primitive notion of God's omnipreſence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the poſſibility of the diety being preſent and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itſelf out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various ſizes and natures, as beſt ſuited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preſerved this pure and primitive notion, ſince, as we obſerved formerly †, the inhabitants of *Thebaïs*, or *Upper Egypt*, did worſhip none but the *Cneph*, or ſupreme deity, whilſt the lower part of the country was immerſed in the groſſeſt idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad ſpirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive ſenſe of God's omnipreſence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the inſtruments of his favour or juſtice, we need not ſay; and if this was the caſe, how eaſy was it for the corrupt phyſiologiſts of thoſe times to turn them all into deities, and even aſſign them their ſeveral provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, moſt likely, the worſhip of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *garlick*, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the *heavenly bodies*, both by them and the reſt of the world *.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of ſuperſtitions was owing to that inſatiable deſire after thoſe various kinds of happineſs, which their vitiated taſte made them ſeek after, according to their different inclinations, from thoſe imaginary diſpenſers of them. So that if the *Iſraelites* could but have kept themſelves wholly free

† See Vol. I. p. 28. * Ibid. p. 24.

from

from it, it would have proved the moſt effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the reſt of mankind, by ſetting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the height of grandeur and happineſs, not from thoſe fancied deities which engroſſed the worſhip of other nations, from whom they were ſo far from expecting any bleſſings, that they had both them, and their ſtupid votaries, in the greateſt contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only ſupreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the ſource of their guilt and unhappineſs, that they thwarted, inſtead of complying with, the deſigns of providence; and by their ſhameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their deluſions and idolatry, whom they were deſigned to cure by their utter deteſtation of them.

But there was ſtill a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practiſed at the worſhip of ſome, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were uſed at that of others, of theſe falſe deities. All theſe may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been invented by crafty and deſigning men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a ſenſeleſs vulgar, in order to make it ſubſervient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in ſpight of all his moſt expreſs prohibitions and threatnings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, becauſe they tended to caſt a double diſhonour upon him, among thoſe wiſer heathens, who were ignorant of his laws againſt them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifeſtly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Iſrael*, or how could they believe him to be the ſupreme being, and yet ſuffer his people to commit ſuch abominations? What muſt even the very *Iſraelites* themſelves think of him, if they could ſuppoſe, that he would indulge them in thoſe very impieties, for which he had ſo ſeverely puniſhed the nations, whoſe land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obſtinate unbelief, which hardened them againſt the moſt pathetic remonſtrances, and dreadful threatnings of their prophets, whom God ſtill ſent to them upon all ſuch defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did toward the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties were haſtening upon them, and proved at laſt the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the ſeverity of their thraldom, the monſtrous variety of ſuperſtition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the

A MAP *of the* Kingdoms *of* JUDAH *and* ISRAEL *according to this* History

PART OF THE MEDITER= =RANEAN SEA

The Lake Phiala *the true Spring of Jordan*

Paneas

M. Antilibanus

Dan

Cadesh

Samachonite Lake

Zephar

M. Tabor

PLAIN of ZEBULON

Acco

Nazareth

Naim

M. Hermon

Sea of Tiberias

M. Carmel

R. Kishon

Endor

Shunam

Plain

Jezreel

Bezec

Arba

Bethshan

Tabbath

Aser

Mt. Gerizim

Mt. Ebal

Sichem

Thenath

Endumia

Acrabbim

Shilo

Gebah

Gophna

Bethel

Michmash

Ephraim

Jericho

Bethagla

Gilgal

Rama

Anathoth

Jerusalem

Bethany

R. Kedron

Bethlehem

Etam

Tekoah

M. Ziph

Hebron

Beersheba

Bethzur

Beton

Molada

Eshtaol

Bera

Kirjath-jearim

Beeroth

Gath

Jarmuth

Adullam

Ashdod

Ascalon

Mareskah

Gibeon

Socho

Gaza

Makkedah

Lachish

Gerar

Nezib

Keilah

Lydda

Arimathea

Gezer

Emmaus

Ajalon

Bethshemesh

Joppa

PLAIN of SAROM

PLAIN of SEPHELA

Dor

Bether

Samaria

R. Jordan

THE GREAT PLAIN OF ARABIA

Dead Sea or Asphaltite Lake

MOUNTAINS OF EDOM

PART

N. M. Sculp.

continued exhortations of *Ezekiel* and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed moſt to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to ſay; but this is plain, that ever ſince their return from thence, they always expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence to thoſe two crimes. Yet even in theſe two reſpects, they ſeem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have ſtrove only to attone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at leaſt equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve concerning them. Thus, for inſtance, idolatry, once their moſt favourite vice, has been ſince had in ſuch adhorrence among them, that they would not ſtoop before a ſtatue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot *; and may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they ſo greedily ſwallowed down ſuch a number of monſtrous fables, of which, thoſe we have quoted in this hiſtory out of their *Talmud*, are but a ſmall ſcantling; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find ſuch plenty of materials to exerciſe their faith, to the ſacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? well might our Saviour charge thoſe of his time with *ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a camel* †; and an honeſt rabbi of theirs adviſes them to inſert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the ſhameful and almoſt univerſal breach of it amongſt them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to ſpare and pity them in this reſpect, ſince it was their unaccountable fondneſs for theſe traditions above the ſacred writings, that inſpired them with that bitterneſs and malice againſt the *Meſſiah*, the redeemer of mankind, which made them perſecute him to that ſlaviſh death, from which we derive our freedom and aſſurance of a better life; eſpecially, ſince their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us ſo irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Teſtament, and conſequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without ſome ſure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‡.

* See Vol. III. p. 157, note (F). † Matt. xxiii. 24. ‡ Vid. Rom. xi. paſſ.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of ASSYRIA.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of ASSYRIA.

Its name. WE have already accounted for the name of this country, declaring it to have been derived from *Aſhur*, its firſt planter after the flood [a], and have obſerved [b], that its name extended very far weſtward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to moſt of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eaſtward, ſouthward, and northward it muſt alſo have extended its name, where-

[a] See Vol. I. p. 360. [b] Vol. II. p. 232.

(A) *Bochart* (1) divides the *Aſſyrians* into two ſorts, thoſe properly ſo called, beyond the *Tigris* and derived from *Aſhur*, and thoſe on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from צור *Sur*, or *Tyre* (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in הצורים *Haſſurim*, but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The deſcent of the two nations is ſo different, the one from *Aſhur*, the other from *Aram*, and their diſtance from each other ſo wide, that we can never think ſo ſlight an accident, as an article prefixed to *Sur*, ſhould cauſe the potent and antient nation of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, to be called by all the nations about, *Aſſyrians*; and particularly, when there is ſo much to be ſaid againſt it, as may be found in the next note.

(1) *Phaleg. l. 4. c. 34.* (2) *See Vol. II. p. 232.*

ever

ever its monarchs had eſtabliſhed themſelves by the fortune of their arms (B).

IF we conſider the monarchy of *Aſſyria* geographically, we have already done much towards a deſcription of it, in what we have formerly ſaid of the ſeveral countries, whoſe hiſtories go before, and which may, in this light, be conſidered as provinces of *Aſſyria*, and more we ſhall do towards this work in our deſcriptions of ſeveral other countries, whoſe hiſtories are to follow, and which the order we have hitherto obſerved requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the ſame order obliges us here to confine ourſelves to the *proper Aſſyria*.

THE preciſe extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it might be labour quite in vain to attempt to ſettle it; but taking it to have been the ſame with the province of *Curdeſtân* at this day, it lay eaſtward of the *Tigris*, and extended almoſt north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt from the ſprings of that river and the lake *Van*, to the province of *Khuzeſtân* in *Perſia*; or, according to *Ptolemy*, it lay along the eaſtern banks of the *Tigris*, from mount *Niphates* to mount *Zagros*, being bounded on the eaſt by mount *Choatras*. Such was its ſituation and boundaries, as ſhould ſeem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent *Extent.*

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itſelf, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its dominions; ſo *Meſopotamia*, the *Aram-Naharaim* of the *Jewiſh* writers, is ſaid (3) to have been called the *Mid-Aſſyria*; and ſo alſo *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the reſt, we may ſuppoſe, that owned ſubjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus Pompeius* (5), that the *Aſſyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the firſt great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in proceſs of time, even to thoſe who had formerly ſuffered by its power; and hence out of vanity, or from a long ſettled cuſtom, the nations round about affected to call themſelves *Aſſyrians*, or elſe others affected to call them ſo, or thirdly, they may have been commanded ſo to denominate themſelves by the conqueror. To diſmiſs this, we would take notice, that there ſeems to be nothing more uncertain, than what the *Grecks* and *Latins* mean by *Aſſyria* and *Aſſyrian*; they are of ſuch comprehenſive latitude with theſe writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and the river *Indus*, on the eaſt.

(3) Arrian. *Exped. Alexand. l.* 7. *p.* 453. (4) Ammian. Marcel. *l.* 23. *c.* 20. 5) Juſt. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. *See Vol. II. p.* 232.

we chooſe to paſs that over, as a thing uncertain, and not within the compaſs of our knowledge.

This country, which muſt, in its happy times, have been a land of plenty (C), has almoſt ever ſince the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its ſituation, which has, at times, made it the ſeat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderneſs, a deſert, excepting ſome little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconſiderable towns which ſtand within its borders [c], ſo that there is but little to be ſaid of its productions and properties.

We have already ſaid as much of the firſt poſtdiluvian ſtate of this country and its antient cities, *Nineveh* and the reſt, as we have been able to gather, ſo that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work [d], and proceed to the diviſion and arrangement of it by the *Greeks*.

Ptolemy [e] divides *Aſſyria*, begining from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, into the ſeveral provinces of *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene* (D), *Arbelitis*, *Calacine*, or *Calachine*, *Apolloniatis*, an

[c] Rauwolf's Trav. p. ii. c. 9.
[d] See Vol. I. p. 278.
[e] Lib. vi. c. 1.

(C) A land of plenty and pleaſure it muſt undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country deſignated in ſcripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive, and of honey*, as *Bochart* thinks (7), and *Rauwolf* (8); for *Rabſhakeh*'s words, who ſpeaks ofthis (9), may, as is moſt likely, have been underſtood, as of ſome of the new conquered provinces of *Aſſyria*, and not of *Aſſyria* itſelf, properly ſo called; ſo that this does not amount to a poſitive proof of what is aſſerted concerning the fertility and amenity of the *Proper Aſſyria*; though indeed it muſt be confeſſed to be a very ſtrong circumſtance to make us believe, it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may eaſily conceive the conqueror would have ſeized on the beſt for himſelf, and not have beſtowed it on the foreign captives he made and tranſplanted.

(D) The whole country has been ſometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* obſerves (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was in former times called *Aſſyria*; the ſame ſays *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common

(6) 2 *Kings* xviii. 32. (7) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 19. (8) *In his travels, p.* ii. *c* 9. (9) 2 *Kings ubi ſup.* (10) *Hiſt. Nat. l.* v. *c.* 12. (11) *Ubi ſup.* (12) *Ibid.*

opinion,

and *Sittacene*, but there is no pretending to set bounds to these several divisions, or assigning to each the cities, that may, in former times, have belonged thereto. Nor are these all the parts of *Assyria* mentioned by antient geographers: we have the name of *Aturia* [f], or *Atyria* (E), as a part of this country, as also *Artacene* (F) and *Chalonitis* [g] (G).

AMONG

[f] STRAB. l. xvi. ineunt. [g] PLIN. l. 6. c. 26.

opinion, which derives it from the *Greek* word Διαβάνειν *transire*, διὰ τὸ εἶναι πλειούς ποταμούς ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ δυσχερεστέραν ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν, *because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass* (13). Thus it is also, that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulously, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which sends up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence also it was called *Adiabene*, or *Impassable*. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Assyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldee* הדיב, or הדייב *Hadiab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudists* and the *Chaldee* interpreter; as also דדייבא *Hadjaba*, or *Hadjava*; whence he deduces (17) *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s (18) *Adiavena*, which whence it became the name of this part of *Assyria* may be observed anon.

(E) This also, though apparently but a small district of this country, extended itself over the whole, and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name synonymous with *Assyria*, allowing only for the difference of dialect; the former being the *Hebrew*, and the other the *Chaldee*, way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* constantly converting the *Hebrew* ש *Sin* into the ת *Tau*; so that what the *Hebrews* pronounce *Assyria*, they pronounce *Atyria*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Atyria*, to be no more than a province or district of *Assyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain, it was by the *Greeks* reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(F) This is supposed to have derived its name from the city of *Erech* (21), or *Arec*. This is the opinion both of *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* (22); and if so, we have nothing to do with it at present, for it was not in this country, but in the land of *Shinaar* (23), on this side the *Tigris*.

(G) This may have been the same with *Cala* and *Calacine*, for which we must refer to what we have already said (24) before, only

(13) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg. l.* iv. *c.* 19. (14) *Ad vocem* Ἀδιαβηνή. (15) *Vid.* Cellar. *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l.* iii. *c.* 17. (16) *Phaleg. ubi sup.* (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ubi sup.* (19) *Phaleg. ubi sup.* (20) *Lib.* xvi. *ineunt.* (21) *Genes.* x. 10. (22) *Vid.* Cellar. *Geogr. Antiq. ubi sup.* (23) *Genes. ubi sup.* (24) *See Vol. I. p.* 280, *in the notes.*

observing,

Among the rivers of *Assyria*, we may justly reckon the *Tigris* (H), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom [h], *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal distance from

[h] Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. tom. II. l. 3. c. 17.

observing, that the *Callonites* of *Polybius* (25) may have been the same.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a *Persian* word, signifying an *arrow* * ; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course: But this is contradicted by *Pedro de la Valle* (27), who says, it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) seems to assign a reason why the *Tigris* should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than any he ever saw, but also choaked up with islands and great banks of stone. *Bochart* derives it from its old *Hebrew* name *Hiddekel*; and the *Arabs*, at this day, call it دجلة *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*. דיבא *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus* or *lupinus*, *wolf*, or *wolfish*; דיבא *Diava*, being *Chaldee* for a *wolf*; and hence he derives the *Greek*, *Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Hadiaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an *Arabic* word signifying *swift*; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the *Hebrew* זאב *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes, that it is very rapid, that its water is whitish and very cold, which he would seemingly ac-

(25) *Lib.* v. *c.* 54. (26) *Vid.* Cellar. *ubi sup.* * *Vid* Gregor. *Posthum. p.* 189. (27) *In his travels.* (28) *In his travels, part* 2. *c.* 13. (29) Rauwolf's *travels, part* 2. *c.* 9. (30) *Phaleg ubi sup.* (31) *Ibid.* (32) *In his travels to the Levant, part* 2. *c.* 13.

count

from each other, and ſuppoſed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, and *Seleucia*.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land we have nothing material to ſay, and therefore muſt here cloſe up this ſection.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the ASSYRIANS.

ASSYRIA, which ſtands foremoſt of all in profane accounts, is in ſcripture the ſecond moſt antient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Aſſur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as ſome have contended (K), who embrace *Antiquity.*

count for by its falling from the mountains of *Curdeſtân*, and being merely ſnow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart*'s thoughts of the ſmaller of the two rivers above, the *Adiaba*, which he would have to derive its name from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; but for dimenſion, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illuſtrates, in ſome ſort, a paſſage in the *Nubian* geographer (33) who, as he is tranſlated, ſays, the two *Zabs* are great rivers, and, when united, equal to above one half of the *Tygris*; though he ſays a little before, their mouths were ſix and thirty miles from each other. It is aſked, how in this caſe theſe two rivers ever ſhould unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be more than half of the *Tigris*, or fill the ſame river one half fuller than it would be without them? *Thevenot* ſeems to anſwer this queſtion by affirming they do.

Bochart (34) alſo ſeems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolemy* for one and the ſame river; and particularly, becauſe he finds none but the two above mentioned elſewhere; but *De Liſle*'s maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the weſtermoſt of the three, and therein differs from *Ptolemy*'s maps, which make the *Gorgus* the eaſtermoſt; we leave the reader to make his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerbin* of *Pliny*, (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to ſay to it, obſerving only that γοργὸς is *Velox*, which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the ſame with his *Adiaba*, which he would have to be denominated from its *ſwiftneſs*.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the firſt foundation of this kingdom is variouſly interpreted, either, *out of that land went forth*

(33) *Clim.* 4. *part* 6. (34) *Ubi ſup.* (35) *Hiſt. Natur. l.* 6. *c.* 26. (36) *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l.* 3. *c.* 17. (37) *Geneſ.* x. 11.

Aſhur,

embrace the *Cteſian* ſyſtem; and was in the beginning a kingdom diſtinct from *Babylon*, though in proceſs of time they coaleſced into one, in conſequence of mutual conqueſts. *Aſſur* departed from the land of *Shinaar*[1] upon *Nimrod's* uſurpation,

[1] Geneſ. x. 10.

Aſhur, *and builded* Nineveh, as it ſtands in our Bibles, as well as in the beſt verſions of the *Greek*, the old *Latin*, and the *Dutch*; or, *he* [meaning *Nimrod*] *went out into* Aſſur *and builded* Nineveh; as it ſtands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is tranſlated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Cocceius*, *Schotan*, *Heideggar*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controverſy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Aſſur*, in the text, ſignifies the ſon of *Shem*, or whether it ſignifies the country of *Aſſyria*; for both ways it is often aſſumed in ſcripture. Thoſe who are for the laſt interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to ſupply a defect in the *Hebrew*, by inſerting a particle [into] to ſerve their purpoſe, while thoſe who vindicate the other follow the natural order and conſtruction of the words of the original as they ſtand. But not to dwell on theſe grammatical niceties, we chuſe to recur to ſuch arguments as may be reaſonably offered to ſet this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Aſſur*, or *Aſſyria*, derived its name from *Aſſur* the ſon of *Shem*; and, according to what we read in ſcripture (39), it muſt have been, that he went out of the land of *Shinaar*, where all the deſcendants of *Noah* were at the time of the diſperſion, in order to plant or take poſſeſſion of the country ſince called by his name; and can any thing be more natural, than to ſuppoſe, that the text before us is meant of this migration of his? And who is ſo likely to have founded *Nineveh* and the other cities as himſelf? except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conqueſt of this country before *Aſſur* had well ſettled himſelf in it. If this had been the caſe, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his great uncle. We elſewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Aſſur* founded *Babel*; but no where is it ever ſuggeſted, that *Nimrod* went into *Aſſyria* and founded *Nineveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moſes* ſhould introduce a paſſage relating to a branch of *Shem*, when he was profeſſedly writing about that of *Ham*; but this is frivolous. Parentheſes of this ſort are common enough in ſcripture; as in that concerning *Mephiboſheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram*'s fleet (42), introduced in the midſt of other diſcourſe. A late author (43) affirms, the ſcripture expreſly calls the *land of* Aſſyria the *land of* Nimrod.

(38) *Vid.* Perizon. *Origin. Babylon. c.* 4. *p.* 39. (39) *Ubi ſup.* (40) *Iſai.* xxiii. 13. (41) 2 *Sam.* iv. 4. (42) 1 *Kings* x. (43) Bedford, *in his Script. Chronol. demonſtr. p.* 773.

Bochart

on, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Resen*; in [k] *Nineveh*, it is likely, he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which borrowing his name, was called *Ashur*, or *Assyria*. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object against the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, though as delivered by *Ctesias* [l] and others, who some how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example, *Syncellus* [m], if barely the antiquity of it be considered: which would not well stand by the *Hebrew* computation. But by the *Samaritan*, which we embrace, this boasted *Assyrian* monarchy, instead of running up too far,

[k] Gen. x. 11. [l] Apud DIODOR. SICUL. [m] Chron. p. 165.

Bochart shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing really were so; though if it was really the case, we might cite the text in *Isaiah* in the note above, in opposition to the text in *Micah*, which seems to favour this notion. *Micah* expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of* Assyria *with the sword, and the land of* Nimrod *in the entrances thereof.* By this the *land of* Nimrod seems to be quite distinguished from the *land of* Assyria: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the *and* is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45), both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand thereby the two countries of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Assyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manasseh*, the son of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micah* flourished, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Assyria*, when *Esarhaddon* was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46), we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his way, and citing the text in *Isaiah*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of the* Chaldeans; *this people was not till the* Assyrian *founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, takes the liberty of inserting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Assyrian*, distinguishing it by an *Italic* letter and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with Sir *Isaac Newton*, for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). Sir *Isaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought, he might have over-looked a liberty in Sir *Isaac*, which he resolved to take himself; except he imagined Sir *Isaac* had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(44) *Ch.* v. 6. (45). Perizon. *ubi sup. p.* 47. (46) Bedford, *ubi sup. in his preface to the reader, p.* 3. (47) *Ibid.* (48) *In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p.* 68, & 217.

will fall ſhort by about 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Chriſt is 2997 years: the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign is, by common conſent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Chriſt: if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the *Medes*, according to *Cteſias*, and 1300 more for the duration of the *Aſſyrian*, according to the ſame hiſtorian and his followers, the firſt year of the reign of *Ninus*, the firſt pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Chriſt, or 789 years after the flood; whereas, according to us, *Aſhur* built *Nineveh* and founded the *Aſſyrian* kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier; ſo that with us, its defect, not its exceſs, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* kingdom, which may claim place among the firſt; but then we make a wide diſtinction between this ſimple kingdom and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reaſons to be found in the enſuing ſection.

Government.

Being ſo deſtitute as we are of ſufficient authorities and inſtruction, we can ſay nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their hiſtory. That they were a ſmall kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very ſimple, in conformity to what has been obſerved and related of their neighbours, the *Syrians* [n] and *Meſopotamians* [o] (L). When, in after-

[n] See Vol. II. p. 254. [o] Ibid.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itſelf with regard to *Meſopotamia*, which ſeems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conqueſt, when *Chuſhan-riſhathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conqueſt of the children of *Iſrael*, exacting from them tribute for the ſpace of eight years (49). Who this *Chuſhan-riſhathaim* was, and how he came to be ſo great a king, as he ſeems to have been at firſt, is a great obſcurity. But by the ſcripture (50) it appears, this *Meſopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at firſt, ſoon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the ſucceſſes of *Othniel* againſt it (51). *Le Clerc* (52) obſerves,

(49) *See Vol. III. p.* 451. (50) *Judg.* iii. (51) *Ibid.* (52) *In Judic. cap.* iii. 6.

there

after-times, they roſe up to the ſublimity of empire, their government ſeems to have been truly deſpotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can ſafely ſay of it.

Laws.

WE have nothing to build upon, or to ſay in particular of their laws. We would preſume, they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for theſe emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be ſeen in their hiſtory, and ſetting themſelves above all the gods of the people they vanquiſhed [p], and ſometimes requiring, that none other under heaven ſhould be worſhipped but themſelves [q], and even preſuming to paſs ſentence on the whole world [r] by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined, there could not be any ſettled form of law for the government of this people, except we ſuppoſe their kings to have approached ſo very near to the divinity they would have imperiouſly arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the ſame, which cannot be ſuppoſed.

Religion.

THEIR religion is alſo pretty much in the dark: in general we know, they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. *Niſroch* is likely to have been their principal God, at leaſt at one time; but *Selden* declares *, he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry

[p] 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c. [q] Judith iii. 8. [r] Ibid. ii. 2.
* De Diis Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10.

there is no mention made of this *Chuſhan-riſhathaim*, in the *Cteſian* ſeries of *Aſſyrian* kings; and that, according to *Euſebius*'s computation, he ſhould have been cotemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Aſſyrian* king according to him (53); and tho' *Joſephus* (54) calls him *Chuſarth* king of *Aſſyria*, miſled by the *Cteſian* hiſtory, he does not ſee, why we ſhould depart from ſcripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impoſſible even to ſuppoſe ſuch an inaccuracy in the ſcriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Meſopotamia*, if he had been an *Aſſyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Meſopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was a tranſitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, ſoon broke into the many petty royalties we have obſerved there in the preceding part of this hiſtory many ages afterwards (55).

(M) All that can poſſibly be ſaid of him is mere conjecture. *Beyer* (56), who takes upon him to ſupply, in this reſpect, what is wanting in *Selden*, ſuppoſes, he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*,

(53) *See the ſeries of the* Aſſyrian *kings in the following ſection.*
(54) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 3. (55) *See Vol. II. p.* 254. (56) *In Additam.* Seld. *Syntagm. ii. cap.* 10.

quiry after ſo palpable an obſcurity may be needleſs. *Nergal* was not properly, as ſhould ſeem, an *Aſſyrian* deity, and we ſhall reſume him when we come to treat of the antient *Perſian* religion: *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is ſaid to have been repreſented as a mule, or a peacock [r] (N): *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is ſaid to have been repreſented as a horſe, or a pheaſant, or a quail [t]; but theſe are all *Rabbinical* dreams, and to be conſidered accordingly. For this ſmall part of their religion, and ſomething more which we ſhall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very ſame, we are beholden to the ſcripture and the *Jews*; the reſt we muſt more immediately trace out elſewhere, and accordingly look back to the ſuperſtitions of the *Philiſtines*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*.

Derceto (P), who, according to *Cteſias* [u], muſt have been an *Aſſyrian* deity, has been ſuppoſed to be the *Philiſtine dagon*, but we have denied it [w], and already given the reaſons for our rejection of this notion [x]; and though we have ventured to call her the goddeſs of *Aſcalon* [y], we conſidered the country then ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her, (what her *Aſſyrian* name may have been we cannot gueſs) is plainly an *Aſſyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in ſubjection to a goddeſs our author [z] calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* goddeſs at *Hierapolis* [a], or the *Phœnician Aſtarte* on mount *Aphac* [b]. Thus we conjecture; but this *Aſſyrian Venus* will be more regularly ſpoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of

[r] Vid. eund. Ibid. c. 9. [t] Vid. eund. ibid. [u] Apud Diodor. Sic. l. 2. [w] See Vol. II. p. 199. [x] Ibid. in the notes. [y] Ibid. p. 200, in the text. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. [a] See Vol. II. p. 257. [b] Ibid. p. 315, & ſeq.

or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was repreſented in the form of a ſhip, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the courſe of this hiſtory and that of *Babylon*. He is in the *Septuagint* called *Meſarach* and *Aſarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with *Moloch* (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargata*, *Atargatis*, and the like; but we ſhall forbear ſaying any further of her till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

(57) *In Pantheo.* (58) Beyer. *Additam. ubi ſup. c.* 9. (59) Selden. *De Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c.* 9. *See Voll. II. p.* 99.

Babylon,

Babylon, which was doubtleſs the ſame with that of *Aſſyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were conſidered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his aſtronomical canon, *Aſſyrians*. We ſhall therefore only for the preſent obſerve, that the *Aſſyrians* [c] and *Syrians* [d] paid particular devotion to fiſhes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddeſs *Derceto* of *Aſcalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphoſed into a creature of that ſort [e]; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either becauſe ſhe was nurſed by them when expoſed after her birth [f], or becauſe they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, ſhe was changed into a bird of that ſort [g], which is all we have to ſay of the *Aſſyrian* religion in this place, except we repeat, that *Semiramis* was ſometimes repreſented, as ſuppoſed [h], with a pigeon on her head, and called the *Sign*; as alſo that ſhe was repreſented without that diſtinction, and in a particular poſture of pointing to the great goddeſs [i], for a reaſon already given [k]; as alſo, that *Sardanapalus* was deified, and repreſented in a particular habit [l]; ſo that it may hence appear, they deified all their kings in general, whence muſt have ſprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at preſent very much in the dark to us.

THEIR cuſtoms, their arts, their learning, and their trade, muſt certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what will be found of the ſame concerning the *Babylonians*, ſo that we ſhall ſuſpend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of *Syria*, and the alphabet of the *Syrian* character, for the language and character of this people, which we have declared to have been the ſame [m]. *Their cuſtoms, arts, &c. Their language and alphabet.*

SECT. III.

Of the ASSYRIAN *Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.*

WE ſhall doubtleſs be excuſed, if we are very ample, and even diffuſe, in our reſearches after the *Aſſyrian* chronology, it being not only of the greateſt importance towards fixing the chronology of antient kingdoms,

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſup. [d] See Vol. II. p. 259.
[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſup. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid.
[h] See Vol. II. p. 258. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Ibid. ibid [l] Ibid. p. 259. [m] Ibid. p. 266.

but

but also for vindicating the authority of scripture, which is quite averse to the common prophane account.

The causes, why the antient prophane history is so monstrously corrupt and false, in what regards Assyria, &c.

But first we would premise, that the causes, which may have induced or misled historians so to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the neglect of the earliest people, of the more antient nations, to keep any sort of register of what concerned them. The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking rise in the more early parts, so that nothing is more natural to assert, than that some nations began to keep records before others were in being.

Some nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity [o]; and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and besides, supposing them to have been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preserving, and much less the reading. The first ages must have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose between them about property and dominion, and these broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose any historical monuments, truly such, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the rise of themselves, may have been quite perverted, or totally lost.

But supposing there may have been other nations besides the *Jews*, who had preserved their primitive traditions entire, they may have perished by various means. These nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been destroyed by the malice, or, what is the same, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predecessors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by posterity, of a humour with that *Chinese* emperor who reigned

[o] Just. l. 2. c. 1.

about

about 209 years before Chriſt †, or, perhaps, to eſtabliſh an æra as *Nabonaſſar* [P], who may alſo have had an ambition to appear the headmoſt of the *Babyloniſh* kings; but, by the way, this ſeems not to have been the caſe with him, as we muſt have occaſion to obſerve, more than once, hereafter.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular deſcent of hiſtory to us; though wars, whether foreign or domeſtic, muſt have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been, almoſt ever, the policy of conquerors to deſtroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquiſhed may formerly have been, as alſo to remove all monuments, which, by the ſight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors alſo there have been, who have been moved merely by ignorance or ſuperſtition to do the ſame; as may be obſerved of the *Mohammedans*, where ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be ſaid, that the *Romans* were, in this reſpect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not underſtand, that theſe laſt were over and above indulgent to thoſe they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have ſpared for the ſame reaſons the *Romans* ſpared them; becauſe they beheld them as their maſters in literature and knowledge.

IF then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder, why the antiquities of the ſeveral parts of the world are ſo utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, ſo deeply involved in the miſt of fable.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine hiſtory from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we underſtand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the moſaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were deſcended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long ſince deſtroyed, and abſurd tradition and ridiculous tales have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are aſſured by *Joſephus* [q], it was a moſt valuable remain.

FOR us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote hiſtory of nations, they ſhould, from the beginning, have communicated their records with each other; and the hiſtorians of every country ſhould have been as ſedulous in collecting and digeſting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms, and ſtates, and actions they knew, as of their own:

† MARTIN Hiſt. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239. COUPL. Tab. Chron. Sinic p. 17. [P] SYNCELL. p. 207. [q] Contr. APION.

and

and in this caſe, nothing but an univerſal ruin could have made the deſolation, their ſucceeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be obſerved by thoſe who are converſant in very antient tranſactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be ſaid to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A country no ſooner began to flouriſh and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increaſed with its ſplendor and proſperity; and preſently it could admit of no competitor, but muſt look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infuſed into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is ſo unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reaſon and good ſenſe, and nothing, in the main, ſo deſtructive to the peace and happineſs of mankind. And this vanity, added to the complete ignorance of what has paſt aforetime in the hiſtorians, for the moſt part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monſtrous births which are a reproach to the ſcience.

We might point at many glaring inſtances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining of; but ſhall on this head juſt touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the antient prophane hiſtory, confining ourſelves to what at preſent is before us, till we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or, at leaſt, as much as any nation, that has ever ſubſiſted under the ſun. It is plain they deſpiſed the hiſtory of all other nations beſides their own, never concerning themſelves therewith any farther than it interfered with themſelves, and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preſerve any thing to us by way of information.

And this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their ſlighting, and even deſtroying the *Perſian* records, when they became maſters of that empire. No one of their hiſtorians, that we are aware of, ever conſulting them to complete a ſeries of the *Perſian* affairs: nor was there a nation they were ſolicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep ſilence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpoſe. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whoſe good ſenſe got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Eratoſthenes*, *Hecatæus* the *Abderite*, and *Menander* the *Epheſian*, may be quoted as exceptions to what we have been ſaying, as well as ſome foreigners, ſuch as *Beroſus*, *Manetho*,

netho, and ſome others, who were encouraged to write the hiſtories of their reſpective countries for the uſe of the *Greeks*. But all this but adds weight to the guilt of that aſſuming people. It is plain, they did not in the leaſt regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor ſo much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts from them, if we except *Joſephus* and the *Chriſtian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiouſly faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they ſeem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with hiſtory, though their own, but themſelves; as may be ſeen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Beroſus* and *Manetho*, preferring his own crude indigeſtions to any thing in them. And ſo with regard to *Aſſyria*, inſtead of reſorting to ſuch as might truly inform him, ſuch as *Polyhiſtor* may have ſometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after *Cteſias*, a moſt fabulous writer, as will be amply demonſtrated in the courſe of this ſection: But being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his hiſtory has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have ſuffered the fate which *Cteſias* and *Diodorus* had deſerved; the fate which *Trogus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiſer, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like moſt of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* hiſtory, conſult the *Byzantine* hiſtorians; or, by liſtening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endleſs errors they might have avoided, by looking into the tranſlations and extracts the learned would furniſh them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages paſt been no more; of this number are the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their hiſtorians have long ſince been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and inſolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reaſons to be hereafter ſubjoined, we make no account of the common hiſtories of theſe nations, and particularly of the *Aſſyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obſcure taſk, which has confounded ſome of the beſt chronologers, who have unwarily

warily been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But as our design is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, as *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Cellarius*, *Montfaucon*, *Du Pin*, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

A TABLE *of the Successions of the* Assyrian *Kings, according to* Eusebius, *and* Syncellus.

According to *Eusebius*.		According to *Syncellus*.	
	Years.		Years.
* * * * * *		1 *Belus* reigned - -	55
1 *Ninus* reigned - -	52	2 *Ninus* - - - -	52
2 *Semiramis* - - -	42	3 *Semiramis* - - -	42
3 *Zameis*, or *Ninyas* -	38	4 *Ninyas*, or *Zames* -	38
4 *Arius* - - - - -	30	5 *Arius* - - - -	30
5 *Aralius* - - - -	40	6 *Aralius* - - - -	40
6 *Xerxes*, or *Baleus* - -	30	7 *Xerxes* - - - -	30
7 *Armamitres* - - -	38	8 *Armamithres* - -	38
8 *Bel-ochus* - - - -	35	9 *Belochus* - - -	35
9 *Bal-eus* - - - -	52	10 *Balæus* - - - -	52
10 *Altadas* - - - -	32	11 *Sethos* - - - -	32
11 *Mamitus* - - -	30	12 *Mamythus* - - -	30
12 *Manchaleus* - -	32	13 *Aschalius* - - -	28
13 *Spherus* - - - -	20	14 *Sphærus* - - -	22
14 *Mamitus* - - -	30	15 *Mamylus* - - -	30
15 *Sparetus* - - -	40	16 *Sparthæus* - - -	42
16 *Astacadis* - - -	40	17 *Ascatades* - - -	38
17 *Amyntes* - - - -	45	18 *Amyntes* - - - -	45
18 *Bel-ochus* (Q) - -	25	19 *Belochus* - - - -	25
(R)			
19 *Bellepares*			

(Q) Or *Bolochus*; he had a daughter called *Atossa*, as also *Semiramis*, who reigned with him twelve years (60).

(R) *Bion* and *Alexander Polybistor* (61) divide this series of kings into two dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasm. This *Belochus*, who finishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors (62) *Belleus* the *Dercetad*, and in him, say they, the race of *Semiramis* became extinct; when *Beletaras*, *Beletores*, or *Bellepares*, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on

(60) Euseb Pamph. *Chronic. lib. poster. p.* 80. (61) *Apud* Agath. *l. 2. p.* 63. (62) *Ibid.*

the

19	*Bellepares*	- - -	30	20	*Belatores*	- - -	30
20	*Lamprides*	- - -	32	21	*Lamprides*	- - -	30
21	*Sosares*	- - - -	20	22	*Sosares*	- - - -	20
22	*Lampares*	- - -	30	23	*Lamphraës*	- - -	30
23	*Panyas*	- - - -	45	24	*Panyas*	- - - -	45
24	*Sosarmus*	- - -	19	25	*Sosarmus*	- - -	22
25	*Mitreus*	- - - -	27	26	*Mithræus*	- - -	27
26	*Tautanes* (S)	- -	32	27	*Teutamus*, or *Tautanes* (T)		32
27	*Teuteus*	- - - -	40	28	*Teutæus*	- - -	44
*	*	*	*	29	*Arabelus*	- - -	42
*	*	*	*	30	*Chalaus*	- - - -	45
*	*	*	*	31	*Anebus*	- - - -	38
*	*	*	*	32	*Babios* (V)	- - -	37

28 *Thinæus*

the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetadæ*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world, 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of *Assyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Tithon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father sent an auxiliary against the *Greeks*, and fell by the hand of *Achilles*. He tells us the copy of a letter from *Priam* to him, was handed about in his time; and also that he was called *Tautanes the Second*. This story is borrowed from *Ctesias* (67), who calls this king *Teutamus*, with *Syncellus*, but makes him a distinct person from *Tithon*, the father of *Memnon*. This romantic author [*Ctesias*] tells us, he sent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, with as many *Susians*, people widely distant from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king *Priam*, who was his tributary. *Tithon*, according to this same author, was at that time governor of *Persia*, in highest favour with the king; and his son *Memnon*, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of *Susa*, which retained the name of *Memnonia* to the times of the *Persians*, and had paved a public way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68), the *Ethiopians* next to *Egypt* denied all this story,

(63) Diodor. Sicul. *l.* 2. (64) *Ubi supr. p.* 90. (65) *Chronograph. p.* 151. (66) *Ibid. p.* 155. (67) Diodor. Sicul. *Bibliothec. Hist. l.* 2. *p.* 77. (68) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

28	*Thinæus*	- - -	30	33	*	* * *	
29	*Dercilus*	- - -	40	34	*Dercylus*	- - -	40
30	*Eupales*	- - -	38	35	*Enpacmes*	- - -	48
31	*Laoſthenes*	- - -	45	36	*Laoſthenes*	- - -	45
32	*Pyriatides*	- - -	30	37	*Pertiades*	- - -	30
33	*Ophrateus*	- - -	20	38	*Ophratæus*	- - -	21
34	*Ophratenes*	- - -	50	39	*Epheceres*	- - -	52
35	*Ocrazapes*	- - -	42	40	*Acraganes*	- - -	42
36	*Tonos Concoleros*, by the *Greeks*, *Sardanapalus*		20	41	*Thonos Concoleros*	- -	15
		Total	1240			Total	1460

A TABLE *of the Succeſſions of the* Assyrian *Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they ſtand in this Hiſtory.*

According to Scripture.	According to this Hiſtory.
1 *Pul*	1 *Pul*
2 *Tiglath-pileſer*	2 *Tiglathpileſer*
3 *Shalmaneſer*	3 *Shalmaneſer*
4 *Sennacherib*	4 *Sennacherib*
5 *Aſſar-haddon*	5 *Aſſarhaddon*
* * * *	6 *Saoſducheus*
* * * *	7 *Nabuchadonoſor*, or *Chyniladon*
* * * *	8 *Saruc*, or *Sardanapalus*.

The firſt table.

It is ſurpriſing, how many ſagacious and inquiſitive men, hiſtorians and chronologers, both in antient and modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery of the firſt table. To reconcile it with ſcripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raiſed ſuch hypotheſes, as are contradictory to all hiſtory ſacred and prophane, though at the ſame time nothing is eaſier, than to detect the whole impoſture, ſo groſs and palpable it ſeems to be. The two liſts which form this firſt table are derived, notwithſtanding the variations in them, from one

and pretended *Memnon* was their countryman, and made ſhew of his palace, which in our author's days they continued to call *Memnonia*. More is ſaid in contradiction to *Cteſias*'s ſtory, but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the ſubject for the preſent.

formed

formed by *Cteſias*, who concluded his hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* with a liſt of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes* [r]. *Caſtor* copied him, who was again copied by *Euſebius* [s]; who, as *Cteſias* had taught his author, begins with *Ninus*, while *Syncellus*, on the other hand, begins with *Belus*, and aſſigns him a reign of 55 years, though *Caſtor* [t], whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus*'s reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his liſt four kings which are wanting in that of *Euſebius*, and which are no where elſe to be met with; which whence it ſhould come to paſs, we ſhall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather, as we ſhall endeavour, with the concurrence of ſeveral great men before mentioned, to deſtroy the whole on both ſides; but firſt we would obſerve, that *Syncellus* exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, for while St *Auguſtin* [u] allows it but 1305, *Caſtor* 1280, *Euſebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author *Cteſias*, and his two copyiſts, *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore theſe computations are primarily borrowed from *Cteſias*, and lengthened and ſhortened apparently to the fancy of the ſeveral writers his ſucceſſors, it will be abſolutely neceſſary for us to enquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether his ſuperſtructure be raiſed upon truth or falſhood. *Ariſtotle*, who was almoſt his cotemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruſes his *Indica* muſt immediately conclude him to have been a man of no ſort of ſincerity; nor is *Ariſtotle* the only one of the antients that has declared againſt him, nor are his

[r] PHOT. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmemat 72. Vid. etiam DIOD. SIC. l. 14. [s] Vid. MARSHAM, Can. Chron. ſecul. 17. De Regib. Aſſyr. [t] Apud SYNCELL. p. 206. [u] De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c 20.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this ſeeming interpolation of no leſs than four kings in *Syncellus*, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unſettledneſs of the whole ſeries. It was certainly a vague period of hiſtory; and from the variations of it, may be ſhrewdly ſuſpected of being raiſed upon no ſure foundation, upon no ſuch ſolid baſis as truth. As the whole muſt have been a fable, thoſe who treated of it uſed it as ſuch, by altering it as they ſaw good; or elſe, we cannot ſee why the ſeveral authors and tranſcribers ſhould not agree together in eſſentials, which we find they do not.

Indica

Indica the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better established by much than it is, his list of the *Assyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them [w], and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in *India* as never were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, Might not *Ctesias* as well forge his *Assyrian* history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in *India*? And might we not as justly suspect him of falshood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the *Indies* and his history of the *Assyrians* are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this and add faith to the historian? or who can read his story of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*, her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his *Assyrian* history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the *Assyrian* kings of the grossest forgery, is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laosthenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas* is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Pyritiades* is regularly, as should seem, formed from *Pyritis*, a medicinal herb, with which *Ctesias*, as a physician, must have been well acquainted. *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Mithræus*, are *Persian* names. *Sosarmus*, according to himself, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which how it should have come to pass, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the transition of the empire from

[w] DU PIN's Histor. Biblioth. des Histor. p. 284.

the *Assyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Sethos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, should also have been the name of an *Assyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loss for. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dipt into genuine history, and especially the scripture, than the wide difference between the *Assyrian* names and the *Persian*, and the still wider between the same and the *Greek*; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names, which is absolutely false; nay, he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Assyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen anon.

AGAIN, in all long lists of kings the same names, or some such, are observed often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the *Assyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of scripture. *Pul*, or *Phul*, *Tiglath-pileser*, or *Tiglath-pul-assur*, *Shalmaneser*, or *Shalman-assur*, *Esaraddon* or *Assur-haddon*. For the *Assyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods [x], or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. These gods seem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Haddon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Melech*, or *Moloch*, *Atsur*, or *Assur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Merodach*; as for instance in the following, besides the names above, *Adramelech*, *Shar-assur*, *Nabonassar*, or *Nebo-adon-assur*, *Beladon*, *Chyniladon*, or *Chen-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-assur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuchadonosor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-assur*, *Nebuzaradan*, or *Nebo-assur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ilvoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illustrate this point. After this, who must not reject the wild and arbitrary names in *Ctesias*? who is so ignorantly extravagant, as to suppose *Sardanapalus* to have been the *Greek* name for the last *Assyrian* king, though so naturally deriveable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

IF in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of scripture, five of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there appears such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all

[x] Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr.

likelihood,

likelihood, have been often repeated, and continually but varied, in a long list of 36 of them according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus?* but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be observed; the names of all of them are different and independent, except in a case or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one name at all belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in scripture. To suppose these names to have been unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very safely contradict; they were actually known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of *Assyria*, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that had he compleated the history of *Assyria* he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his conforming with scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: inconsideration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*, though obvious to every sense, are swallowed and received for granted, even though he in every particular clashes with scripture; while the former confirms it, wherever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous inequality some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; an inequality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf but ignorance and want of discernment. But this has been more properly discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately concerns us.

THE names in *Ctesias*, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against *Ctesias*, and particularly, as he writes

writes in direct opposition to the scripture. *Ninus*, according to him must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered *Persia*, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, and all *Asia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his immediate successor, adds *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of *Genesis*? even none. The *Canaanites* were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines*, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword of *Israel*. *Egypt* seemingly enjoyed herself in peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards *Egypt* with design to invade it. In proof of all which, we need only refer to the histories of all these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that no *Assyrian* enemy was in these parts for many ages after the pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, and that all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were free also from any subjection to *Assyria*, may be proved as plain.

THE *Syrian* monarchy was confessedly older than the *Assyrian*, and extended on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, and rose afterwards to its meridian under the race of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly in the days of *Ben-hadad* and *Hazael*[y]: These ruled a mighty empire. Where then were the *Assyrian* monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their power? *David*, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this side the *Euphrates*[z], and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independence and freedom, till the days of *Shalmaneser*, who was set at defiance by the *Tyrians*[a], though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Phœnice*, and you will perceive no glimpse of an *Assyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*, who lived above 2200 years after the deluge, according to the *Samaritan* computation, which we profess to follow.

WE have formerly[b] almost ventured to assert, that the *Assyrians* imposed their religion on the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*; which, if it can any way be made to appear, must argue the *Assyrian* monarchy to have been posterior to the antient *Syrian* empire. We have seen, that the antient gods of

[y] See Vol. II. p. 284, & seq. [z] See Vol. II. p 274. & Vol. III. p. 521. [a] MENAN. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Judai. l. ix. c. 14. [b] See Vol. II. p. 310. not. (K).

Syria were *Rimmon*, *Adad*, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings [c]. These were the gods of the *Syrians*; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivation [d], others were introduced into the country, as the custom was [e]; and accordingly, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, we find the statues of *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus* [f]. These, as *Assyrians*, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of *Damascus*, we would urge, that *Semiramis* herself is said to have been a *Philistine*, to have been born in the neighbourhood of *Ascalon*, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the *Assyrian* kings, and, as should seem, in the reign of *Ninus* [g]. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the *Proper Palestine*, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of *Pul*, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily discerned by the history of the *Philistines*, in the former part of this work.

The father of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, is said to have been an *Assyrian* [h]; and it is thought, the whole system almost of the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* superstition migrated from the banks of the *Tigris* [i]; and as this seems very natural, and may be supported by many powerful arguments, we are apparently wrong in not rejecting *Ctesias*, who, in opposition to scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of *Ctesias*, and therewith the first table of the *Assyrian* kings from *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the *Assyrian* empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of *Syria* and the neighbouring countries it appears, the *Assyrians* had no power in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, in the decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer

[c] Ibid. p. 255. [d] Ibid. p. 290. [e] See before, p. 132. [f] See Vol. II. p. 258, & seq. [g] CTES. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 65. [h] See Vol. II. p. p.313, not. (S). [i] Sir ISAAC NEWT. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 27.

home,

home, is a matter never to be doubted. We have elſewhere ſaid [k], that the *Aſſyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menahem*; and this is not only to be demonſtrated by ſcripture and *Ptolemy*'s aſtronomical canon, but by ſeveral of the moſt approved and ſincereſt prophane writers.

Herodotus [l], that venerable and much injured hiſtorian, obſerves that the *Aſſyrians* had been maſters of the *Upper Aſia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter ſubſiſted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Aſia*. Theſe two ſums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, which being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Chriſt*, which is univerſally ſtated at 559 years before *Chriſt*, will make 1229, the whole interval between the firſt riſe of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Chriſt*, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common prophane accounts; though it will exceed the æra of *Nabonaſſar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus*'s numbers, as they ſtand with us, are doubtleſs too long, though ſo much ſhort of *Cteſias* and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus*'s computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chuſhan-riſhathaim*, king of *Meſopotamia*, or *Aram-naharaim*, who kept the children of *Iſrael* under for the ſpace of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel* [m]. In what ſenſe this *Chuſhan-riſhathaim* may have been conſidered as an *Aſſyrian*, we take not upon us to ſay; or whether he was ſo or not, farther than we are obliged to declare him not to have been of that nation *, ſeeing he is in ſcripture [n] called a *Meſpo tamian*, and ſeeing we might with as much juſtice call *Chedorlaomer* an *Aſſyrian*, though he is expreſly ſaid to have been an *Elamite*, or *Perſian*: and this care in the ſacred pen-men, thus to diſtinguiſh the men who from the beginning made inroads upon the *Ciſeuphratenſian* regions, expreſly ſaying the firſt was an *Elamite*, the ſecond a *Meſopotamian*, andexpreſly calling *Pul* an *Aſſyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of *Aſſyria*; but that *Herodotus* ſhould be a little elder in his date than may have been quite exact, will not perhaps be wondered at by thoſe who rightly conſider what we have urged in the former part of this ſection.

[k] See Vol. I. p. 381. [l] l. 1. c. 95. [m] Judg. c. iii. ver. 8.
* See before p. 130, note (L). [n] Judg. iii. ver. 8.

Again, *Herodotus* tells us [o], that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus* [p], or *Ctesias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labynetus* [*Nabonadius*] the last king of *Babylon*, which as, by the largest computation, it cannot exceed 200 years [q]; she may have been the wife of some one of the kings in *Ptolemy*'s canon, and perhaps of *Nabonassar* himself.

For these reasons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on, and for the same are we much to regret the history of *Assyria* he promises; and for which he doubtless was furnished with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and conversed with the natives; which though a late author [r] makes slight of, presuming the inhabitants might be mistaken themselves, and consequently lead him into errors; yet must it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*; since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

Nor is he not supported and followed by some of the very weightiest of the antients. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* [s] takes notice, that the *Assyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was antient, it did not extend over a very great part of *Asia*, and that it was not so potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which arose upon its ruins. *Appian* [t] affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Assyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Persian*, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before Christ, will remove the rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before Christ, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above, by no more than seven years; upon which we cannot but wonder, St. *Jerome* [u], who follows *Ctesias*, should roundly assert, that *Ninus* was the first that ruled over all *Asia*, and that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the same mind.

Such are the sentiments of the most judicious of the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their side, who, in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was besieged, is quite silent as to any *Assyrian* monarch, though, after the rate *Ctesias* reckons, that ten years war was waged within the *Assyrian* dominions.

[o] Ubi supra, c. 184. [p] l. 2. p. 67. [q] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 522. [r] Bedford, in his Script. Chronol. p. 774. [s] l. 1. [t] In Præfat. p. 5. [u] In Holeam, c. 2.

By

By what we have said against the first table of the *Assyrian* kings, according to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*; and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second; according to scripture and this history, it must appear to an attentive reader, that the *Assyrian* monarchy is of late date, in comparison of what has been too much imagined, even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in scripture, that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; and more particularly, since it is evident, by *Ptolemy*'s canon, that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of *Nabonassar*, who may have been a descendant of *Pul*'s, the first *Assyrian* monarch mentioned in scripture, a point, which may be more properly discussed in the chronology of *Babylon*; though, by the way, *Ptolemy* calls all the kings in his canon *Assyrians*, which was a common practice [w].

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be disputed, and it most remarkably reduces the *Assyrian* æra to the bounds of scripture history, or nearly so; for though *Pul* himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince, he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Assyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of *Pul*'s first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, which was about the second year of *Menahem*, 23 years before the æra of *Nabonassar*, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Christ.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The text of scripture, which gives us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drops us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the *Apocrypha* and *Ptolemy*'s canon, for the successors of the great *Esarhaddon*. The book of *Judith* so very nicely corresponds with *Herodotus*, in what he says of the war between the declining *Assyrians* and the rising *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and seeing the reign of

[w] PERIZON. Antiq. Babylonic. p. 10.

Nabuchadonoſor moſt naturally coincides with that of *Chyniladon* in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the ſame king, the ſecond in deſcent from *Eſarhaddon*, or *Aſſaraddin*: as for *Sarac*, whom we borrow from *Polyhiſtor* [x], and whom we alſo call *Sardanapalus*, from a ſimilitude of his ſtory and exit in the ſame hiſtorian, with what is related thereof by *Cteſias*, we muſt confeſs ourſelves conſiderably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Aſſyrian* hiſtory. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polyhiſtor* is a follower of *Cteſias*, and as ſuch we have conſidered him; but we would anſwer, with the aſſiſtance of Sir *Iſaac Newton* [y], That there may be ſomething of truth in the bottom of the *Cteſian* Hiſtory, as there uſes to be in romances; as that *Nineveh* was deſtroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that *Sardanapalus* was the laſt king of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and that *Aſtibares* and *Aſtyages* were kings of the *Medes*. But whence it is, that we have no ſuch name as *Sarac* in the *Nabonaſſarian* canon, we ſhall here forbear to enquire; ſeeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the hiſtory of his reign; and therefore, ſince nothing poſitive can be aſcertained, as to this laſt ſtage of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this ſection.

SECT. IV.

The History of Assyria, *according to* Cteſias *of* Cnidos, *and his Followers.*

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery all and falſehood, yet, as it has been ſo long received for truth, by moſt of the wiſeſt and moſt ſagacious hiſtorians and chronologers, and, as we may ſay, from all antiquity admitted into the body of hiſtory, we are under an indiſpenſible obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is, with great ſolemnity and all poſſible confidence, handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince

[x] Apud Syncell. [y] Chronolog. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to ſay, there never was ſuch a king as *Ninus*, or ſuch a king as his pretended predeceſſor *Belus*; but it is very likely, theſe names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, *Nineveh*, and *Babel*,

prince of martial genius and immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them: to this purpose, he assembled together the robustest of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, and enured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war[z] (Y).

BEING now in a state to execute his purpose, but apprehending, he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league

[z] Apud DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Histor. l. 2.

bel, or *Babylon*, However, thus far we know; he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Asbur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69), and therefore it is impossible, *Ninus* should have been the first king. We would do all we safely could to reconcile the sacred history with the profane, and will allow, with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Asbur Ninus*; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus*, (whom they will have to be *Cush*), and let *Ninus* be the son of *Nimrod*; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost. Let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in thier neighbourhood, not in far distant countries; with a few thousands at their heels, not with millions; with rude and undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus*, is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great *Egyptian Sesostris* (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person; for *Tzetzes* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Assyria*, and observes, he is the same *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesoosis* (74), that he was monarch of the *Assyrians*, that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon the same occasion told of the *Egyptian Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Assyrian*.

The parallel is plain; *Amenophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquests foretold of him (76), the world being then unconscious of the havock of the sword; *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(69) *See before*, p. 128. (70) Petav. *de Doctr. Tempor.* (71) *Biblioth. Histor. l.* 2. (72) *See Vol. II.* p. 9, &c. (73) *Chil.* 3. v. 83. *ad calc. edit. Gal.* Herodot. p. 676. (74) *See Vol. II.* p. 9. (75) *Ibid.* & *seq.* (76) *Ibid.* p. 21.

with

with *Ariæus* their king; whereby if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But *Ariæus* joined forces with him, and marched with him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*,

(Z) It is made an objection to the *Ctesian* history of *Assyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians* before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by *Joktan* 78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these antient *Arabians*, How it was they were in *Ninus*'s days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesostris* older in these parts than *Ninus?* our author (80) insinuates no. By prophane authors, they must have been nearly of an age, Now if *Sesostris* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; *Justin* (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesostris*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Assyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Arieus* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his *Assyrian* friend, than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made

(77) Bern. Montfauc. *apud.* Du Pin. *Biblioth. Univ. des Histor. p.* 236. (78) *See Vol. I. p.* 374. (79) *See Vol. II. p.* 22. (80) Diodor. Sicul. *l.* 2. (81) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

bylon, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unknown in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to

a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting; and the rather, because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented, it is very strange, the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Assyrians* themselves knew any thing of the matter; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose, that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them should have cultivated the use of the sword before the *Assyrians*, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of *Assyria*; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge,. and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83); and the people to have been a warlike enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Shinar*, or *Babylon* (84), making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others, in company with the king of *Elam* (85). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Bactra* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province, and its more antient cities, were swept away at once. How this agrees with the scripture, we leave the reader to judge; it is *toto cœlo* distant from it; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absur-

(82) Ctes. *apud* Diodor. Sicul. *ubi supr.* (83) *See Vol. I. p.* 313, *& seq.* (84) *See Vol. II. p.* 160, *& seq. & p.* 301. (85) *Genes. xiv.*

to the turbulent and aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia*; but upon this condition, that he should be to him as a vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrew its king *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew, the king himself was taken prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, and crucified [a] (E).

And

[a] Apud eund. ibid.

dity of this position; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about; it must have been, because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed, their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another, and so on.

(C) What this prince should have done to provoke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at; but it is plain, he could give him no great offence; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the *Assyrians*; and that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture; perhaps for variety sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first made some resistance; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal, and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards; or we cannot possibly perceive, why he should be suffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and offensive king of *Babylon*; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror; and not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man; so that he *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly proposed for a pattern of true justice and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of resistance in these three nations that were first attacked,

AND now nothing would ſerve him, but he muſt make himſelf maſter of all *Aſia*, between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more ſafety, enter upon this enterpriſe, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conqueſt, *Media*, while he marched away againſt the other provinces of *Aſia*, which, in ſeventeen years time, he reduced, all but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he ſubjugated, it ſeems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one deſcribed and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himſelf maſter of the ſea-coaſts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont*, the *Propontis*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, together with the barbarous nations from *Pontus* to the *Tanais*; the *Caduſians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrcanians*, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choramneans*, *Borchanians*, and *Parthians*, not excepting *Perſia*, *Suſiana*, and what was called *Caſpiana*, which he penetrated by the paſſes called the *Caſpian Streights* (F). Other nations of leſs account he now ſubdued, *His conqueſts.*

attacked, upon the ſuppoſition, that the world in thoſe days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were firſt attacked, make no reſiſtance at all; the *Armenians*, whoſe turn was next, make ſome faint ſhew of reſiſtance; and now the *Medes*, who came third in turn, reſiſt indeed. For here we find, they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a moſt bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, muſt have made a very extraordinary progreſs in the art of war, and muſt have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vaſſal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and ſo he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* ſeems to have been as much too ſtrong, as the *Armenian* and *Babylonian* are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconſiſtency one could wiſh.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to its author. All theſe conqueſts were made, with uninterrupted ſucceſs, by *Ninus*; and theſe numerous nations, and others, were ever after conſidered as parts of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, till its diſſolution; a falſhood, which may be proved by what we know in the hiſtory of every of theſe nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any antient *Aſſyrian* king, *Ninus*, or any other, their ſubjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the hiſtory of the ſeveral nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any *Aſſyrian* yoke, from the firſt times we know of, down to the days of *Pul*; an interval of many ages, during which no *Aſſyrian* monarchy exiſted on this ſide the *Euphrates*. So that if any

dued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impreſſion on the *Bactrians*, who were ſecured by the difficulty of their paſſes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore he defers his war with them, till he ſhould be better aſſured of making his attempt with ſucceſs [b].

[b] Apud eund. ibid.

ſuch there had been, and if its duration was ſuch as *Cteſias* and his followers report, it muſt, according to the *Hebrew* computation, or the *Samaritan*, have taken riſe many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time theſe nations, and particularly all on this ſide the *Euphrates*, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of *Abraham* down to *Pul*, there is no veſtige of an *Aſſyrian* power extended over the weſtern parts of *Aſia*. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the perſon of *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* king, according to ſcripture; after him theſe nations, or many of them, and particularly thoſe on this ſide the *Euphrates*, did confeſſedly pay obedience to the *Aſſyrian* throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at leaſt for any continuance; ſo that there could have been nothing of this pretended *Aſſyrian* monarchy from *Abraham* to *Pul*, which is an interval of about 1150 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between *Abraham* and the flood, will remove the riſe of this monarchy ſo near to us, in compariſon of what prophane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How theſe *Bactrians* came to be ſuch very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they muſt never have had the experience of a ſingle campaign before they had to do with the ambitious *Ninus*. The ſame arguments may be brought to prove, that *Ninus* could not poſſibly know what they were for ſoldiers, as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonſtrate he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the *Arabians*; for if we ſuppoſe, with our author and *Trogus* (86), that *Ninus* was the firſt real warrior, we cannot allow, there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conqueſts; and though ſome nations, during his progreſs, may have put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, *Ninus* could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their ſtature and ſtrength of body; which may, it is moſt likely, have been the ſame in all theſe neighbouring nations. In ſhort, conſidering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as alſo the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to ſuppoſe, he could dread any one of theſe nations more than another.

(86) Juſtin *l.* 1. *c.* 1.

Leading

LEADING his army back again into his own country [*Syria*, as it is called] (H), he determined to raise himself as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with this design, marked out a spot of ground whereon to erect a city, which for extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having dismissed the *Arabian* king, who had followed him in his wars, with high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multitude of hands about him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. It stood on, or near, the *Euphrates* (L), surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the former being 100 feet in height, the latter 200, and 1500 in number; for this city was an oblong square, no less than 480 stades in circumference, or 60 miles; the walls were so very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breast. This city, which he honoured with his name, *Ninus* [*Nineveh*], he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the *Assyrians* (M), with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding thereto a large territory to be dependent thereon [c].

Returns into his own country.

Dismisses the king of Arabia.

Nineveh built, and described.

[c] Apud eund. ibid.

(H) We have already (87) observed, that *Syria* and *Assyria* are promiscuously used for each other, and that this is the cause of much confusion in geography (88).

(I) This is *Sesostris* exactly: Thus he, returning from the conquest of *Asia*, *applied his mind to such stupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good* (89).

(K) Thus also did *Sesostris* to his army (90).

(L) This is false; it was not the situation of this city (91). This inaccuracy, which is more than once repeated by our author (92), has been noted by several geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the mistake from his admired *Ctesias*, or whether he struck it out of himself, is quite uncertain.

(M) This again is almost the very story of *Sesostris*, *who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in* Egypt, *on his whole army* (93).

(87) *See before, p.* 122. (88) *Ibid.* & *p.* 123, *note* (B). (89) *See Vol. II. p.* 26. (90) *Ibid.* (91) *See Vol. I. p.* 279, *not.* (B). (92) Diodor. Sicul. *Biblioth. Histor. l.* 2. (93) *See Vol. II. p.* 23.

THIS

Ninus *again makes war with the* Bactrians.

This work dispatched, but in what space of time they are not so good as to tell us, *Ninus* takes the field again to subdue the *Bactrians*, whom he had left unconquered; and though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation.

Semiramis *her birth.*

Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely mortal, for she sprang from a goddess, *Derceto* by name, who had a temple erected to her near a filthy lake, not far from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (N), who came to be represented by a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the following remarkable occasion: This goddess, some how or other, laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to punish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love of a youth, who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her, and unfortunately conceiving by him she was delivered of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O*). Mean while the unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of

(N) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Proper Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (94); so that by this account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), *Semiramis* was a *Philistine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul*, many ages after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the *Philistine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the *Derceto* of *Ascalon*.

(O*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (98), where, near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess, was a lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature, which we have at length described (99). But whether *Ascalon*, or *Hierapolis*, was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is a most uncertain matter.

(94) *See Vol. II. p.* 193. (95) *See before p.* 146. (96) *See Vol. II. p.* 199. (97) *Ibid. ibid.* (98) *Ibid. p.* 259. (99) *Ibid.*

doves

doves or pigeons (P), which frequented near, and kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages; and when, at a year old, the child required a more ſubſtantial food, they picked cheeſe for her, and conveyed it to her; which being remarked by the neighbouring ſhepherds, who had their cheeſes thus ſerved, they made ſearch after the cauſe, and in the end found a beautiful child, which they took home with them, and ſent to the chief

(P) Hence it ſhould be, that *Aſcalon* was ſo remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every houſe; which the people here religiouſly abſtained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulneſs of the contrary (1).

There are thoſe who are ready to believe, *Semiramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* inſinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, ſignifying a *dove* (3); but others (4), finding no ſuch word in that language, rejected the notion as groundleſs. And theſe are moſt likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a ſuppoſition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is aſſerted, that the enſign armorial of *Aſſyria* was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the *Aſſyrian* ſhield in theſe terms; *The field* Sol, *a dove volant* proper (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned † to have been the origin of coats and creſts. Hence it is ſuppoſed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *quia facta eſt terra eorum in deſolationem a facie iræ columbæ*; where in our tranſlation, inſtead of the *anger of the dove*, we read the *fierceneſs of the oppreſſor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, ἀπὸ προσωπου τῆς μαχαιρας, *the face of the ſword*; which, in a very antient *Saxon* tranſlation in the library of *Chriſt-church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus taken, *the face of the ſword of the kulver*. That the dove was a peculiar diſtinction of *Aſſyria*, may be collected from *Hoſea*'s (11) *dove out of the land of* Aſſyria. In fine, it is by *Cornelius à Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of St. *Jerome*, related, that God calls *Nebuchadnezzar* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expreſſive of the laſcivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameleſs figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddeſs at *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14): All this is extremely dark.

(100) *Ibid. p.* 194. (1) Philo *apud* Euſeb. *Præpar. Evangelic. l.* 8. *p.* 398. (2) *Biblioth. Hiſt. l.* 2. (3) Gregor. *in Poſthum. p.* 235. (4) Joſeph. Scalig. *in Not. ad Fragm. p.* 43. (5) *Vid.* Gregor. *ubi ſup.* (6) *Vid. eund. ibidem.* (7) *Ibid.* † *Ibid. p.* 236. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Jerem. xxv. ver.* 38. (10) *Vid.* Gregor. *ubi ſup.* (11) *Ch. xi.* 11. (12) *Vid* Gregor. *ubi ſup.* (13) Pier. *apud eund.* (14) *See Vol. II. p.* 258.

of

of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q); who being childless adopted her his own, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, which signifies *doves* or pigeons (R); which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities [d].

Is married and caried to Niniveh

She grew up, and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty; and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though, at the same time, no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma*'s house; and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself, conducted her to *Nineveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom [e].

Having said thus much; preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did; or thought he should, before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*;

Ninus's *extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the* Bactrians.

[d] Apud eund. ibid. [e] Ibid.

Why not incredible.

(Q) The name of this man; *Simma*, has made some mistake him for no less than *Sem*, or *Shem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Ascalon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the LXX, the name of a river, not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(15) *Vid* Gregor. *Posth.* p. 235. (16) *Vid.* Ortel. *Thesaur. Geograph. ad vocem.*

and

and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew [f].

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the streights and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemies country [g].

Bactria *a populous and well fortified country.*

BUT before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of *Bactra*, that one *Oxyartes* was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrian* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the [h] city and fortress of *Bactra* itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T).

Semiramis *goes to the camp before* Bactra.

DURING this siege, *Semiramis*'s fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see

[f] Ibid. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare the *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think, they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you may have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered with any propriety or consistency.

his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so took with the fancy, that the *Medes* are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the *Persians* also [i].

She is the cause that the city is taken.

She no sooner arrived before *Bactra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, and with these she, with unspeakable toil and dexterity, got possession of part of the citadel, and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to assault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildest consternation, the whole place was immediately reduced [k] (U).

[i] Apud eund. ibid. [k] ibid.

(U) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabulist, and an aukward one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesostris*, his daughter *Athyrte* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Athyrte* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder, that *Ctesias* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesostris* (18), or if any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus* We would now add, that the *Bactrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we should not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(17) *See Vol. II. p.* 22. (18) *See before, p.* 151, *not.* (Y). (19) Just *l.* 1.

Ninus

Ninus, aſtoniſhed at this action, at firſt rewarded her as ſhe deſerved, and preſently fell a ſlave to her irreſiſtable beauty, endeavouring by all means to perſuade her huſband to ſurrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promiſe of giving him his daughter *Soſana* in marriage; but this making no impreſſion on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into ſuch a fit of rage and deſpair, that he immediately went and hung himſelf. Thus was it, that *Ninus* became poſſeſſed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (V), who was now advanced to the imperial dignity [1]. Ninus *firſt ſmitten with her.* *marries her,*

Ninus, now lord of *Bactra*, returned with immenſe ſpoil particularly of gold and ſilver; and ſome time afterwards had a ſon by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom (dying) he left to the care of his wife, whom he conſtituted regent of the empire (W). She depoſited her huſband in the palace, and raiſed *has a ſon by her,*

[1] Apud eund. ibid.

(V) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Aſſur* the ſon of *Shem*, which is much the ſame as making her the daughter of *Shem*, as we have obſerved, ſome would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reaſon for it is (21), becauſe the name of her ſon *Ninyas* better agrees with the *Hebrew* way of writing the name of the city of *Nineveh*, than that of her pretended huſband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been impoſed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Aſſur*, the grand-ſon of *Noah* (22). According to this notion *Shem* himſelf muſt have been the vulgar *Belus*, the ſuppoſed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and deſcended from *Ham*. The abſurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonſtrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to animadvert thereon in this place.

(W) Thus was it then, that ſhe became queen of *Aſſyria*; but by another author (24) we underſtand, that as great as we are taught ſhe muſt have been in the eyes of the people, ſhe was afraid they ſhould know who ruled them; though in right of the minor her ſon. That, to conceal this, ſhe cloathed herſelf ſo as not to be known from her ſon, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, ſhe commanded the people to dreſs after the ſame faſhion; and that thence forward they retained the habit. This account of the dreſs, which ſhe is ſaid by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into faſhion, is much more likely to be true, than what the ſame author (26) relates concerning the ſame,

(20) *Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp. p.* 43. (21) *Ibid.* (22 *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24 Juſt. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. (25) *Biblioth. Hiſtor. l.* 2. *p.* 67. (26) *Ibid.*

raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimension, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conspicuous, and very remarkably so, over all the plain, where the city of *Nineveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument, many ages after the subversion of the empire [m].

Semiramis's character.

Semiramis, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y), to which end she determined to erect a city

[m] Apud eund. ibid.

that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persepolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persepolis* (28).

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* *; since, according to this historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile; and by this same rule it must have been a mile and half quarter in height. This seems so incredible to Monsr. *Rollin* in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the absurdities of the several prophane authors in his history, and rejected most of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in history and geography, by the assiduous researches of later days, that he is willing to think the stade made but little more than the sixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as some have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes, she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (30). Thus is it his translator expresses himself in *English*, which we are, for this once, obliged to use for want of the original *French*. But this thought seems to be a little too refined for the early times he supposes her to have lived in; besides, his historian (31) warrants him in nothing of the sort that we can perceive. This her ambition puts us in mind of a story told of her, That she was a *Syrian* by birth,

(27) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 195. (28) *See* Chardin's *and* Le Bruyn's *Travels.* * *Hist. of the World*, *c.* 12. § 2. (29) *Hist. of the Assyr. vol. II. p.* 8 *in a note at the bottom.* (30) *Ibid. p.* 9. (31) Diodor. Sic. *l.* 2. *p.* 95.

a servant-

city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparation for the work, and aſſembling together two millions of men to aſſiſt therein. This city, as ſhe contrived it, was divided by the *Euphrates*, and ſhe ſurrounded it with a wall of 360 ſtades in circuit (Z), of ſuch thickneſs, that ſix chariots might drive a-breaſt thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no leſs than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with 250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole a ſolid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and between this wall and the houſes therein was left a ſpace of two plethra, or 200 feet [n]. *Reſolves to build* Babylon.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the diſpatch her impatience required, ſhe allotted a ſpot of a furlong, to as many of her truſtieſt friends as the greatneſs of the ſurface required, allotting to each every thing that was neceſſary for the undertaking; by which means, though ſhe allowed no more than the ſhort ſpace of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and to join the divided parts of *The manner ſhe contrived to have the city built in a ſhort time.*

[n] Apud eund. ibid.

a ſervant-maid to one of the king's ſervants, and the king's concubine; and that at length ſhe got ſuch an aſcendant over the great *Ninus*, that ſhe obtained of him to let her ſit on the throne and command for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be moſt exactly executed, ſhe at laſt ordered her guards to ſeize on *Ninus* himſelf, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was ſhe became queen of *Aſia* (32). This ſame ſtory, with ſome variation, is alſo told by others. If the former part of this be true, ſhe had ſome reaſon to be aſhamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predeceſſor: who, according to this, muſt have been ſuch a *Ninus* as deſcribed by *Phœnix Colophonius* (33), who is repreſented exactly as another *Sardanapalus*, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the ſame; for we cannot conceive, how ſo very effeminate a character can ſuit with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and ſcandalous prince ſhe might have outdone, and kept her ground after ſhe had deſtroyed him; but for ſuch a prince, as *Ninus* is on all ſides allowed to have been, we cannot apprehend, it could have been in her power, either to have pacified her new ſubjects, or to have eclipſed him.

(Z) We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to deſcribe this city in form, ſo that we here confine ourſelves to what *Cteſias* relates of it, regardleſs, whether true or falſe, which we reſerve for a particular inquiry in the hiſtory of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

(32) Plutarch. Ερωτικος, p. 75. (33) *Apud* Athenæ. *Deipnoſoph.* l. 12. p. 530.

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the city, ſhe ordered a bridge, which was as ſubſtantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that ſince then has ever appeared in the world. The ſtones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the paſſage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypreſs, and palm-trees; but the breadth of it, which was ſeemingly too ſmall for the length, which was five ſtades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each ſide of the river ſhe raiſed a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred ſtades in length; and at each end of the bridge ſhe erected two palaces, whence ſhe might reciprocally ſurvey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* paſſing through the midſt of *Babylon*, from north to ſouth, theſe two palaces ſtood, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; both of them ſumptuous and magnificent to the utmoſt. The weſtern was ſurrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full ſixty ſtades in circuit, within which was a ſecond, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, ſo curiouſly were they formed, and ſo naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 ſtades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathoms high, and thereon were raiſed towers of 70 of the ſame meaſure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or incloſure, far ſurpaſſing the ſecond in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were repreſented all manner of living creatures, as before; and more eſpecially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beaſts, each four cubits in height and upwards; in the midſt of which appeared *Semiramis* herſelf, mounted on a ſteed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near in cloſe combat with a lion, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 ſtades about. To this palace ſhe had three gates, under which were rooms of braſs, for the celebration of feſtivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance •.

This palace far exceeded that on the other ſide of the river, both for dimenſion and magnificence; for the outermoſt wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermoſt wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have deſcribed. So our author tells us, though with ſome ſeeming inconſiſtency, when in the ſame breath he informs us, that, beſides brazen ſtatues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, their great officers, and *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewiſe the repreſentation of va-

• Apud eund. ibid.

rious

rious kinds of hunting, to the great delight and recreation of the beholder [p].

ALL this being compleated, *Semiramis* ſunk a vaſt lake, *The lake* vaſt, conſidering it was ſunk by the labour of man. This lake, *ſhe dug.* for ſo we may well call it, was four ſquare; each ſide of it was 300 ſtades in length, the whole lined with brick ſtrongly cemented with bitumen, and no leſs than 35 foot in depth. This lake was ſunk on purpoſe to receive the waters of the *Euphrates*, which ſhe diverted, while ſhe erected a covered paſſage, or vault, acroſs the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two oppoſite palaces. This vault was twenty bricks thick, twelve foot high, and 15 broad; a work finiſhed within the ſpace of 260 days, when the river was again reſtored to its antient courſe and liberty. At the ends of this vault ſhe had brazen gates, which continued, ſay they, to the time of the *Perſian* conqueſt [q].

IN the midſt of the city, though on which ſide is not ſaid, *Temple of* ſhe built a temple to *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our Belus. author has nothing particular to relate, except that it muſt have been of exceeding height (A); that like the reſt of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that on the top of it *Semiramis* placed three ſtatues of beaten gold, *viz.* of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The ſtatue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking, forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: The ſtatue of *Rhea* was of the ſame weight, and ſat in a golden throne, with a lion ſtanding at each knee, and near them two very great ſerpents of ſilver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The ſtatue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; ſhe with her right hand graſped a ſerpent by the head, and with her left ſhe held a ſceptre enriched with gems. Theſe deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table ſtood two flaggons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two cenſers, but theſe weighed 300 talents each; as alſo three drinking bowls, or vaſes, of which parti-

[p] Ibid. [q] Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raiſed long after theſe pretended times by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and muſt refer the reader back to what we have formerly ſaid about it (34).

(34) *See Vol. I. p. 321, & ſeq.*

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cularly that dedicated to *Jupiter* weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600 [r] (B).

Builds several cities.

All this is attributed to *Semiramis*, and much more there is to come. *Babylon* was not the only city she raised, she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia*, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses, and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world [s].

Her obelisk.

Wars upon the Medes.

When *Semiramis* had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, and marches away into *Media*, and there incamps near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: It was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and towards this same garden, its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said *to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her.* At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, and attended by 100 of her choicest guards [t].

From hence she marched till she came to *Chaon*, a city of the *Medes*, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C); for, jealous of her power and high command, she

[r] Apud eund. ibid. [s] Ibid. [t] Ibid.

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis*'s bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(35) *Hist. Nat. l.* 34. *c.* 3. *p.* 584. *Edit. Frob.*

would take no partner to her bed; but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death [u] (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent precipices impassable, but by much labour and loss of way. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to travel that way (E). This she did with infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRAMIS's ROAD, or WAY. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any where else done. The city, till then, had laboured under a want of water, a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence [w].

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her as she went, in parts incommoded by eminences of the sort; and on the contrary, in plain and champain tracks, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would build towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminencee, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS's WORKS [x].

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Libya* to what belonged to her before; and paying a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, *She would vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the* Asiatic *nations, at such time as her son* Ninyas *should plot against her life*. How she took this, we are not told; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of

[u] Ibid. [w] Ibid. [x] Ibid

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband *Ninus*, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Sesostris*, for valour and magnificence.

that fabulous country, she marched back into *Asia*, and reposed herself at *Bactra* [y].

Resolves to invade India.

Here she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, she meditated a war against the king of *India*. She had been informed of the transcendant amœnity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; and resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, knowing well what a task she should have of it, she ordered all her governors in general to select a proportion of the choicest of the youth in their provinces, and to furnish them with compleat habiliments for war, and to take care they rendezvoused at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the space of three years. She sent for shipwrights out of *Phœnice*, *Syria* and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places, and, preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, she ordered, that they should frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land, wherewith to cross the *Indus*, whose adjacencies were destitute of wood [z].

Her Mock-elephants.

She in the next place considered, that she laboured under a great disadvantage by the want of elephants, in which *Stabrobates*, the king of *India* at that time, was mighty and strong. How to get any she knew not; art therefore must be used, and she ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking particularly to terrify the *Indians* by this stratagem, they being possessed with assurance, the elephant was no where a native but in their country. The thing is resolved on, 300,000 black oxen are slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were surrounded by a lofty inclosure, and no body suffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about, and convey the news to the *Indian* king [a].

Stabrobates, *king of* India, *prepares to receive her.*

Her vessels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, she; in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000

[y] Apud eund. ibid. [z] Idid. [a] Ibid.

in

in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarise to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle [b].

Semiramis *on the banks of the* Indus.

Stabrobates heard of this, and prepared for the storm; and first he built him 4000 boats of the great canes [Bamboos], which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*. He added to the number of elephants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to *Semiramis*, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the same time, upbraiding her with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, *The* Indian *ere long should be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions* [c].

WHEN she came to the banks of the *Indus*, she discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up against her; whereupon she pre-

[b] Apud eund. ibid. [c] Ibid.

(F) These numbers, says *Suidas* (35), she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus*, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said *Dercetæus*, 'Go *to*, 'and prepare *for an expedition in three years, beginning from the* Hellespont *and* Libya *to* Bactria, *and levy three millions of foot, one* 'million *of horse*, 100,000 *scythed chariots, and the like number of* 'men *to fight upon camels*; 200,000 *camels for other uses*; *and let* 'there *be* 300,000 *ox-hides prepared, and* 3000 *ships built in* Bactria, 'with *brazen prows, and manned with* Syrians, Phœnicians, Cy-'priots, Cilicians, *and others on the sea coasts quite to the* Hellespont.' This is a notable addition to the *Ctesian* story, and a great instance of credulity, or presumption, in the writer, and tempts us to say, that the *Greek* historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(35) *Ad vocem* Σεμιραμὶς. (36) *ibid.* (37) Raleigh's *Hist. of the World, ubi supr.*

pared and launched her own, which ſhe manned with the braveſt of her people, and gave battle, ordering it ſo, that thoſe aſhore might be aiding and aſſiſting upon occaſion. The fight was obſtinate, but *Semiramis*, in the end came off victorious, ſunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of priſoners. Elated with this, ſhe fell on the cities and iſlands of the river, and made 100,000 captives [d].

Stabrobates feigns a retreat.

Upon this *Stabrobates* draws off his army, as if afraid, but in truth to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and ſhe, ignorant of his meaning, no ſooner perceived his retreat, than ſhe ordered a broad bridge of boats to be ſtretched acroſs the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while ſhe went in purſuit of the flying *Indian*. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it ſeems, that herein ſhe did not contrive amiſs; for the *Indian* ſcouts, miſtaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their countrymen, who all aſtoniſhed, could not conceive, whence the *Aſſyrians* ſhould have furniſhed themſelves with theſe tremendous creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for ſome of *Semiramis*'s people, deſerting over to the *Indians*, for fear of puniſhment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Stabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army [e].

Semiramis on the other ſide of the Indus.

Semiramis, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, continuing with her falſe elephants in her front, which came up with the *Indian* horſe and chariots, which had been diſpoſed at ſome diſtance, before the groſs of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright ſeizes the *Indian* horſe, who at a diſtance, accuſtomed to the ſight of elephants, advanced with great fury; but within ſcent of theſe ox hides, it was new and offenſive to them, and they broke into the wildeſt diſorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midſt of the *Aſſyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the diſordered *Indians*, and compleatly routed them and drove them back again to the groſs of their army. *Stabrobates*, in ſome degree of conſternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, ſuſtained by his elephants, himſelf mounted on a ſtately one in his right wing, and oppoſite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The ſhock was violent and had a ſudden effect, and great was the ſlaughter cauſed particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis*'s mock-elephants now proved

[d] Apud eund. Ibid. [e] Ibid.

uſeleſs

useless and cumbersome, and the whole *Assyrian* army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midst of this battle, the *Assyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand, and he wounded her first in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her shoulder, as she was turning about to get from him, and trusting to the fleetness of her horse, she fled with the rest of her army [f]. *Her fight with the king of India.*

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was such, that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy were miserably pressed to death, or perished under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or shoved into the river from the sides of the bridge. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had crossed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and destroyed, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, many of whom perished by this means. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and not only so, but the *Indian* was also admonished not to be eager for the pursuit, by the intervention of prodigies, and the like: In a word, having on each side made an exchange of prisoners, *Semiramis* returned to *Bactra* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out [g] (G). *Her overthrow and flight.*

AND now, under this eclipse of her glory, she approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, she is attempted to be assassinated by an eunuch, subdolously and unnaturally employed by her son (H); and thereupon, calling to mind *Her end.*

the

[f] Apud eund. [g] Ibid.

(G) *Arrian* (38) and *Strabo* (39), say, she died in the midst of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*, though by this last * she should have made her escape, but with no more than 20 men at her heels; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* thinks this number to be too small a remnant of so infinite a multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forborn to animadvert on, apprehending, we have said abundantly enough in the former part of this section, to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow, which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages; we must now enquire into her end, and particularly how it should come to pass that her son *Ninyas* sought her life. We are told (40), that she would unnaturally have tempted him to commit incest with her, and that thereupon he

(38) *In Lib. Rer. Indicar.* (39) *Geograph. l.* 15. *p.* 686, 722. * *Ibid. Hist. of the World, ubi supra.* (40) *Just. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

conceived

the anſwer ſhe had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, ſhe ſuppreſſed all thoughts of revenge for what had been cauſed, as it were, by a divine fatality; ſhe forgave her ſon, ſurrendred up every thing to him, commanded all her ſubjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was tranſlated from the ſight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled, ſhe made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which ſettled upon her palace juſt at the time, and, ſay they, it was hence the *Aſſyrians* were addicted to the worſhip of a dove (I). In fine, ſhe was queen of

conceived ſuch a hatred of her, that he could not bear that ſhe ſhould live any longer, and therefore murdered her. *Diodorus*, or his author *Cteſias* rather, here tells us, her ſon employed an eunuch to diſpatch her, but that ſhe eſcaped and vaniſhed from ſight. We have ſeen, by the ſame author, that ſhe gave herſelf up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*, and cruelly ſacrificed her gallants to her furious luſt; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to ſeduce her ſon. Now, according to the courſe of this hiſtory, there ſeem to have been two provocations, that may have ſtirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her ſcandalous way of life; and the other, her uſurpation of his right as king and ſovereign; which, how he ſhould ſo long have ſubmitted to, is paſt our ſolution; though we may juſt touch on it anon, diſmiſſing it for the preſent. It is here ſomewhat to our purpoſe, that *Conon* (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother of *Ninus*, and that lying with him by accident, ſhe afterwards acknowledged him publickly for her huſband. According to this reading (42) *Ninyas* ſhould be the perſon meant; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* acquits her of all faults of this kind, and aſcribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43). *Gregory* (44) would offer it as an argument of her chaſtity, that ſhe, as *Ammianus* relates, firſt inſtituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(I) Concerning the *Semiramidan* dove, we have treated largely already (45) and may have occaſion to reſume the ſubject hereafter, when we are to ſpeak of the *Babylonian* religion; and the rather, as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Aſſyrian*, appellations confeſſedly ſynonymous. And now, that there was ſuch a woman as *Semiramis*, we doubt not in the leaſt, but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what is here reported, is impoſſible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, unnatural, and impoſſible, as related by the bulk of hiſtorians; but above

(41) *Apud* Phot. *Biblioth. p* 427. (42) *Vid.* Gregor. *Poſthum. p.* 234. (43) *Hiſt. of the World, chap.* 12. § 4. (44) *In Poſthum. ubi ſup.* (45) *See before, p.* 159, *note* (P).

all

of all *Asia*, *India* excepted, and continued in the sight of men 62 years, 42 of which she reigned [h].

Ninyas (K) succeeded his mother *Semiramis*, and taking neither after father nor mother, he chose to enjoy himself in peace; Ninyas.

[h] Apud eund. ibid.

all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by *Josephus Scaliger* (46) and *Renecius* (47), is a matter so easily disproved, by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the same with the *Atossa*, or *Semiramis*, who reigned 12 years with her father *Belochus*, the 18th king of *Assyria*, according to *Eusebius* (49), and in the same place calls her the *daughter*, and not the *wife*, of *Ninus*, though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) *mother* instead of *daughter*. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the *Atossa* of *Belochus*, who were confessedly *daughter* and *father* (51): *Belochus*, then must have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, and he, instead of being the first, or the second, king of *Assyria*, is, according to *Eusebius* (52), the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to subscribe the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be reckoned to have discovered and invented the use of metals, to have been the first queen and tyranness, and, in short, to have been called the goddess *Rhea* (54). She may be compared with the *Egyptian Isis*, and the *Phœnician Astarte*, as her husband *Ninus* may with the *Egyptian Osiris*, *Sesostris* and the like.

(K) He is also called *Zames* (55), the *German* writers will have him to have been called *Trebita*, and to have built the city of *Trewes* (56); he is also called *Thourias* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*]; and is said to have had the first statue erected to him,

(46) *Ibid. p.* 163. (47) *Apud* Gregor. *Posthum. See before, in the notes, p.* 163. (48) *Apud.* Phot. *Biblioth. p.* 427. (49) *See before, p.* 138. (50) *Vid.* Gregor. *Post. p.* 234. (51) *See before, ubi sup.* (52) *Ibid.* (53) Raleigh's *Hist. of the World, ubi sup.* § 4. (54) Suid. *ad vocem* Σεμιραμὶς. (55) *See before, p.* 138. (56) *Vid.* Gregor. *Posthum. p.* 239. (57) *In MSS. Gr. Anonym. apud* Gregor. *Posthum. p.* 226, 239. (58) Suid. *ad vocem* Θυρας.

which

peace; and, indeed, there must have been a necessity for it, if his parents had done all that report says of them; he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals [i]. As for *India*, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very impracticable and absolutely dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions, as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it, we may suppose, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. By this step of policy it was, he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who having

Ninyas's sloth.

His policy.

[i] Vid. Just. l. 1. c. 2.

which they called Βαὰλ Θεὸν, *Lord God* In short, he is said to have waged war and to have slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Japetus*, and to have been consecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful *Ninyas* in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from *Eusebius* observed in the note above, that she was the very *Atossa*, the daughter of *Belochus*, and that she reigned with her father, as his collegue and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (61), how she should have been able to keep the reigns in her own hands, in prejudice of her son who was her lawful sovereign. He has no way to account for this, but by supposing he had regard to his pleasures only, and cared not of how much trouble his mother eased his shoulders (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to, will, among other things, be observed in the next note.

(59) *Idem ibid. vid. etiam* Joan. Malel. *p.* 120. & Cedren. *p.* 15.
(60) *See before, p.* 138. (61) *Hist of the World, chap.* 12. § 2.
(62) *Ibid.*

ſcarce time to be at all known to their ſoldiers, could have it the leſs in their power to aſpire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to ſecure himſelf from inſults and rebellions, while he wallowed in laſciviouſneſs within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his ſucceſſors after him; reſerving hemſelf from the eyes of men, as ſomething more than mortal [k].

AFTER this rate was it that all his ſucceſſors reigned in the great empire of *Aſſyria*; ſo that they, it ſeems, have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they

[k] Apud eund. ibid.

(L) *Diodorus*, *Athenæus*, *Juſtin*, and others, repreſent him, as we have ſeen, a ſlothful, inactive, and laſcivious king; to have locked himſelf up in his palace; to have ſequeſtred himſelf from the eyes of his ſubjects, and to have had communication with them but by meſſengers; to have even turned woman, and to have converſed with none but that ſex; and yet we ſee him here conſulting and contriving to preſerve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not poſſibly enlarge. We ſee him here acting the part of a reſolute tyrant and conſummate politician, and may thence conclude, that if there had been any poſſible work of the ſort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that according to this, he muſt have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have ſuffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the ſpace of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to ſavour ſtrongly of abſolute ſway and love of power, in the perſon that inſtituted it. All this we have inſiſted on to prove, that he did not ſucceed *Semiramis* in the manner our hiſtorian writes; which muſt appear even by the inconſiſtent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the ſame method of reſtraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his ſucceſſors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning we perceive no footſteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at leaſt between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus*? we apprehend, that no body can give us a ſatisfactory anſwer to this. And here we cannot but wonder how Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhould ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Aſſyrian* monarch, might be the petty king of *Shinaar*, *Amraphel* in *Geneſis* (63), or that he ſhould, if he repoſed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine the monarchy had, even in *Abraham*'s time, even in its very infancy, received a *downright fall* as he calls it (64).

(63) *See his Hiſt. of the World, c.* 1. § 9. *l.* 2. (64) *Ibid.*

lived and died in their palace at *Nineveh* (L*); and hence it is, we muſt abruptly proceed to the very laſt of them [l].

Sardanapalus's *character.*

Sardanapalus (M) exceeded all his predeceſſors in ſloth and luxury. He ſunk into ſuch a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very ſex and nature; he cloathed himſelf as a woman; he ſpun amidſt the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himſelf out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the moſt laſcivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himſelf in the filth of an unbounded ſenſuality, quite regardleſs of ſex and the dictates of nature [m] (N).

Under

[l] Apud eund. ibid. [m] Ibid.

(L*) This vaſt chaſm of inaction in the *Aſſyrian* monarchs, from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy, as we may call it, of at leaſt 1200 years, is as ſtrong a proof that the prophane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them ſo. Is it probable, that in ſo long a ſucceſſion of princes there ſhould have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it poſſible, that in ſo very long a ſucceſſion of years there ſhould have ariſen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the ſloth and ſupineneſs of theſe kings at *Nineveh?* Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and eſpecially ſuch as were vaſſals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all ſink into a lethargy with their maſter? Was there no king of *Bactria*, no king of *India*, to rouſe them from their ſilken ſlumbers? Had *Ninus* deſtroyed the race of mankind, ſo numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his ſucceſſors for his ſake? More, many more, queries of this kind may be made, but we deſiſt. So many pacific ages, ſuch a ſeries of the calmeſt peace, both from within and from without, may ſhock the eaſieſt credulity. The monarchies which ſucceeded this were of very ſhort duration in compariſon of this, and why the *Aſſyrian* ſhould have the ſole privilege of ſtanding ſo long erect, we are at a loſs for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and ſubject to ſuch ſudden and violent ſubverſions, as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(M) This name is not the only one ſaid to belong to him, he is alſo called *Tonos Concoleros*, *Concoleros*, *Maſcocoleros*, and by other ſuch names (65).

(N) *Dio Coccianus* (66) has taken much pains to let us know, that he was the moſt libidinous and abandoned wretch the ſun e-

(65) *Vid.* Geor. Syncel. & Euſeb. Pamph. (66) *In Excerpt. Valeſ. p.* 762.

ver

UNDER this wretch, as represented (O), it was, that the *Assyrian* monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his *His reign.* subjects

ver shone on; and says, That no one could tell what he did and suffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it; though he descends to several particulars bad enough of all conscience; but, as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and besides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. *Nicholas* of *Damascus* (67) is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament, in the very words used to the same purpose in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) also seems to have described his way of life much to the same purpose. *Duris* (70) says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself, and spun; all to the same purpose; and therefore we need say no more about it.

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teaches us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than *Constantinople*, to take a view of the great *Turk*; but nevertheless he may have been a man, who, at some intervals, minded business; such a man we are told he was, for he is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71); in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΥΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΙΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ, Sardanapalus, *the son of* Anacyndaraxis, *built* Tarsus *and* Anchiale *in one day, but now is dead.* This is a grave epitaph, and might befit any prince, but we find it varied a little to disadvantage; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΣΕ ΩΣ Τ'ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ, *Eat, drink, and be merry, for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger*; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers (72): This monument and statue is said to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city *Tarsus*, where St. *Paul* was born, and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.* However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between

(67) *In Excerpt. ejusd. p.* 424. (68) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (69) Justin. *l.* 1. *c.* 3. (70) *Apud* Athen. *Deipnosoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529. (71) Athenæus *Deipnosoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529. *Vid. etiam* Georg. Syncell. *Chronograph. p.* 165. & Euseb. Pamph. *Chron. Can. p.* 110. (72) Aristobul. *apud* Athenæ. *ubi sup. p.* 530. (73) Gregor. *in Posthum. p.* 243.

subjects about him, and, as should seem, particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. *Belesis* was not only a captain, but a famous priest and a great astrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, *That he should dethrone* Sardanapalus, *and become lord of all his dominions*. *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over *Babylon*, if things should happen to answer his prediction; and fully possessed that he was to be as *Belesis* had foretold of him, he cultivates particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at *Nineveh*, and begins to affect popularity; and therein succeeds to his wish. But above all, he endeavours to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life; and describe him accordingly. This he brings to pass, by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into the presence. *Arbaces* saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend, and, impatient to effect their purpose, *Arbaces* disposes the *Medes* and *Persians* to an open revolt, and *Belesis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; and, in short, the matter was disclosed to the king of *Arabia* [n].

The Medes Babylonians, *and* Persians *revolt.*

The year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes* and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabians*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number all together amounted to 400,000

[n] Apud eund. ibid.

the action recorded and the reflection that ensues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, *eat, drink, and be merry, the rest is not worth caring for*. If this was any where the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption, that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. *Callisthenes* (74) writes, there were two *Sardanapalus*'s, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the same, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks it may belong to the masculine *Sardanapalus*, though with what propriety we may consider a little farther.

(74) *Apud* Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (75) *Ibid.*

400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*, apprised of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of *Nineveh*. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belesis*, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, who in despair had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle, and *Sardanapalus*, victor as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*, though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded o.

Sardanapalus had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if *Belesis*, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not, with all imaginable assurance, persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days

Sardanapalus takes the field against them, and beats them.

A second battle; the revolters are again routed.

A third battle; the revolters beaten again.

They hold out still.

o Apud eund. ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself it is likely, we have the two mentioned by *Callisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

longer,

longer, they would be joined and ſupported by unexpected aſſiſtance; for that the gods had ſo ſignified to him by the aſpect of the heavens: He intreated them, therefore, to ſtay but ſo many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, ſudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, ſent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, diſpatched the moſt reſolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to ſoldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces*; a tranſaction unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, preſuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his uſual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary ſacrifice, and a high feſtival for the entertainment of his victorious army [p].

The Bactrians revolt to them.

They attack the imperial camp by ſurprize.

In the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, in conſequence thereof, fell ſuddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus* and all his army, with a great ſlaughter, which continued almoſt to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to *Salemenus* his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in perſon. His forces were twice defeated, once at ſome diſtance, and once under the walls of the city, when *Salemenus* fell, and almoſt all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinctured with the gore of the ſlain for a long while [q].

They beſiege Sardanapalus *in* Nineveh.

Sardanapalus was now cloſely beſieged: Many other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates; and perceiving things at ſo deſperate a paſs, he ſent away his three ſons and two daughters, with a very great treaſure, into *Paphlagonia*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and iſſued out orders to all parts of his empire

[p] Apud eund. ibid. [q] Ibid.

(Q) There is ſeemingly ſome inconſiſtency in this, if we conſider what follows; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feaſt with his army after their ſucceſsful toils.—It ſeems a little uncharitable to think otherwiſe of him in this caſe.

(R) Where this *Paphlagonia* ſhould have been ſituated, and who this *Cotta*, a modern name, ſhould have been, we forbear to enquire, as ſavouring too groſly of fable; but, by the way, we cannot

empire (S) to come in to his assistance, and prepare for a siege (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not succumb, fully possessed with notions of a prophesy, *That* Nineveh *could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*, which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatned him [r].

WHILE *Sardanapalus* pleased himself with this imagination, the confederates, elated by what they had done, considered their work as compleated, though they, in those early days, could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this sort. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well

They take the city.

[r] Apud eund. ibid.

not help asking, how this *Cotta* should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before *Arbaces* the *Mede* bribed his way to a sight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of *Nineveh*; nor is it even easy to conceive, how he should have sent away any part of his family and treasure: the enemy had certainly secured the passes; the poliorcetic art, in those simple days, consisted of little else. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author *Ctesias* as if he quoted him, that *Sardanapalus*, perceiving himself sore pressed, and ruin coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Nineveh*. What city of *Nineveh* this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for, and so we leave this palpable obscurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this seeming mistake the error sprang of making two *Sardanapalus*'s as well as two *Ninevehs*, which we meet with no where else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so sollicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when according to his belief, they could no where have been in more safety? and why should he be so busy with his orders, and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? they could have been of no use to such an impregnable place as was proof against every thing, even famine itself, but the waters of the river.

(76) Athenæ. *Deipnosoph. l.* 12. *p.* 529.

stored

stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time, the confederates sat two years before the city without any visible effect; but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than 20 stades, of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now sensible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised, and heaping upon it all his gold, and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire thereto, and so destroyed himself and the rest (V); which the rebels hearing, entered the

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumstances are most prodigiously exaggerated by *Athenæus*, who seems (77) to borrow what he says from *Ctesias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Athenæus* transcribed at length. He says, within his palace he erected a pile of four *Jugera*, or acres, in dimension, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midst of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himself, and others for his concubines; that it was all a solid piece of timber-work, and that it was so fenced about with huge timbers that no body could get out; that within this were no less than a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten thousand myriads of silver, together with riches of apparel, and furniture unspeakable; that he ordered this pile to be set on fire, and that it burned no less than fifteen days together; that by the smoak those without thought he had been sacrificing, and that, during the time, the whole was a secret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) seems to intimate, that he was accidently burnt in his palace. *Anxyntas* (79) relates, there was a great mount in *Nineveh* raised, as tradition went, as a sepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the same we may safely suppose that is said to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80), and that on stone pillars the following epitaph was engraved in *Chaldee* characters; (why not *Assyrian*?) which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Charilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΩΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΦΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ, ΗΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΕΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΟ ΚΑΓΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. *I reigned, and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I eat,*

(77) *Ibid.* (78) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (79) *Apud* Athen. *ubi sup.* (80) *See before, p.* 164. (81) *Apud* Athen. *ubi sup.*

the city by the breach, and became lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Nineveh* itself was laid level

and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasure. This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second, we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Nineveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose, there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this antient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen, and been known under the same name afterwards; and secondly; *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where *Nineveh* was to stand no more; and besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Nineveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious we say the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt, as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was despoiled of the empire of *Syria*, or *Assyria*, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be, that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined, there were two kings of *Assyria* of this same name (87). *Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(82) Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (83) *See before, p.* 164. (84) Amynt. *apud* Athen. *Deipnosph. ubi sup.* (85) *See Vol. II. p.* 259. (86) Cleitarch. *apud* Athen. *ubi sup.* (87) *See before in the notes, p.* 180, 181, 183. (88) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος.

with the ground. And thus ended the *Aſſyrian* empire, ſubverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Cteſias*, ſubſiſted no leſs than 1400 years [r].

SECT. V.

The History of Assyria *according to Scripture and the more approved Authorities.*

Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Chriſt, 771.

WE now come to the true, and only hiſtory of *Aſſyria* that may be depended upon. *Pul* (W), the ſeeming founder of this monarcy, makes his firſt appearance in ſcripture in the reign of *Menahem* [t], king of *Iſrael*, who juſt about the ſame time had forced his way to the

[r] Apud eund. ibid. [t] See before, p. 65.

(W) He is alſo called *Phul*, and miſtakenly by the LXX *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the tranſcription, and owing to the very near reſemblance of the *Greek* A *lambda*, and A *alpha*, ſo that it is no great wonder, this name ſhould, in the *Greek* character, have been written ΦΟΥΑ *Phua*, inſtead of ΦΟΥΛ *Phul* (89). He is the firſt king of *Aſſyria* mentioned in ſcripture, from the time that land was planted by *Aſhur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the cuſtom uſually is (90). This *Phul* was by his name a pure *Aſſyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is miſtaken to have been by ſome (92), who would have him to have been the *Beleſis* of *Cteſias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Aſſyrian* power; than which no poſition can be more groſs. That he was the firſt king of *Aſſyria*, appears by his name, which is ſimple, and not compounded, as the reſt we read of are. The *Aſſyrian* names are for the moſt part compounded of the ſimple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in theſe parts, as in *Tiglath-Pul-Aſſur*, *Nebo-Pul-Aſſur*, and the like. From this circumſtance, and the affinity of the name itſelf, he is, with ſeeming certainty, ſaid to have been the *Aſſyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Tyrian Belus* (94). *Pul* is pronounced *Pol*, and *Pal* (95), whence, without any ſtraining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he ſhould have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and

(89) *Vid.* Cleric. *in* 2 *Reg. cap.* xv. *ver.* 19. (90) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (91) *Vid.* Scalig. *de emend. temp. l.* 6. *p* 577. (92) *See* Patrick *upon* 2 *Kings* xv. 19. (93) *Vid.* Scalig. *ubi ſup.* Seld. *de Diis Syris.* (94) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.* 279. *See Vol. II. p.* 310, (K). (95) Bern. Montfauc. *apud* Du Pin. *Biblioth. Univerſ. des Hiſt. p.* 285.

other

the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of *Shallum* [u]. His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such

[u] 2 Kings xv.

other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section, that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as also that they consecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the custom of the antient *Syrians*, long before them, to deify their kings (97); we have seen their *Adad*, *king of gods*, was no more than their dead king *Benhadad* II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Cronus*, and *Astaric*, *are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought them*; and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the antient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we but subscribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of scripture, for the idle tales of prophane authors, who confound rather than inform us. It were odd, that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self evidently gathered from the text of scripture history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we shall therefore pass them over with this bare observation, that by embracing the *Ctesian* fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have almost all run into most intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business then is, to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall have nothing to do but to borrow his arguments. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited, to evince that there never was what might be called an *Assyrian* monarchy before the days of *Pul*, it may be added, 1. Jonah *prophesied when* Israel *was in affliction under the king of* Syria ··· *about* 60 *years before the reign of* Pul (3). 2. Nineveh, *though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about* 120000 *persons* (4). [These are taken to have been children, because it is said, *they could not discern between their right hand and their left* (5); but why this should not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance

(96) *See before, p.* 133, & 184, *note* (V). (97) *See Vol. II. p.* 255. (98) *Ibid.* (99) *Ibid in the notes.* (100) *Ibid. p.* 310, (K). (1) *See Sir* Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend. pass.* (2) *Idem ibid.* (3) *Sir* Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Ant Kingd, amend. p.* 270. (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Vid.* Gregor. *Posth. p.* 194.

such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1090 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land w. What else

w 2 Kings xv.

in a religious sense, we know not; so that is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included in the number]. 3. Nineveh *was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of* Jonah, *and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within* 40 *days (6). Its king was not yet called king of* Assyria, *but king of* Nineveh, [Jonah iii. 6, 7.] *and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all* Assyria, *but only in* Nineveh, *and perhaps in the villages thereof (7). But when* Nineveh ... *was exalted over all* Assyria, *properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of* Nineveh, *but began to be called kings of* Assyria (8). Our author then observes, that *Amos*, who prophesied soon after *Jeroboam* had subdued the kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of *Pul*, never once names the *Assyrians*, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that *Israel should be afflicted from the entering in of* Hamath *to the river of the wilderness*; meaning of the *Assyrians*, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zechariah*, which were penned after his (9). These and other arguments of the kind, equally demonstrative, he uses to prove what is here asserted; but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this is he supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians, as we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our author (11) concludes *Pul* to have been the first *Assyrian* that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side the *Tigris*, that he was a great warrior, that he may have founded or inlarged the city of *Babylon*, and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of *Chaldea* to a younger son, who may have been *Nabonassar*, and that the famed *Semiramis* may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same *Nabonassar* (12), but these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of *Babylon*, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to inject a fear of its self into the nations by barely shewing itself, than by a violent irruption at once upon every body, or at first pretending to over run the world

(6) *Sir* Is. Newt. *ubi sup.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Idem ibid. p.* 138. (10) *See before, p.* 864. (11) *Ubi sup. p.* 277. (12) *Idem ibid p.* 277, 279.

by

else this king did in particular is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already [x], that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from *Syria*, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from *Israel*, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

Tiglath-pileser succeeded him (Z); and is supposed to have been his son, but upon no certain authority (A). Upon what Tiglath-pileser.

[x] See Vol. II. p. 288, note (C).

by dint of force. How much more natural is this, than what we read of the sort concerning the pretended *Ninus*? *Pul* seems rather to have laid the foundations of the *Assyrian* monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(Y) Some *Jews* think, he began to transport the children of *Israel*; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(Z) He is also called *Tiglath-pilneser*, *Theglath-phalasar*, *Theglath-phellaser*, *Thilgamas* (14), as supposed, and also *Ninus* junior, according to *Castor* (15). *Prideaux* (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for *Arbaces* the *Mede*. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from *Diglito*, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river *Tigris* (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of *Pul*, that they make him a stranger to his line, a *Mede*, as we have seen in the note above. *Rollin*, misled by that great and otherwise learned guide archbishop *Usher* (20), makes *Pul* to have been the father of *Sardanapalus* (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because in the name *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardan-pul*, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first *Assyrian* king, forgetting, that for the same reason *Tiglath-pul-assur* might have more naturally appeared his son, especially as he is the king of *Assyria*, who is expressly said to have succeeded him in scripture. By what biassed him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally, have concluded, that *Tiglath-pul-assur* and *Sardan-pul* were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The first and second monarchy, according to the scheme of archbishop *Usher* (22), adopted by *Prideaux* and *Rollin*, so entirely repugnant to all history, sacred or prophane, may serve to shew

(13) *See* Patrick's *Comment. upon* 2 *Kings* xv. 19. *and upon* 1 *Chron.* v. 26. (14) Ælian. *Hist. Anim. l.* 12. *c.* 21. (15) *Apud* Euseb. *Chron.* (16) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *Part* 1. *at the beginning.* (17) *See* Patrick, *ubi supr. ver.* 29. (18) *See before in the notes, p.* 126. (19) Cleric. *ubi sup. Com.* 29. (20) *Annal. Vet. Testam. Æt. Mund. Quint. p.* 83. (21) *Hist. of the Assyr. in the English transl. p.* 25. (22) *Ubi supr.*

how

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Christ 740.

what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maachah*, and *Janoah*, and *Kedesh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and *Galilee*, and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria* [y], thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivation must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring

[y] 2 Kings xv.

how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is so sensible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of scripture (24) which first makes mention of *Tiglath-pileser*, that if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* are true, of their having held the east under subjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words, adding, that the learned are now sensible, there were several sorts of independent kingdoms in those days to the eastward of the *Euphrates*. [*See Vol. II. p.* 274.] and that sometimes one of them was uppermost, and sometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the *Assyrians* were most powerful; who, now crossing the *Tigris*, had carried their arms through *Mesopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Palestine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king to have been the son of *Pul*. From the time of *Pul*'s appearance to the first of this king's appearance, is a space, according to *Usher* himself (26), of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeeded one another. It is therefore an eye-sore to see them so disjoined as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whose judgment and conversance with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid the same, as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to instruct the mind, as to the reallity and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) *Tiglath-pileser* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could be possibly taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors we may suppose for the same reasons. This their constant practice is in all its circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that if *Ctesias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Assyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forborn to have improved it after his manner, which we no where find that he did.

(23) Joan. Cleric. (24) 2 *Reg.* xv. 29. (25) Joan. Cleric. *in* 2 *Reg. ibid.* (26) *Ubi supr.* (27) *Ubi sup.*

so

ſo hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increaſe of his power, by peopling ſome tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himſelf obliged to do much more of the kind ſoon after. For receiving an embaſſy from *Ahaz*, king of *Judah* [z], with a tender from him of homage, and a preſent of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin*, king of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah*, king of *Iſrael*, who were joined in confederacy againſt him; upon this prayer, and preſent, and acknowledgment, from the king of *Judah*, *Tiglath-pileſer* marched againſt *Damaſcus*, took that city, tranſplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C), ſlew *Rezin*, and ſo put an end to that antient kingdom [a] (D).

HE was ſucceeded by *Shalmaneſer* (E), who ſeems to have made war upon *Hoſhea*, king of *Iſrael*, in conſequence of his Shalmaneſer.

[z] See before, p. 72. [a] Ibid. 2 Kings, c. 16.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which ſay not whither the people of *Damaſcus* were tranſplanted to; others have it, that the place was Κυρήνη, or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by ſome ſimilitude of the names; but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, the king of *Aſſyria* could ſend them into thoſe parts when he was not yet maſter even of *Egypt* (28). *Joſephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Media*. *Bochart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpoſe. It will be in vain for us to think of ſettling the ſite of this and many other places, hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obſcure than this; ſo that we ſhall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the antient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives room to aſſert what we have only ſurmiſed formerly concerning the alteration the old religion of this country muſt have undergone when conquered by the *Aſſyrians* (31). How is it to be imagined, that the ſtrangers, who were brought to take poſſeſſion of this country, ſhould continue the antient rites and ſuperſtitions of its firſt inhabitants? Well may we ſay then, that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus* and other *Aſſyrian* gods (32), unknown on this ſide of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name alſo is variouſly written, as *Salmaneſer*, *Salmanaſſar*; he is called *Enemeſſar* by *Tobit* (33), and is ſuppoſed (34) to be the *Salman*, or *Shalman*, of *Hoſea* (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the ſame with *Nabonaſſar* (36); which we ſhall not here diſcuſs.

(28) *Vide* Joan. Cleric. *in loc. ubi ſup.* (29) *Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c.* 13. (30) Phaleg. *l.* 4. *c.* 32. (31) *See Vol. p.* 251. (32) *Ibid.* (33) *c. i.* 13. (34) *See Sir* H. Newt. *Chronol. of ant. kingd. amend.* p. 277. (35) *c. x* 14. (36) Vid. Gregor *Poſtum.* p. 246. & Georg. Syncell. *Chron* p. 204.

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Year of the Flood, 2271. Year before Christ 728.

predecessor's engagements to *Ahaz*, king of *Judah* (F). *Tiglath-pileser* had but half fulfilled his promise to *Ahaz*, who had besought him to avenge him of the king of *Damascus* and the king of *Israel* equally, whereas he seemingly concerned himself with the king of *Damascus* only. It is likely then, that *Shalmaneser* made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of *Israel* under *Hoshea*. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatsoever it may have been founded, he reduced *Samaria*, and made

Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before Christ 725.

Hoshea his tributary [b], as it is apparent his predecessors, from *Menahem*, had been to the *Assyrian* power before him. Some years afterwards *Shalmaneser* came to understand, that *Hoshea*, having a mind to shake of his yoke, had entered into a league with *So*, king of *Egypt*; and this was confirmed to him by *Hoshea*'s neglect to send him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays siege to *Samaria*, with such obstinacy, that he continued it for the

Year of the Flood, 2278. Year before Christ 721.

space of three years, resolved, once for all, to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became master of the place, took the king *Hoshea* alive (G), kept him a prisoner †, made captives of all the inhabitants, and transplanted them into *Assyria* (H), placing them in *Halah* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan* (I), and in the cities of the *Medes*; replacing them by strangers from *Babylon* (K), *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*; and

[b] 2 Kings xvii. † See before, p. 78.

(F) We here speak only as the thing may seem; for between *Tiglath-pileser*'s last expedition in these parts, and this of *Shalmaneser*, there is a distance of twelve years; so that the engagements to *Ahaz* may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(G) In the first of these expeditions he carried off with him the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel* (37); and previously to the siege of *Samaria*, he subdued *Moab* (38).

(H) He did not quite transplant them, he left some behind him for *Esar-haddon* to remove, as will be seen in due place.

(I) There is a town called *Chabor*, or *Habor*, in *Ptolemy* (39), in *Mesopotamia*; and a river *Chaboras*, or *Haboras*; and a region, in the same country, called *Gauzonitis*, or *Gozan*, between two rivers, the former and another called *Saocoras*, one of which may have been also called the river of *Gozan* (40); so that in *Mesopotamia* it must be, that we must look for these two places; as for *Halah*, we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Those who follow the common current are at a loss to conceive, how *Shalmaneser* should be so free with the *Babylonians*;

(37) Seder Olam *Rabba c. xxii* (38) *Ibid.* (39) *Asia Tabul. 4to.* (40) *Ibid.* (41) *See Vol. II.* p. 96. *See Vol. I.* p. 280. not. (B).

supposing

and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of *Israel* [c]. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who, for their ignorance in that particular, plagued them so sorely with lions, that they were neceſſitated to apply to the king of *Assyria* for this redress [d] (L).

BUT

[c] See before, *Ibid.* 2 *Kings* xvii. 18. [d] See before, p. 79. not. (Q). 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

supposing them to have been not only a collateral, but also an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reason be imagined, the kings of *Assyria*, as *Shalmaneser* and his two predeceſſors, would have roamed so far from home after conquests, when such prey as *Babylon* was so near at hand? Is it not natural to think, the *Assyrians* began with those who were next to them? Or is it possible to imagine the kings of *Assyria* would straggle so far from home, if they had so dangerous a rival as a considerable kingdom of *Babylon* on their skirts, who never, it is certain, could have been quiet or easy in their absence? It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of *Assyria* was now in the vigour of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that *Babylon* was now under *Assyria*, and so were the *Medes*, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the *Medes*, taking advantage of this king's succeſſor, actually revolted from him, and from thence forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer, than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not saddle divine writ with prophane romance; which has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned *Christians*, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in the sacred historians.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lions, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of *Esar-haddon* (42); because in *Ptolemy*'s canon they find, that he sat in the throne of *Babylon* as well as of *Nineveh*, and consequently was the only *Assyrian* king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people from *Babylon* to inhabit the land of *Israel*; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of *Shalmaneser*'s history, than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence, into the midst of a reign which was the second after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings, and windings, we owe to

(42) *See* Prideaux's *Connect.* Patrick's *Comment.* &c.

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Christ 717.

But how effectually soever he triumphed over *Samaria* and others in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by *Hezekiah*, king of *Jerusalem*, who, as it is said, rebelled against him, and would send him no tribute (M). But *Samaria* and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all *Syria* and *Phœnice*; and made war upon *Tyre*, where *Elulæus* then reigned [e]. He at first made war upon the whole country of *Phœnice*, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and others, revolting from the *Tyrians*, went over to *Shalmaneser*, who, disdaining the *Tyrians* (N) should dare to dispute his supremity, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of *Phœnicians*, to attack the *Tyrians*, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of *Tyrian* ships [f], and the project most completely miscarried. *Shalmaneser* therefore, convinced, it was to no purpose to contend with the *Tyrians* at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting their waters which supplied the city, doubted not but to reduce this haughty people; who supplying

[e] See Vol. II. p. 344. [f] Ibid.

the tenacious credulity of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known, it should seem; it was not yet arrived at its summit; it had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned; so it should seem by this *Prideaux* (43) thinks he was diverted from resenting this, by his war with the *Tyrians*.

(N) The *Tyrians* had as yet never known any thing of an *Assyrian* yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive, that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the *Assyrian*, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought, their purses were as free from expilation and loss; in a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of *Assyria*'s leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniencies of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

(43) *Ubi sup. l.* 1. p. 19. (44) *See Vol. II.* p. 296.

themselves

themselves by wells they dug within the city, the *Assyrians* wasted five years in this fruitless attempt [g] (O).

Sennacherib (P) succeeded *Shalmaneser*, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of *Judah* to the homage and tribute it had professed to the *Assyrian* throne, in the person of king *Ahaz* [h]. He appears then at the head of an army, and bore down all before him [i]. At length he laid siege to *Lachish*, intending in the next place to invest *Jerusalem* itself. As he was laying siege to this place, he received a most submissive message from *Hezekiah*, asking his pardon, begging, he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. *Sennacherib* seemed satisfied with this, and ordered *Hezekiah* immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further intentions. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him [k]; but instead of granting the king of *Judah* the truce and rest he expected, he behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with *Hezekiah*, seemingly with no manner of cause [l]; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris* (Q), and *Rabshakeh* (R), at the head of a great army, to invest *Jerusalem*, insult *Hezekiah*, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. *Rabshakeh* was the spokesman, as we say, and vented himself to the officers *Hezekiah* had sent

Year of the Flood, 2286. Year before Christ 713.

[g] MENAND. apud. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. [h] See before, p. 72. [i] See before, p. 79. 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. [k] 2 Kings xviii. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1. [l] 2 Kings ubi sup. JOSEPH. ubi sup.

(O) His army, or part of his army, continued the blockade this while; as for himself, he seems to have retired to the other side of the *Euphrates*, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His *Hebrew* name is *Sanherib*, and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Jareb* (45)

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, *The chief of the eunuchs* (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The chief cup-bearer* (47).

(45) *Hos.* 10. 6. (46) *Vid* Joan. Cleric. *in loc.* (47) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

out to treat with them [m], and to know what further was expected from him, he vaunted his master's mighty power, stiling him the great king, the king of *Assyria*, set at nought *Hezekiah*, and spoke contemptuously of the king of *Egypt* (S), in whom he supposes *Hezekiah* to have placed a confidence, as if he could save him from the *Assyrian* arm; and to crown all pretended, speaking in his master's name, as he all along does, that God had sent him on purpose to destroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the *Hebrew* tongue, that all might hear and understand him; and being by the *Jewish* commissioners entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himself in the *Syriac* tongue, which they well understood [n], that he might not dishearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raised his voice higher than before, and in the *Jewish* tongue, particularly addressed himself to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them, their king *Hezekiah* would obstinately deceive them to their destruction, and that it was in vain he trusted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to submit, promising them the free and full enjoyment of their present possessions, until there should be a convenient opportunity to transplant them to a country every way equal, if not superior, to their own. He then again admonished them, not to let their king deceive them with false hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; observing, that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arphad*, the gods of *Sepharvaim*, *Henah*, and

[m] See before, p. 85. [n] See before, p. 85.

(S) It is thought, this was done more out of mere rage than any thing else, *Sennacherib* disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according to the story we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we are right, to be busied in the siege of *Lachish*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think, we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the *Egyptian*, for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder, *Sennacherib*, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise the then king of *Egypt*.

(48) *See Vol. II p.* 42. (49) *Vid.* Joan. Cleric. *in loc.*, (50) *See Vol. II. p.* 41.

Isaiah,

Iuah (T), had not been able to withſtand the *Aſſyrian* power, or to ſave *Samaria* from captivity, ſo neither ſhould theirs: This he aggravated ſtill farther; but all his oratory procured him no anſwer, and ſo he returned to his maſter, who had left *Lachiſh* and was now at *Libnah*, which he was beſieging. Here as he lay he had advice, that *Tirhakah* (V), king

(T) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (51) uſes this boaſt concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy in theſe days, obſerving that this deſolation is recited as freſh in memory, and to terrify the *Jews* (52). *All the above cited nations had, till now, their ſeveral gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, againſt the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of* Aſſyria; *and therefore they were never till now united under the* Aſſyrian *monarchy, eſpecially ſince the king of* Aſſyria *doth not boaſt of their being conquered by the* Aſſyrians *oftner than once: but theſe being ſmall kingdoms, the king of* Aſſyria *eaſily overflowed them:* Know ye not, ſaith *Sennacherib* to the *Jews*, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much leſs ſhall your god deliver you out of mine hand? *He and his fathers, therefore,* Pul, Tiglath-pileſer, *and* Shalmaneſer, *were great conquerors, and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about* Aſſyria, *and thereby ſet up this monarchy* (53). This is a juſt remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateneſs of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, in compariſon of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as aſſerted (54). That the religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, as known to the *Greeks*, or even to themſelves, to all appearance, was of *Aſſyrian* origin; which may not only be amply proved by the ſtrange nations who were tranſplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be ſtronger than the gods of the vanquiſhed, which, as fallacious an argument as it may ſeem to us (56), was in thoſe days of idolatry and ſuperſtition found and indiſputable doctrine: So *Belus* or *Pul*, the *Aſſyrian* god, having proved himſelf too ſtrong for *Adad*, the *Syrian* god the latter gives place to the former of courſe; and *Belus* thenceforward became the god of the *Syrians*, inſtead of the unfortunate *Adad* (57).

(V) According to the courſe of the *Egyptian* hiſtory, the *Tirhakah* can have been no other than the *Sabbaco* (58) of *Herodotus*, who

(51) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 273, 276. (52) *Ibid. p.* 274. (53) *Ibid. p.* 276, 277. (54) *See before, p.* 180, *note* (W) *See alſo Vol. II. p.* 256. (55) *See before in the note, p.* 191. (56) *Vid* Joan. Cleric *comment. in loc.* (57) *See Vol. II. p.* 256. (58) *Ibid. p.* 40, *& ſeq.*

W 13

king of *Ethiopia*, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he seems to have marched towards *Egypt* (W) to meet him, and to have sent *Rabshakeh* back again to *Jerusalem*,

was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*, and by that means *Sethon* the priest of *Vulcan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Sethon* being more strictly a priest than a king, and *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious *Sethon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in imminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbaco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in scripture, that we fancy the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy: we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others; that he besieged *Lachish*; sent to insult *Jerusalem* and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia*; and finally, that the gross of his army was miraculously destroyed. But *Prideaux* (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition, that he was the *Sargon* of *Isaiah* (64), writes, that he conquered *Egypt*, miserably wasted it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity; as also that he took *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* (65), by his general *Tartan*. *Sargon* was not *Sennacherib*, but his son *Esarhaddon*; and if it be answered he must have been the former, because his general's name was *Tartan*, we say *Tartan* was general to both of them. Nor was, as he says, *Sevechus* the son of *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, at that time the king of *Egypt*; nor were, it is likely, *Sevechus* and *Sabbaco* two persons, the father and son; they are one and the same name, with a very trifle of variation. *Herodotus* has no such king as this *Sevechus*, nor *Diodorus*: This is sufficient to justify

(59) *Ibid. p.* 41. (60) *Ibid.* (61) *Ibid.* (62) *Ibid. p.* 41 (63) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. l.* 1. *part* 1. *p* 22 *Edit.* 8*vo.* (64) *Isa.* 1. Paid *Connect. ubi sup.* (65) *Idem ibid.*

Jeruſalem, to block up that city, and to prevent *Hezekiah* from joining his friends againſt him. *Rabſhakeh* returned to his poſt before *Jeruſalem*, and would have inſulted *Hezekiah* in perſon, as ſhould ſeem, but not being able to do that, he ſent him a letter as from *Sennacherib*, fraught with the ſame words almoſt he had uſed before in his boaſting and vain ſpeech to the *Jewiſh* commiſſioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Aſſyria*, *Rezeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were in *Thelaſar* ° (X). His former inſolent and blaſphemous meſſage had drawn on him the fearful propheſy of *Iſaiah*, *That he ſhould fall by the ſword in his own land* * ; and for this ſecond it was denounced againſt him by the ſame prophet, *That he ſhould not come into the city, nor ſhoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a ſhield, nor caſt a bank about it* † : The meaning of which ſeems to be, that he was gone, whence he ſhould return ſo diſabled, that he ſhould neither be able to beſiege the city in form, or barely aſſault it. This is ſeemingly the import of the text, and if *Herodotus* may be introduced upon this occaſion,

° 2 Kings xix. ver. 8. 12. * Ibid. ver. 7. † Ibid. ver. 32.

us in what we ſay ; nor was *Seuechus*, or *Sethon*, whom *Prideaux* (67) ſuppoſes to have been the ſame, the ſon of the *Ethiopian Sabbaco*, as may appear by *Herodotus*, who calls him prieſt of *Vulcan*, and plainly inſinuates, that he was an *Egyptian*, and a ſtranger to *Sabbaco*'s line, and one who was choſen to ſucceed after ſome ſeemingly great diſturbance in the ſtate (68). Beſides, it might be asked, where the dreadful *Tirhakah* can have been, during the three long years *Sennacherib* muſt have ravaged and lorded it over *Egypt* ? or what he was about all that time, that he ſhould not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone ? In ſhort, nothing is plainer than that *Sennacherib* not only did not conquer *Egypt*, but even ſuffered ſome notable loſs or repulſe, in ſo much as offering to invade that land ; in which attempt he muſt have erred againſt the rules of common prudence and policy, conſidering that *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, which ſhould have been his firſt work, were not as yet fully ſubdued.

(X) The moſt probable opinion is, that theſe places were ſomewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Reſiph* in *Meſopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Saocoras* (69) ; and a city called *Reſaph* in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria* : which of theſe may have been *Rezeph* we decide not ; the other cities are not ſo eaſy to be found.

(67) *Ubi ſup.* (68) *See Vol. II. ubi ſup.* (69) Ptolem. *Tab. Aſ. Geograph. iv.*

casion, who makes expreſs mention of his name, though he miſtakenly calls him king of *Arabia* (Y) inſtead of *Aſſyria*, he will tell us, that as *Senacherib* lay before *Peluſium*, there one night came ſuch ſwarms of field rats and mice into the *Aſſyrian* camp, as deſtroyed all their ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings [p]. What truth ſoever there may be (Y*) in this, it muſt be ſaid very nicely to correſpond with the propheſy above. But to wave this, it appears, that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and his ſun from henceforwards ſets apace. His army is ſaid to have been ſmitten by the angel of the Lord (Z), who ſmote 185,000 *Aſſyrians* in their camp (A), and *Sennacherib* departed for *Aſſyria*, and took up his abode at *Nineveh* * ; where, finding himſelf fallen in the eſteem of

[p] Herodot. l. 2. c. 41. * 2 Kings xix. 36.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of *Herodotus* himſelf; it may have been owing to tranſcribers.

(Y*) True it certainly is not ; biſhop *Patrick* (70), with ſome ſeeming paſſion, calls it a *horrible lye* ; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be ſaid to confirm what is written in ſcripture concerning the ſudden deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* army, and therefore may be born with. The *Egyptians* aſcribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) *Herodotus* declares as much (72), and ſo does *Joſephus* (73).

(Z) This is a figurative expreſſion common with the *Jews*. Some ſuppoſe this havock to have been made "by a plague, or perhaps by "lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows ſometimes in the neigh-"bouring deſerts, or rather by being ſurprized by *Sethon* and *Tir-"hakah* ; for the *Egyptians*, in memory of this action, erected a "ſtatue to *Sethon*, holding in his hand a mouſe, the *Egyptian* ſym-"bol of deſtruction" (74).

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter ; whether at *Libnah*, or *Peluſium*, or *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided, part under himſelf elſewhere, and part under *Rabſhakeh* before *Jeruſalem* (75), as we have ſuppoſed ; and conſequently, whether it was the army under himſelf, or that under *Rabſhakeh*, that was thus ſwept away, or whether they both ſuffered. After what we have already ſaid, we leave the reader to ſatisfy himſelf about this obſcurity.

(70) *Comment. upon* 2 *Kings xix.* (71) *See Vol. II. p.* 42. (72) *Ib. l.* (73) *Antiq. Jud. l. x. c.* 1. (74) *Sir* If. Newt. *Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.* 282. *See alſo* Prideaux's *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *p.* 21. (75) *See* Patrick *ubi ſup.*

his

his people (B), he grew ſullen and tyrannical; particularly venting his rage againſt the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death †, in revenge for his great downfal, which he may have attributed to them. In ſhort he behaved in ſuch a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own ſons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sharazer* (C), ſlew him, as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Niſroch*, in a ſhort time after his precipitate return from *Judæa*. They ſlew him and fled into the land of *Armenia*, ſeemingly fearful of the revenge that might be taken on them for their parricide (D); thus was he ſlain in the temple of his favourite god (E), and his third ſon *Eſar-haddon* reigned in his ſtead ‡.

Eſar-haddon (F) may be ſaid to have ſucceeded to the ruins, as it were, of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy founded by *Pul*, Eſar-haddon.

† Tobit. c. i. 18. ‡ 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 37.

(B) Returning ſo baffled, with ſuch ſhame and diſhonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in compariſon of his predeceſſors; though *Shalmaneſer*, his father, does not ſeem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have ſeen him ſhamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a ſea fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect.

(C) It is ſuppoſed, he had, in the midſt of his danger, threatned to ſacrifice them to his god, and that they took this opportunity of ſacrificing him, that they might not be ſacrificed themſelves (76): what grounds there is for this we have not to ſay. We no where read, the *Aſſyrians* had any ſuch unnatural ſuperſtition in vogue with them; we may enquire into this when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which muſt at leaſt have included that of *Aſſyria*.

(D) If the ſuppoſition in the note above be true, they had reaſon to fly for their diſobedience and murder; but if not, we cannot perceive, but they might have juſtified themſelves with the people, who may not have been very ſorry for *Sennacherib*'s death, upon the principle of ſelf preſervation; which might have ſerved for a plea of ſome validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or ſuperſtition.

(E) We have it from *Joſephus* (77), that *Niſroch*, or *Araſcus*, as he calls him (78), was his moſt eſteemed god. Concerning this deity, we have ſaid all we thought neceſſary in the former part of this hiſtory (79).

(F) He is alſo called *Aſar-haddon*, *Aſordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Aſſaradin* in *Ptolemy*'s canon; *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Iſaiah* (81), and *Aſnapper* by *Ezra* *.

(76) *Idem ibid.* (77) *Antiq Jud. l. x. c. 2.* (78) *Ibid.* (79) *See before, p.* 131. (80) *Tobit i. 21.* (81) *Iſaiah xx.*
* *Ezra iv.* 10.

Year of the Flood, 2289. Year before Christ 710.

and enlarged and established by *Tiglath-pileser*. Under *Sennacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence, or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes* taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted [q], and were never after, as should seem, reduced to the *Assyrian* yoke, though *Esar-haddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He was to all appearance, a mild and a gracious personage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father after his hasty return to *Nineveh*. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the *Babylonish* kings becoming extinct, or some other cause producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he, either by art or violence, seated himself in the throne [r] of *Babylon* (G), thereby retrieving the lustre of the *Assyrian* name, which had been so sullied by the defection of the *Medes*.

Year of the Flood, 2318. Year before Christ 681.

Year of the Flood, 2322. Year before Christ 677.

Crown potent by this union, he proceeds to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire, and marches into *Syria*, and against the remnant of *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. The remnant of *Israel* he transplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of *Syria*, so that they now utterly ceased to be nations, and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah*, to the state of dependance it had professed in the person of king *Ahaz*, and took *Manasseh* their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon* [s].

[q] Tobit ubi sup. ver. 15. [r] Ptolem. Can. Astronom. [s] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

(G) It is very unlikely, that he obtained the immediate possession of the kingdom of *Babylon* by violence; but this is what we may enquire into when we come to consider him as king there.

(H) His being now called king of *Babylon* has been the cause, that commentators have postponed the transplantation of *Israel*, recorded in the reign of *Shalmaneser*, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(82) *See before in the notes, p.* 191

Elated

ELATED by this flow of succeſs, and nothing diſcouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, reſolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I). He did ſo, and ſubdued them, and tranſplanted them (K), and held

Year of the Flood, 2326. Year before Chriſt 673.

(I) Having, as we have ſeen, ſubdued all *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, in a more effectual manner than any of his predeceſſors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Beſides, *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbace*, may have been now dead; for, according to the hiſtory of *Egypt* (83), he muſt, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Sethon* (84), who was now unſupported, and whoſe kingdom, as it is repreſented to us, ſeems to have been, at this time, in the moſt proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This ſubduction and captivation was foretold by *Iſaiah* (85) *In that day ſhall there be a high-way out of* Egypt *into* Aſſyria, *and the* Aſſyrian *ſhall come into* Egypt, *and the* Egyptian *into* Aſſyria, *and the* Egyptians *ſhall ſerve with the* Aſſyrians. In this war the city of *Dioſpolis*, *No-ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flouriſhed in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miſerably waſted and led into captivity, according to the ſame prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So ſhall the king of* Aſſyria *lead away the* Egyptians *priſoners, and the* Ethiopians *captives, young and old, naked and barefoot. . . . . to the ſhame of* Egypt. *And they* [the *Jews*] *ſhall be afraid and aſhamed of* Ethiopia *their expectation, and of* Egypt *their glory*: And the latter (88), propheſying the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, and ſpeaking of the calamity of *Egypt* as a tranſaction of late date, ſaith, *Art thou better than the populous* No [No-ammon], *that was ſituate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whoſe rampart was the ſea, and her wall was from the ſea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of *Aſſyria*, *Eſar-haddon* excepted, and we ſhall not need to prove this to the reader, who ſhall think it worth his while to turn back to the hiſtory of *Egypt* at this time. For though the *Egyptians* were too proud to acknowledge this conqueſt of them, yet their hiſtory, though ſilent about it, ſeems to confirm what is here ſaid. For after *Sethon*, in the latter part of whoſe reign, or immediately upon whoſe death, this invaſion muſt have happened, we find the kingdom to have been in ſome very violent diſorder, and to have emerged under 12 men, who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of ariſtocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the conſtitution of ſo regular and preciſe a kingdom as *Egypt*, but by ſome ſuch means, and by this moſt likely, we leave to the reader.

(83) *See Vol. II p.* 41. (84) *Ibid* (85) *Iſaiah xix.* 23. (86) *See* Prid. *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *Part.* 1. *p.* 22. 8vo. (87) *xx.* 4. (88) *Nahum iii.* 8. 10. (89) *Ibid.* (90) *See Vol. II p.* 41.

(C c c) them

them in subjection to him three years [t], which may be as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* [u], which cost *Psammitichus* so much time to wrest from his successors [w]. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; whence, and for other reasons (M), we cannot be induced to think

Year of the Flood, 2331.
Year before Christ 668.

[t] Isaiah xx. [u] Idem ibid. [w] See Vol. II. p. 45.

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though Sir *Isaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, "In the reigns of *Senna-*
"*cherib* and *Asserhaddon*, the *Assyrian* empire seems arrived at its
"greatness, being united under one monarch, and containing *As-*
"*syria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Susiana*, *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cili-*
"*cia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and part of *Arabia*, and
"reaching eastward into *Elymais* and *Paratæcene*, a province of
"the *Medes*; and if *Chalach* and *Chabor* be *Colchis* and *Iberia*,
"as some think, and as may seem probable from the circumci-
"sion used by those nations till the days of *Herodotus*, we are al-
"so to add these two provinces, with the two *Armenias*, *Pontus*,
"and *Cappadocia*, as far as the river *Halys*; for *Herodotus* tell us,
"that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far as to that river, were cal-
"led *Syrians* by the *Greeks*, both before and after the days of *Cy-*
"*rus*, and that the *Assyrians* were also called *Syrians* by the
"*Greeks*" (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt, whether or no the *Medes* were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father's time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose, that *Esar-haddon* did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the *Euphrates*, to confirm himself in *Syria* and *Palestine*: After all, he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled *the great and noble* Asnapper (92). It is impossible, he should have been represented as a slothful and effemi-

(91) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amend. p.* 285. (92) *Ezra iv.* 10.

nate

think he can be, in any reſpect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Cteſias*, there being no likeneſs or analogy at all between the repreſentations of the two men.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Saoſduchinus* [x], or *Saoſducheus* (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that *Manaſſeh* was reſtored to his kingdom (O), and that *Egypt* recovered her liberty (P); that he ſeems otherwiſe to have kept full poſſeſſion of the empire his father left him, and that, dying, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Chyniladan*. Saoſduchinus. Year of the Flood, 2331. Year before Chriſt 668.

Chyniladan is ſuppoſed, and upon good grounds, to be the *Nabuchadonoſor* of ſcripture (Q), an active and a warlike prince, Chyniladan. dan.

[x] PTOLEM. Can. Aſtron.

nate prince, whoſe life ſeems to have been a life of the moſt unwearied action. He may it is poſſible, have been known to the antient *Greeks* by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Aſſar-haddon-Pul* (93), but then he muſt have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is ſaid to have built *Tarſus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for we have ſeen they had two very different from one another, as we have noted in the ſtory of the *Sardanapalus* of prophane authors, in the ſection before this. The other we may diſcover hereafter.

(N) *Prideaux* (96) reckons him to have been the *Nabuchadonoſor* of the book of *Judith*; but that he is therein moſt egregiouſly miſtaken, will be proved anon.

(O) *Prideaux* (97) ſuppoſes him not only to have been ſet at liberty by *Eſar-haddon* himſelf, but alſo to have been inveſted, by the ſame monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to ſupport himſelf againſt *Pſammitichus*, who had now got the dominion of all *Egypt* into his hands, and began to war upon the *Aſſyrians* in *Paleſtine* (98); but he has moſt ſtrangely diſturbed the hiſtory of *Aſſyria* by that unaccountable miſtake of writing *Sargon* the ſame with *Sennacherib*.

(P) It is not in nature to ſuppoſe it did, before the death of *Eſar-haddon*, who, it is moſt certain, died by the time he had well ſubdued this kingdom.

(Q) That *Chyniladan*, and no other king in *Ptolemy*'s canon, can have been the *Nabuchadonoſor* of the book of *Judith*, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we ſhall alſo ſettle ſome other points, and eſpecially the three which are the ſub-

(93) *See before*, p. 179. (94) *Ibid. in the notes* (95) *Ibid.* p. 185. (96) *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *Part* 1. p. 35. 8vo. (97) *Ibid.* p. 34. (98) *See Vol. II* p. 45.

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Year of the Flood 2351, Year before Christ 648.

prince, and particularly remarkable for his invasion of the rebellious and now independent *Medes*, who had formed themselves

ject of three notes above, and which *Prideaux* has involved in great darkness. From the death of *Assar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of *Saosduchinus* to the twelfth of *Chyniladan*, that he undertook to reduce the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseh*, king of *Judah*, was taken into captivity by *Assar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, after which he reigned 34 years. His son *Amon* reigned after him over *Judah* two years, which being added to the former number, make 36 years, when *Josiah* began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that *Chyniladan* began his reign about the 41st year of *Manasseh*, and that warring against the *Medes* in his 12th year, according to the number in the vulgate, or St. *Jerom*'s translation, it happened in the 53d year of the said *Manasseh*; *Chyniladan* reigned after this 10 years, or to the sixth year of king *Josiah*; for *Manasseh* reigned full 55 years, and his son *Amon* reigned barely two; so that *Chyniladan* may have died about the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*. This king, as we have observed above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it must have been, if ever, that *Bethulia* was besieged by *Holofernes* for the king of *Assyria*; and here it seems to be most naturally placed by Sir *Isaac Newton* (99). To suppose with *Prideaux* (100) that *Holofernes* invaded the *Jews* in the days of *Manasseh*, is contradicting, in good measure, himself; for it is expressly said, that the *Jews* were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the *Assyrian* captivity, when *Manasseh* was carried away to *Babylon*; and to suppose this war under *Holofernes*, to have been undertaken after the return of *Manasseh* to *Jerusalem*, is undoing what the same historian mentions of the kindness of the kings of *Assyria* to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and the perfect good understanding between them, till *Josiah* was killed in the service of his *Assyrian* sovereign, as he mistakenly writes (2). If he supposes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in prison; then must he also say, that *Assar-haddon* himself was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, since he declares *Manasseh* to have been set at liberty by the said *Assar haddon*; but this he says not. If this transaction happened in the reign of *Saosduchinus*, it must follow, either that *Manasseh* was not delivered out of prison by *Assarhaddon*, but detained many years a prisoner at *Babylon* by *Saosduchinus*, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and constant harmony between the kings at *Nineveh* and their homagers at *Jerusalem*, as he asserts (4), down to the day

(99) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.* 290. (100) *Ubi sup.* (1). *Judith iv.* 3. (2) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book* 1. *part.* 1. *p* 35. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*

Josiah

themſelves into a ſeparate ſtate, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of that nation. In order to ſubdue this warlike people, he ſummons, as it were, the whole force of his wide-ſpreading dominions, calling in "all that dwelt in the hill country, "and all that dwelt by *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and *Hydaſpe*, "and the plain of *Arioch*, the king of the *Elymæans*, and "very many nations of the ſons of *Chelod*; † " all theſe eaſterns rendezvouſed under his banner. But iſſuing out his orders, at the ſame time, to the *Perſians*, and the weſtern people in *Cilicia*, *Damaſcus*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and the inhabitants on the ſea-coaſts, as well as to the nations of *Carmel*, *Galaad*, the *Upper Galilee*, and the great plains of *Eſdrelom*; as alſo to all *Samaria*, *Jeruſalem*, *Betane*, *Chellus*, *Kades*, the borderers on the river of *Egypt*, *Taphnes*, *Rameſſe*, and all the land of *Geſem*, beyond *Tanis* and *Memphis*, and in general, to all the inhabitants of *Egypt* to the borders of *Ethiopia*; all theſe received his ambaſſadors with contempt, and, fearing him not, refuſed one and all to obey his orders (R). Upon

Calls in all the nations.

† Judith c. i.

Joſiah was ſlain in battle by the *Egyptian* king *Necho* (5). *Joſiah* reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the firſt year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by *Ptolemy*'s canon it appears, that *Joſiah* was ſlain in the fourth year of *Nabocolaſſarus*, or the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, the ſecond king of *Babylon*, and this was after *Nineveh* had been deſtroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of *Aſſyria* were no more. In ſum, it appears from all this, that *Aſſar-haddon* muſt have died much about the time *Manaſſeh* was carried to *Babylon*, or, at moſt, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from *Saoſduchinus* rather than *Aſſar-haddon*, who could not have had the time either to think much of him, or to ſettle with him; for it muſt have been ſomething extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of *Iſrael* and *Syria* ſhared ſo different a fate. Again, it muſt appear, that *Aſſar-haddon* died immediately after he left *Egypt*, and that his death inſpired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that *Chyniladan*, and no other, was the *Nabuchadonoſor* of the book of *Judith*.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Aſſyrians*, Thoſe I mean, ſays he (7), who lived at *Nineveh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deſerted by their friends or vaſſals, though nevertheleſs in a good ſtate to defend themſelves; againſt theſe, ſays he, did *Phraortes* the *Mede* make

(5) *See Vol. II. p.* 47. (6) *See Vol. II p.* 42. (7) *l. I c.* 102.

war.

Upon so general a defection, it may be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to invade the *Medes*, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors; but having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders; vowing in the most solemn manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent and rebellious *Medes* *.

Wars with the Medes.

Year of the Flood 2363. Year before Christ 636.

In the twelfth year of his reign then, he moved with his army against *Arphaxad*, king of the *Medes*, and joining battle with him in the great plain of *Ragau*, he overthrew him horse and chariot, put *Arphaxad* to flight, who made the best of his way to the mountains; got possession of all his cities, and *Ecbatan*, in particular, the capital of *Media*, a sumptuous city, newly erected, and decorated to be the seat of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy; and to crown all, he caught *Arphaxad* in the mountains of *Ragau*, where he thought to have sheltered himself, and coming there to skirmish with him and his followers, he shot *Arphaxad* so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and, as it were, to his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure

* Ibid.

war. This *Phraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. *Saosduchinus*, it appears then, had led a quiet and peaceable life for the space of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign; and *Chyniladan* had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the *Medes* had conquered the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes, and as appears in the text of *Judith*, which says, that the *Persians* of all the orientals refused to obey his summons; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack *Assyria* also; hearing of this it roused him; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and in haste sends to all the nations who had bowed to the *Assyrian* throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus* and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way we may, in this distress of *Nabuchadonosor*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Nineveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8); though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(8) *See before, p.* 183. (9) *In the notes, ibid.*

with

with this more than, perhaps, expected success, he returns in triumph to *Nineveh*, he and all his company of nations, a multitude of warriors, and reposing with them after the fatigues of their victorious expedition (S), they feast and revel with him for the space of 120 days †.

AND now being fated with excess and riot, and confident of being invincible (T), he and his servants resume their martial fury, and talk of no less than being avenged on the whole earth; meaning the nations who had so contemptuously refused to attend him in his war intended with *Media*. He therefore calls together his nobles and officers, with whom he conferred, concerning this matter, in private council, and the result was, *to afflict the whole earth out of his own mouth*, and that all flesh should be destroyed that *did not obey the commandment of his mouth*. In consequence of this vain resolution, *Nabuchadonosor* calls for his chief captain *Holofernes*, and gives him in charge, as the lord of the whole earth, to take with him 120,000 of his choicest foot, and 12,000 chosen archers on horseback, and with them to invade all the west, for that they had dared to withstand his will and pleasure, and to command them to prepare water and earth for him, against he should, in his wrath, come against them, and cover the whole earth with the feet of his army, and give them up a prey thereto; threatening, that their slain should fill their vallies and their brooks, and make the river swell over its banks, and that he would lead them away captives to the uttermost parts of the earth: He commanded him to go forth before him and possess himself of all their coasts for him; that if they submitted to him, he should let them alone for him to punish them in person; but that if they presumed to make head against him, he should utterly destroy them without favour or distinction; swearing by his own life and the might of his kingdom, that he would, with his own hand, perform what he had so presumptuously vented

Holofernes's *charge and orders.*

† Ibid.

(S) This successful war of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, against the *Medes*, is exactly almost what *Ctesias* writes of *Sardanapalus* (10), it is the same story most carelessly told; and this feast is certainly the same *Sardanapalus* is said to have given his victorious army (11).

(T) This is *Sardanapalus* again, or rather *Sardanapalus* is the shadow of this king; he, as we have seen, imagined his city of *Nineveh* could never be taken (12).

(10) *See before, p.* 181. (11) *Ibid. p.* 182. (12) *Ibid. p.* 134.

forth; and warning him, at his peril, not to transgress any of the commands he had injoined him, but to execute them with rigour and without delay [z] (V).

He takes the field.

Holofernes, having received his orders to this effect, departed from before *Nabuchadonosor*, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of *Assur* [*Assyria*], he selected the numbers, both of horse and foot, the king had commanded; and, attended with asses and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of necessaries, and goats, sheep and oxen more than can be said, with plenty of every thing to sustain the army, and gold and silver in great abundance from the kings treasury, he marched off from *Nineveh*; followed, besides his army, by innumerable multitudes from several nations, who like locusts joined him, or like the sand of the sea; so that by the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough said to cover all the face of the earth westward, with their chariots and horsemen, and their chosen footmen [a].

Holofernes, in this his march westward, destroyed *Phud* and *Lud*, spoiled all the children of *Rasses*, and the children of *Ismael* toward the wilderness, southward of the land of the *Chel-*

[z] Ibid. [a] Ibid

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this great degree of insolent wrath in this prince, were it not for the good assistance of *Herodotus*, who tells us (13), as we have observed before, that the *Medes* were grown to that pitch as to pretend to subdue *Assyria*; which, considering this king as he was, must have been a most violent provocation and must highly inflamed him, when he found himself so deserted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on, while he perhaps was subdued by a rebellious nation, (who must for many years, ever since the days of *Sennacherib*, have been at greatest enmity with *Assyria*,) though at the hazard of their own welfare, seeing they might feel the blow that staggered his kingdom. Upon the consideration therefore that they would not assist him, though to preserve even themselves, he resolved to execute such vengeance, as such ingratitude, as he might call it, and stupidity would well deserve. The vulgate, according to St. *Jerom*, takes off from this, by presenting *Nabuchadonosor* victorious over the *Medes*, before he called in the nations mentioned, but why he should call them in when his work was done, or how they should have disobeyed him, when he had so lately given so extraordinary an instance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The *Greek* version and our own is doubtless here to be preferred, though both, in other respects very faulty.

lians. He then croſſed the *Euphrates*, and paſſed through *Meſopotamia*, and deſtroyed all the high cities upon the river *Arbonai* quite to the ſea: He took the borders of *Cilicia*, killed all that reſiſted him, and came to the borders of *Japheth*, ſouthward, oppoſite to *Arabia*; and falling upon the children of *Madian* (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their ſheep-cotes. From hence he went to the plain of *Damaſcus*, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harveſt, burnt up all their fields, deſtroyed their flocks and herds, ranſacked and demoliſhed their cities, quite laid the whole country waſte, and ſlew all their young men with the edge of the ſword; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the ſea-coaſts, that *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Azotus*, *Aſcalon*, and others, trembled, and ſued for mercy; ſending, in all haſte, ambaſſadors to him to treat of peace, who, proſtrating themſelves before him, acknowledged themſelves the ſervants of the mighty *Nebuchadonoſor*, his maſter, and made a moſt humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be diſpoſed of by him, as to him ſhould ſeem beſt [b].

UPON this, *Holofernes* drew down towards the ſea-coaſt, where he filled the chief cities with gariſons of his own, whence he, at the ſame time, picked out the choiceſt men to ſupply the place of ſuch as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exerciſed amidſt the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the *Aſſyrian* general and his army with garlands, and dances, and the ſound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where ſave their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; *Holofernes* having determined to demoliſh the former, and to deſtroy all the gods of the land whereſoever he ſhould come, that all nations might worſhip *Nebuchadonoſor* only, and all tongues and tribes call upon him, and upon him only, as god (X). And having, without oppoſition, wrought his pleaſure in theſe parts, he moved off towards the plain of *Eſdraelon*, and

[b] Ibid. & c, iii,

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular ſite of theſe nations; ſuch of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps.

(X) He here ſeems to have aſſumed beyond any of his predeceſſors. This may ſerve as an inſtance, that the *Aſſyrians* aboliſhed the religion of the countries where ever they came, to introduce the worſhip of their own princes, dead or living; to keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majeſty of their own kingdom. This may be added to what we have already obſerved of the ſame kind on ſeveral paſſages of the hiſtory and practice of this people.

advancing towards *Judæa*, he encamped between *Geba* and *Scythopolis*, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and scattered parts of his army [c].

In this situation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of *Judæa*, who thereupon took what measures they could to obstruct his passage and defend themselves. *Holofernes* indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt by others, and, we may be sure, was highly exasperated, when he heard the *Jews* were resolved upon an obstinate resistance. The news and confirmation of this stirred him up to anger: and convening the chiefs of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the sea-coast, he required them to inform him concerning the people who thus pretended to withstand his progress; and how it was, that they alone, of all the people of the west, should presume to stand out against the *Assyrian* power? to which he was answered, by the chief of the sons of *Ammon*, *Achior* by name, who reciting to him the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham*, upon the whole assured him, that if they were in favour with God, it would be in vain for him to think of subduing them; and that it would, in that case, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour against them; but that if indeed they had sinned, they might be as easily reduced as any other nation. This diffident and ambiguous counsel was not only displeasing to *Holofernes*, but raised a tumult among the chiefs of *Phœnice* and *Moab* who were present, and who would have persuaded him to put *Achior* to death for his insolence, vaunting against the children of *Israel*, and setting them at nought [d].

When the tumult was ceased *Holofernes* called out to *Achior*, and treated him as a wretch, who had on set purpose prophesied against him, and blaspeming against God, spoke of *Nabuchadonosor* as above him; he then ordered him out of his presence, dooming him to death with the *Jews*, whom he intended shortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his servants to guard him to a strong place belonging to the *Jews*, that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. *Bethulia* was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried; and being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to *Holofernes* and his designs [e].

The next day *Holofernes* ordered, that a motion should be made in general to invest *Bethulia*; the vast multitude obeyed, and encamped upon a wide extent of ground from *Dothaim* to *Belmaim*, and from *Bethulia* to *Cyamon*, over-

[c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. c. iv. v. [e] Ibid. c. vi.

against

againſt *Eſdraelon*. The day after this, *Holofernes*, at the head of all his horſemen, and in the ſight of all the people of *Bethulia*, took a view of the paſſages to the city, and ſeizing upon and ſetting a guard over their ſprings of water, returned again to the groſs of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the *Edomites* adviſed him not to think of aſſaulting the beſieged, becauſe of their ſituation, but rather to keep the waters that ſupplied the city under a ſtrong guard, and ſo deſtroy the people by thirſt, while he ſat quietly in his camp, and ſaved himſelf and army the trouble of putting thoſe to death, who muſt of neceſſity die for want of water; and ſo be ſufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. *Holofernes* approved the advice, and ordered the neceſſary diſpoſitions to put it effectually in execution [f].

HAVING continued in this inactive ſtate about 34 days, and waiting the miſerable end of the beſieged, who, for want of water, were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from *Bethulia*, who was without his tent. He was then repoſing himſelf under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and hearing of *Judith*, that was the woman's name, he went out to ſee her in great ſtate, with ſilver lamps carried before him. *Judith* fell proſtrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he ſpoke kindly to her, deſired her to fear nothing, and aſſured her he never did harm to thoſe who were willing to ſerve his great maſter *Nabuchadonoſor*; and more to the ſame purpoſe, relating to herſelf and the people ſhe came from. In the end, ſhe told him an artful ſtory to encourage him in his hopes againſt the people of *Bethulia*; with her words ſhe deceived him, and with her beauty ſhe enſnared his heart. For four days he left her miſtreſs of herſelf, unattempted and unconfined, though her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch, *Bagoas*, to perſuade her to his bed; which ſhe diſſembling a readineſs to comply with, *Holofernes* gave himſelf up to an exceſs of wine, and being left alone with her, ſhe took her opportunity in the dead of night, and ſevered his head from his body, with his own ſword, and carried it off with her to the beſieged [g] (Y). Judith.

[f] Ibid. c. vi. vii. [g] Ibid. c. viii, ix, x, xi, &c.

(Y) This ſtory may meet with very little credit, and indeed we are very apt to think it is not true; and this may derive ſuch a blemiſh

The *Aſſyrians*, ignorant of what had been tranſacted in the receſſes of their general's tent that night, and perceiving the beſieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an aſſault, ſent notice of it to *Holofernes*, who was found headleſs in his tent, to the unſpeakable ſurprize of all that beheld or heard it. At this the *Aſſyrians* loſt all courage, and, ſeized with a panic, betook them to the moſt precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foreſaw their own. They left all their treaſure and baggage

blemiſh on the whole book, as to make ſome doubt of the ſincerity of any thing elſe ſaid in it; nor ſhould we be very ready to add much faith to any part of it, were it not ſo directly confirmed to us by *Herodotus*, and ſo ſufficiently by *Cteſias* and all his followers, as we have obſerved in ſome parallel places. The heroine herſelf, *Judith*, may be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing elſe, and viſibly meant to inculcate into us an heroic love of our country, and readineſs to ſacrifice ourſelves in its defence; or it may have been meant ſome how or other as a compliment to the *Jews*, by repreſenting them to have had the honour of a ſhare in pulling down the proud towers of *Nineveh*. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of *Judith* herſelf, the ſubſtance of the book in other reſpects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear, not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but alſo by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly conſiſtent with. One of the greateſt difficulties to be ſurmounted in the vindicating of this *Apocryphal* book, is, that throughout the whole, there is no mention made of a king in the land; whereupon *Prideaux* (14) obſerves, that if we could put this hiſtory ſo far back as the minority of *Manaſſeh*, it would be a moſt important point gained; for that then there would be reaſon enough not to mention the minor king; but only the chief miniſter and guardian of the kingdom in the tranſacting of the whole affair. To put this hiſtory ſo far back as he would have it, he confeſſes impoſſible; but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of *Manaſſeh* and his ſon *Amon* are right, and if *Ptolemy*'s canon is to be depended on, this ſtory may ſtand moſt naturally in the firſt years of *Joſiah*, who was a minor of but eight years of age; ſo that, according to him, it is no wonder, there is no mention made of ſo very young a king throughout this whole book of *Judith*. Thoſe who would know more of this may conſult the ſame learned author, who has profeſſedly treated on this ſubject (15, which is ſomewhat foreign to our deſign, and would beſides draw us into too great a length.

(14) *Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book* 1. *part* 1. *p.* 41.

(15) *Ibid.*

behind

behind them, and were purſued with a great ſlaughter to *Chobai* [h].

THUS ended this inſolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner or any other we have not to ſay; but that it was unfortunate, and highly ſo, may appear by what in a few years after followed, meaning no leſs than the fall of the *Aſſyrian* empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loſs to know, except that we are told he was ſucceeded by a king called

Sarac (Z), who committing his forces in *Chaldea* to *Nabopallaſar* [i], he rebelled againſt him, and ſeized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himſelf (A), and in that kingdom therefore

[h] Ibid. c. xv. [i] POLYHIST. apud Syncell. Chron. p. 210.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchedon*, as this was from *Aſſerhadon*, *Aſſerhadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we ſeemingly ſee then, whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in prophane authors (17), and particularly thoſe in *Suidas* (18), diſtinguiſhed, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great *Aſſerhadon* (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our ſuppoſition muſt have been the ſecond of the name, was the latter.

(A) This *Nabopallaſar* was confeſſedly an *Aſſyrian* by his name, which muſt have been derived from *Nebo-pul-aſſur*; this ſufficiently declares the nation he was of, and it is confirmed by *Polyhiſtor* (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, *Sardanapalus*. So that according to this there muſt have been two *Sardanapalus*'s exiſting together, the one riſing into proſperity, the other falling into the pit of adverſity. From ſome ſuch notion it muſt have been, that we read alſo of another city of *Nineveh*, to which the unfortunate *Sardanapalus* ſent in his diſtreſs (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and this man, according to our hiſtorian (23), was the *Babylonian* that actually joined with the *Medes* to deſtroy *Nineveh*; ſo that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's acceſſion to the throne of *Babylon* ſeems to have been this; as he was confeſſedly an *Aſſyrian*, he may have laid claim to the throne of *Babylon* in right of ſucceſſion, as of the younger branch of the *Aſſyrians*

(16) *Sir* Iſ. Newt. *Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.* 203. *See before in the notes, p.* 201. (17) *See before in the notes, p.* 180, 181. (18) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (19) *See before in the notes, ibid.* (20) *See before, p.* 201. (21) *Apud* Syncell. *Chronogr. p.* 210. (22) *See before in the notes, p.* 183. (23) Alexand. Polyhiſt *apud* Syncell. *ubi ſup.*

deſcended

fore may be said to have been the immediate succeſſor of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonoſor* (B), as he ſtands in the canon of *Ptolemy*. The two revolted kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* conſpired together againſt the emperor at *Nineveh*, entered into alliances with each other, *Nabopallaſar* particularly ſending to *Aſtyages* the *Mede*, to demand his daughter, *Amyite* or *Aroite*, in marriage for his ſon *Nebuchadnezzar* [k] (C). The families thus united make war upon *Sarac*, who,

[k] Idem, apud eund. ibid.

deſcended from the great *Nabonaſſar*, who ſeems to have had the kingdom of *Babylon* allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* conqueror, while he left *Aſſyria* to his eldeſt ſon. He may, it is likely, have made this claim; and the ſeemingly unfortunate end of the reign of *Chyniladan* (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unſettled ſtate he muſt have left things in, have tempted him to ſeize on *Babylon* immediately for himſelf, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it muſt ſeemingly have been, that we have no mention of *Sarac*, or whatever elſe he may have been called, in *Ptolemy*'s canon.

(B) The note above makes this ſufficiently appear, and what we have there already ſaid ſeems to have been really the caſe. The *Medes* were at open war with the *Aſſyrians* (25), the reſt of the nations were partly ready to ſhake off the yoke which had been reimpoſed on them by *Chyniladan* (26), if they did not really ſhake it off upon the defeat of his army under *Holofernes* (27); and partly in an actual ſtate of independence, having ſhaken off the yoke even in the days of *Aſſerhadon*, and perhaps before (28); and this ſeizure on *Babylon*, muſt have been ſuch a blow to the *Aſſyrian* monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprizing kings of the *Medes* and of the *Babylonians* came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the *Aſſyrian*, who was deſerted on all hands, could not long withſtand ſuch a conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

(C) Here we ſee the new prince of *Babylon* making the moſt effectual court to the king of the *Medes*, and contracting the moſt intimate of alliances with him for their mutual ſupport. Theſe two are then the *Beleſis* and *Arbaces* of *Cteſias* (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* empire. We ſee them here contracting with each other as conſiderable princes, who could no longer brook ſubjection, and

(24) *See before*, p. 215. (25) Herodot. *l.* 1. *c.* 102. (26) *See before*, p. 211. (27) *Ibid.* 211. (28) *See before*, p. 212. (29) *See before*, p. 13.

who, dreading the calamities ready to befal him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and himself therewith [1], and may, it is likely, have been the *Sardanapalus* talked of by prophane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of *Assyria*, or in

[1] Idem, ibid.

not two obscure revolters and conspirators, secretly combining together at *Nineveh*. It is to our purpose, that *Polybistor* (30) calls this *Babylonian Nabopallasar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadonosor*, the first *Babylonian* monarch that makes his appearance in scripture, and thereby so quadrates therewith, throughout the whole system of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* history, as there recorded, as to settle the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, and the fall, nearly, of the *Assyrian*, beyond any possibility of dispute; nor can *Ctesias*'s *Belesis* (31) have been any other than this *Nabopallasar*, and the rather as *Polybistor* (32) says, he was no more than governor of *Chaldæa* or *Babylon*, while he calls *Astyages* the *Mede*, his friend, the satrapa or lord of *Media*, and thereby makes the distinction of superiority between them, which *Ctesias* asserts; so that, in the main, *Ctesias* may be said to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to embellish this part of his *Assyrian* history, as well as the rest, with the glaring tinsel of romance.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father (34) *Phraortes*, who must have been the same with the *Astyages* of *Polybistor* (35), and the *Arphaxad* of the *Apocrypha* (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivation or deprivation, but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even burning itself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burned themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the case of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded a severe constraint of person, or a disastrous loss of life by the hand of a remorseless enemy, it is no such great wonder, that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the

(30) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (31) *See before, ubi sup.* (32) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (33) Herodot. *l. i. c.* 102. (34) *Idem, ibid.* (35) *Apud* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (36) Judith. *c. 1. ver.* 5. (37) H. Casaub. *in not. ad* Athen. *l.* 12. *c.* 7.

in some such manner, (E) and the *Medes* and *Babylonians*

thirst of his rage with their blood, or inrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call, a sufferer even by their destruction.

(E) We have made it our business in several preceding notes in this section, and in some at the latter end of the former, to shew, that there are two *Sardanapulus*'s in the prophane writers, and that these two can have been no other than the great *Asserhadon* and this last king of *Assyria* (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The prophane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarsus* and *Anchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a sluggard, who perished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures (40). The former then must have been the great *Asserhadon*, or *Sardon pul*, of scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardon-pul*; for that the empire did not fall under the former is most evident, and that it fell under the latter is almost as plain, by the obscurity of what is related concerning him. For by *Herodotus* (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great *Asserhadon*, and languished greatly under the inactive reign of *Saosduchinus*, who gave the turbulent *Medes* an opportunity of recollecting that strength, that may have been impaired by the successes of his fortunate predecessor, who was certainly the greatest of all the *Assyrian* monarchs; insomuch that *Chyniladan*, who succeeded *Saosduchinus*, with all his resolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under some misfortunes, as should seem by his history, and his successor *Sarac* perhaps proving to be an effeminate and slothful man, the *Assyrian* throne sunk still deeper than it had ever been, and those who had professed obedience to it hitherto began to desert it, and to conspire against it; and being under this cloud, and just on the verge of disappearing for ever, it is no wonder, we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final dissolution; and the rather, as all these parts were at the same time disturbed by a violent irruption of the *Scythians*, who kept things in suspence, or rather in subjection to them for the space of 28 years, during which time the *Assyrian* at *Nineveh* must have grown less and less considerable, and but gasped till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is, that we know so little of *Sarac*, the last king of *Nineveh*, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(38) *See before* p. 215, *note* (Z). (39) Athen. *Deipnos. l.* 12. *p.* 529. (40) *See before, p.* 184. (41) *l. i. c.* 102. (42) (42) *See before, p.* 208.

triumphed

triumphed over its ruins (F), pursuant to the prophets (G): .... *Wo to the* Assyrian, *the rod of mine anger* .... *I will punish*

(F) After this manner it certainly came to destruction; for besides what *Ctesias* (43) writes, and *Polybistor* (44), even *Herodotus* (45) intimates, that it was subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; by saying, that the *Medes* conquered all *Assyria*, excepting a part of the province of *Babylonia*. Whereby he seems to understand, that the *Babylonian* was a dependant on the *Mede*, though he did not deserve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the *Mede* would have been powerful enough of himself, without such assistance as the *Babylonian* could afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with *Ctesias* and *Polybistor*; for the former represents the *Babylonian* rather as a client, than an assistant, to the *Mede* (46); and the latter tell us, the *Babylonian* had no sooner seized on his portion than he applied to the *Mede* for protection, and, to secure himself and descendants in his new possessions, sued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly understood by a prophecy in *Isaiah*, which we shall not fail to take notice of presently. Upon the whole, though *Ctesias* is to be condemned for having made a romance of the *Assyrian* affairs, and for the many inconsistencies and falshoods he has heaped together concerning the same, it appears that he had some sort of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already seen some passages in him parallel with others in the book of *Judith*, as forerunning the subversion of this empire (48); but then he has misapplied his facts to *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, the last king but one, and not to *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus*, the last king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be settled pretty nearly. If *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, died in the sixth year of *Josiah*, as we have as good as proved (49), it must follow, that the same *Josiah*, being slain by *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*, when there was a king of *Assyria* still in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of *Chyniladan*; for *Josiah* reigned 31 years (51), the last of which may coincide with the fourth year of *Nabocolassarus*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, so that his father *Nabopallasarus*, who immediately seized upon the kingdom of *Babylon*, upon the decease of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, did not live to see the destruction of *Nineveh*, which may have stood some years after his death. Now that it came to pass, that *Nineveh* stood so long after the combination of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* against it, was owing to a stop put to their designs, by an irruption of the

(43) *Ibid. p.* 186. (44) *Apud.* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (45) *Ubi sup.* (46) *See before, p.* 180. (47) *Apud.* Syncell. *Chronogr. p* 210. (48) *See before in the notes, p.* 208, 209. (49) *Ibid p.* 209, *note* (Q). (50) *See Vol II. p.* 47. (51) *See before, p.* 99.

punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, *and the glory of his high looks. For he saith, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant* man. *And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs* that are *left, have I gathered all the earth. and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boast itself against him that heweth therewith?* or *shall* the *saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake* itself *against them that lift it up,* or *as if the staff should lift up* itself as if it were *no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire* (H). *And the light of* Israel *shall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them*[m]. . . . *I will break the* As-

[m] Isai. x. 5——20.

Scythians (52), who can have been no other than the *Bactrians* mentioned before (53) to have come upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, while they were besieging that city. These *Scythians* held dominion over *Asia*, as it is called, (54) for the space of 28 years; during which the confederates were so far from being able to act against the king of *Assyria*, that they must have been under considerable constraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in these parts. The *Scythians* then were lords in these parts about six or seven years after the death of *Nabopallasarus*, and the work of destroying the kingdom of *Assyria* could not be completed till the *Scythians* had been driven out of this part of *Asia*, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years above-mentioned. They then proceeded against *Nineveh*, and destroyed it about the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah*; but whether in the second, third, or fourth year of his reign, we shall leave the reader to determine; but it is certain, to a sufficient demonstration, that in one of those years *Nineveh* submitted to fate.

(H) There may be those who may imagine these words to be predictive of the manner of *Sardanapalus*'s death, as related by prophane authors (55).

(52) Herodot. *l. i. c.* 103. (53) *p.* 182. (54) *Vid.* Herodot. *ubi sup.* (55) *See before. p.* 184.

syrian

ſyrian *in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then ſhall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their ſhoulders* [n]. . . . . *Through the voice of the Lord ſhall the* Aſſyrian *be beaten down* which *ſmote with a rod* [o]. . . . . *Then ſhall the* Aſſyrian *fall with the ſword, not of a mighty man; and the ſword not of a mean man ſhall devour him* (I): *but he ſhall flee from the ſword, and his young men ſhall be diſcomfited. And he ſhall paſs over to his ſtrong hold for fear* (K), *and his princes ſhall be afraid of the enſign, ſaith the Lord, whoſe fire is in* Zion, *and his furnace in* Jeruſalem [p]. . . . *Behold the* Aſſyrian was *a cedar in* Lebanon, *with fair branches, and a ſhadowing ſhroud, and of an high ſtature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep ſet him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and ſent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long becauſe of the multitude of his waters,*

[n] Idem, xiv. 25. [o] Idem, xxx. 31. [p] Idem, xxxi. 8, 9.

(I) Theſe two, the one *not a mighty man*, the other *not a mean man*, ſeem plainly to allude to the mighty *Mede*, and the dependent *Babylonian*, as we have diſtinguiſhed them a note or two above; ſo that this prophecy ſeems very naturally applicable to the two men that deſtroyed the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, as they are repreſented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing *Cteſias* the juſtice of obſerving, That this *flight from the ſword*, this *diſcomfiture of the young men*, and this *retreat to the ſtrong hold for fear*, ſeem exactly to quadrate with the circumſtances he relates concerning the latter end of *Sardanapalus* (56). The *flight for fear* may allude to his flight when ſurpriſed in his camp (57); the *diſcomfiture of his young men*, to the ſlaughter of his army under *Salemenus* (58); and his *paſſing over to his ſtrong hold*, to his betaking himſelf to his city of *Nineveh* (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to ſhew, that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly againſt *Cteſias*, that we have laboured ſo much againſt him, or becauſe we are fond of erecting or ſuſtaining an hypotheſis; and that we ſhould have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we ſafely have done it. In a word, he meant no *Aſſyrian* monarchy but that in ſcripture, which was either ſtrangely diſtorted for him, or he muſt, ſtudiouſly and moſt unpardonably, have diſguiſed it himſelf.

(56) *See before, Ibid.* (57) *See before, p.* 182. (58) *Ibid.* (59) *Ibid.*

when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that the trees of Eden, *that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him, I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the Mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered up to death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus saith the Lord God, in the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed; and I caused* Lebanon *to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of* Eden, *the choice and best of* Lebanon, *all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They also went down into hell with him unto* them that be *slain with the sword, and* they that were *his arm*, that *dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen* [q]. . . . . *Thy shepherds slumber, O king of* Assyria, *thy nobles shall dwell* in the dust. *thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them.* There is *no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, shall clap*

[q] Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17.

the

the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness past continually[t]? Such was the great empire of *Assyria*, such her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himself, the first and supreme of nations, and such her fearful fall; nor is all this meant of any other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who first began to afflict *Israel*, and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations; and whose successors were the first that attempted to extinguish the great nations on this side of the *Euphrates*, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to nought in the person of *Sarac*, *Asserhaddon* II. or *Sardanapalus*[r]; so that *Assyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long since no more; falshood has been invented and propagated to preserve her the honour, which truth was deprived of being able to pay her, and concerning which we should have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain assistance of scripture and the most inestimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon*.

CHAP. IX.

The History of the BABYLONIANS.

SECT. I.

The Description of the Country of BABYLON, *or* CHALDÆA.

WE have already done considerably towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately successive to the deluge[s]. Its most antient name was *Shinaar*, *Sennaar*, *Senjâr*, *Singara*, and the like[u], but whether or no it extended to what has been since known more peculiarly for the dominions of *Babylon*, we have already declared we know not[w], nor is it possible to gather it to any great degree of satisfaction, though there is some reason to think it did, because it is used to de- *Names.*

[t] Nahum. iii. 18, 19. [r] See before in the notes, p. 216. [s] See particularly Vol. I. p. 271. note, (P) and p. 314, 315, in the notes. [u] See Vol. I. p. 313, & seq. [w] See before, in the places of the two foregoing citations.

note this whole kingdom, when in the meridian of empire *. *Babylon* is a name univerſally ſuppoſed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of *Babel*; and *Chaldæa* from the *Chaldæans*, or *Chaſdim* x.

THESE two laſt names ſometimes extend themſelves over the whole territory, being indifferently uſurped for each other; but are ſometimes limited to certain parts of it, *Babylon* being uſed for the parts between the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itſelf of *Babylon*; and *Chaldæa* for the parts more immediately conterminous with *Arabia*, and ſtretching ſouth-eaſtward to the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulf. Theſe two great names were alſo uſed in diſtinction of each other upon another account, not ſo much to our preſent purpoſe; finally, they were both ſometimes ſwallowed up by that of *Aſſyria* y.

Diviſions. By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a conſiderable extent, and including a very great portion of *Meſopotamia*, and a good and valuable tract of what may be, properly enough, called *Arabia*; whence it may be diſtinguiſhed into the *Meſopotamian* and the *Arabian*.

Extent uncertain. HOW far this country extended northward is paſt our determination, but for its limits weſtward, ſouthward, and eaſtward, we cannot be very much at a loſs, ſeeing it was to the eaſtward bounded by the *Tigris*, which divided it from *Aſſyria*, *Situation and boundaries.* to the ſouthward by the conflux of the two rivers and the *Perſian* gulph, and to the weſtward by the *Deſert Arabia*; to the northward it muſt have been bounded by ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, but by what part of it we ſhall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incroached upon each other, and were conſidered as diſtinct countries. Hence it is ſometimes a practice with geographers to treat of *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia* at the ſame time, and once for all z, as being properly one and the ſame country.

THIS ample region may very naturally ſuit with the majeſty of the *Babylonian* kings; but the name muſt certainly have prevailed, in antient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that

* Dan. i. 2. x See Vol. I. p. 361. y STRABO, l. 16. p. 736. HERODOT. &c. &c. &c. z Vid. CELLAR. Notit. Orb. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 16. p. 451.

(L) The limits of the *Babylonian* empire were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Aſſyrian* empire after the revolt of the *Medes*, and hence

that it did not become even more univerſal, muſt have been owing to its being ſecond to the *Aſſyrian*, which had rooted itſelf firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the *Babylonians* muſt have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, ſeeing it may have been by them deemed their greateſt glory, that they were of *Aſſyrian* origin themſelves, as will be ſeen hereafter. But it is certain that the proper *Babylon*, in later times, was confined to the very ſouthermoſt parts of *Meſopotamia*, which our maps ſometimes repreſent as a peninſula, or rather, as it is, a cluſter of iſlands; this ſmall territory, together with the proper *Chaldæa* already mention-

hence the *Babylonian* name was almoſt as widely extended as the *Aſſyrian*, and indeed they are frequently uſed the one for the other, though this latter ſeems the moſt generally to have had the aſcendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, ſuperior to the former. "*Beroſus* ſaith, That *Nebuchadnezzar* held *Egypt*, "*Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and *Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the "territories of *Babylon*; and ſaying, that *Babylon* was antiently "the metropolis of *Aſſyria*, he thus deſcribes the limits of the *Aſ-* "*ſyrian* empire, [or more properly the *Babylonian*]. *Contiguous*, "ſaith he, [*l.* 16] *to* Perſia *and* Suſiana *are the* Aſſyrians; *for* "*ſo they call* Babylonia, *and the greateſt part of the region about it*; "*part of which is* Aturia, *wherein* Ninus [*or* Nineveh] *and* Ap- "polloniatis, *and the* Elymæans, *and the* Parætacæ, *and* Chaloritis *by* "*the mountain* Zagrus, *and the fields near* Ninus, *and* Dolomene, *and* "Chalachene, *and* Chazene, *and* Adiabene, *and the nations of* Meſo- "potamia *near the* Gordyæans, *and the* Mygdones *about* Nitibis, *unto* "Zeugma *upon* Euphrates; *and a large region on this ſide the* Euphra- "tes, *inhabited by the* Arabians *and* Syrians, *properly ſo called, as far as* "Cilicia, *and* Phœnicia, *and* Lybia, *and the ſea of* Egypt, *and the* Sinus "Iſſicus:" And a little after, deſcribing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he "bounds it on the north with the *Armenians* and "*Medes*, unto the mountain *Zagrus*; on the eaſt ſide with *Suſa*, "and *Elymais*, and *Parætacene*, incluſively; on the ſouth with the "*Perſian* gulf and *Chaldæa*, and on the weſt with the *Arabes Sce-* "*nitæ* as far as *Adiabene* and *Gordyæa*:" Afterwards ſpeaking of *Suſiana* and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Suſa*, and of *Parætacene*, and *Coſſæa*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Miloceni*, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [*l.* 10. *p.* 745] "*And theſe are the nations which inhabit* Babylonia *eaſt-ward: to* "*the north are* Media *and* Armenia, excluſively; *and weſt-ward are* "*Adiabene and* Meſopotamia, incluſively; *the greateſt part of* Adia- "bene *is plain*, the ſame *being part of* Babylonia: *in ſome places it* "*borders on* Armenia; *for the* Medes, Armenians, *and* Babylonians "*warred frequently on one another* (60)." We here ſee *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia* moſt remarkably confounded together, not only as the ſame empire, but as the ſame country.

(60) *Sir* Iſ. Newt. *Chron. of Anc. Kingd. p.* 324, 325.

ed, is now described for this country, which, in antient days, obtained as far to the northward, as should seem, as *Senjâr* at least.

Climate and fertility.

THIS country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no air can be possibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are so extraordinary here, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water *, nor could bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as every body that has been in these parts very well knows; and at certain seasons they have here the dreadful plague of a pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we shall be more particular about in the geography of *Persia*. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants, in the northermost parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and especially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where their engines and wheels are so frequent, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river †. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year [a]; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon, that if it does but rain twice or thrice in a year, it is enough for their purpose [b]: this is remarked by *Herodotus* [c], who says, that in the land of the *Assyrians* it seldom rained: and that though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreshment and fecundation of this country, though, however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in *Egypt* [d]. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. We have seen it compared to *Egypt*, as above, and the southermost parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endless islands, some formed by nature, and some

* PLUTAR. Sympos. l. 3. p. 640. † See LEON. RAUWOLF's Travels into the Eastern Country, part, 2. c. 6. p. 160. [a] Vid. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. 1. c 12. p. 62. [b] RAUWOLF ubi supr. p. 152. [c] l. 1. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. 15. p. 692. [d] See Vol. I. p. 394.

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by art, and is beſides almoſt under the ſame parallel of latitude; nor is the other part of it, *Chaldæa* properly ſo called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much leſs watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reſervoirs or lakes ſeemingly borrowed from the ſame river. And hence it is, that *Herodotus* [e] compares this country with *Egypt*, and hence, together with the excellence of its ſoil, it was ſo fruitful, that the ſame venerable author [f] imagines it impoſſible any one ſhould believe what he could ſay about it, that had not, like himſelf, been an eye-witneſs of the ſame; though he ventures to aſſert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Aſia*, that is of the *Perſian* empire, and that, when it exceeded even itſelf, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 moſt commonly.

Productions.

BEING a country of ſuch plenty of waters, and being for the moſt part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have abounded with the willow, whence it came to be called *The Valley of Willows*, as *Prideaux* [g] would, after *Bochart*, mend the text [h]. The palm alſo flouriſhed naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we underſtand the author [i], which afforded them, as he expreſſes himſelf [k], meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig, were what this otherwiſe happy country could not boaſt of [l], no more than her ſiſter *Egypt*. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the ſeſame ſhot up here to the ſize of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were uſually four good fingers broad [m]. The ſeſame afforded them oil inſtead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine inſtead of the grape [n]. In ſhort, for vegetable productions it may be juſtly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already ſaid about that country [o].

Rivers, canals, &c.

ALL this fertility muſt have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which were wont in the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, to overflow their banks, and lay this country under water; the ſnow in thoſe months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of *Armenia*. But this being found detrimental and deſtructive to the inhabitants, theſe inundations were guarded againſt by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were diſ-

[e] Ubi ſupr. [f] Ibidem. [g] Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. part 1. book 2. p. 105. in 8vo. [h] ISAI. xv. 7. [i] HERODOT. ubi ſup. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. [o] See Vol. I. p. 400.

tributed and abated, the country in general benefited, and an eaſy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of theſe canals were ſo large as to be navigable in the winter months [p], but the chief of them all ſeems to have been the *Naharmalcha*, or *Royal River* [q]. Concerning this, and the reſt of its kind, we muſt always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the aſſiſtance of the eaſtern geographers, without which it is next to impoſſible to fix any thing certain about it in the antient weſtern geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, ſufficient inſtructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated but by an actual and accurate ſurvey, which is what we can never ſo much as hope for. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the *Naharmalcha*, which, as repreſented by the antients, muſt have been a vaſt work, is not now eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is ſome difficulty to make the antient geographers, in this particular caſe, conſiſtent with the beſt of our preſent maps, nor are the ſame geographers in this caſe very conſiſtent with themſelves; ſo that in a point of this obſcurity we ſhall be as brief as poſſible, deſpairing, with all the lights and aſſiſtances we have, to be able to fix this *Royal River* quite to the ſatisfaction either of the reader or of ourſelves. The *Naharmalcha* is then by ſome [r] ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the river of *Cûtha*, now called *Couti*, or *Cûti*, which ſeems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the *Euphrates* into the inland of *Arabia*, where it falls into ſome lakes or waters, called the lake of *Rahama*, or *Al Batayeh*, in *De Liſle*'s maps, and muſt have been, together with ſome overflowed lands, farther eaſtward in the proper *Chaldæa*, the *Paludes Babylonicæ* of the antients. This river is ſaid to have been dug by *Cûtha*, or *Cuſh*, king of *Babel*, but it is more uſually by the oriental writers attributed to his ſon *Nimrod* [s]. This *Naharmalcha* is called a branch of the *Euphrates*, and is ſaid to have emptied itſelf into the lakes, and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have waſhed the towns of *Irak*, and is ſaid to have been the ſame called the river *Sîd*, the river of the *Black Country*, or of the *Black Towns* [t]. By this it ſhould have been no more than a branch

[p] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [q] See Vol. I. p. 115. [r] Al Tabart in cap. de Morte Saræ. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Vid. Hyde Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſar. p. 40.

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of the *Euphrates*, by labour and art conducted into the inland of *Arabia*. The river of *Nehardea*, or *River of Knowledge*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Naarda* of *Ptolemy*, and to have run not above 20 miles above *Sora*, or at leaſt the univerſity itſelf of *Nehardea*, a famous one belonging to the *Jews*, is ſaid to have been no farther diſtant from *Sora*, and to have been ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the *Euphrates*, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the *Royal River*, or *Naharmalcha*, was derived on the oppoſite ſhore, by which it is to be concluded, that it ran weſtward or ſouthward of the *Euphrates*, and conſequently, that it could not poſſibly have had any communication with the *Tigris*, whereas by all the antients we underſtand, that it was a very large canal, navigable by ſhips, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that it was cut for that very purpoſe. By *Ptolemy* we underſtand, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but alſo diſcharged itſelf into the *Paludes*, or ſtanding waters and overflowed grounds; by him we underſtand, that it was derived more properly from the *Tigris*, that it waſhed the walls of *Babylon*, or at leaſt ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the *Euphrates*, the canal was immediately continued away to the *Paludes*. It is not to be doubted, but that this *Naharmalcha* was contrived more particularly for the great city of *Babylon*, that ſo it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in *De Liſle*'s maps a cut or canal repreſented from the *Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, juſt by what are now called the ruins of *Babylon*; and exactly in a line with the river *Cûtha*, or *Cûti*, as it is now called and repreſented, which continues itſelf to the waters in the inland of *Arabia*; and thus we ſeem to have the true ſituation and extent of this river, which muſt certainly have been the ſame, and the rather as it is to this day called *Almalec*, the *King*, or *Royal*. It is in the ſame maps repreſented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the *Euphrates*, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly conſidered as a branch of the *Euphrates*, it is now moſt properly a branch of the *Tigris*. It appears then, that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of *Trajan* [u], who reſtored it to its priſtine ſtate, after it had been for many ages dug by the great *Nebuchadnezzar* [w]. Thus, by comparing *Ptolemy* with the beſt of our modern geographers, it ſeems, that we have in general marked out the canal of the *Nabarmalcha*, which may at firſt have included

[u] Vid. AMM. MARCELL. p. 498. [w] MEGASTHEN. ex ABYDEN. apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the incluſion of the river of *Cûtha*, which muſt have been a diſtinct work. At ſome diſtance to the weſtward of the *Naharmalcha* was another river, corruptedly in *Ptolemy* called the *Maarſares*, for the *Naarſares*, or the *Nahar Sare*, the *Stinking River*; this alſo he derives from the *Tigris*, and continues to the *Paludes*; but our beſt maps have no ſign of ſuch a river or canal at preſent in theſe parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the *Nehardea*, or *Naarda* of *Ptolemy* above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, muſt by its name have been a river alſo, and, as we are told, to the weſtward of the *Nahar Sare* [x]. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out theſe and the other numerous branches and canals which watered the antient country of *Babylon*, though by the beſt helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly conſiderable, may be now no more, and others may have been found ſince, that were not in antient days; for a country ſo prodigiouſly watered, ſo low withal, and ſo ſubject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two ſuch great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and ſo neglected as it muſt for ages paſt have been, may be fairly concluded to have changed face conſiderably, and frequently, ſince the time *Ptolemy* flouriſhed; and it muſt be next to impoſſible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the ſeat of empire, or when it had ſtrength and riches ſufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

The Euphrates.

The *Euphrates*, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be conſidered ſeparately. The name of this river we have already ſpoken to [y], and have now to add, that it takes its riſe from the mountains of *Armenia*, and that it continues its courſe ſouthward, waſhing the eaſtern ſkirts of *Syria*, and ſouth eaſtward dividing *Arabia* from *Meſopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Perſian* gulf. This conſiderable river is ſlow, for the moſt part, in its courſe [z], and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, becauſe of ſome parts of it which are ſhoal, and ſome parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable for the larger ſort of barks, any lower from *Bir*, or *Beer*, in *Meſopotamia*, than a place called *Rouſvaine* [a], which muſt be the *Raſaine* in ſome of *De Liſle*'s maps, but that the ſmaller craft may go down quite to *Baſſora*. Be-

[x] Vid. Hyde ubi ſupr. p. 71. [y] See Vol. I. p. 116. [z] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. part 2. c. 1. p. 126. [a] Thevenot. Voy. au. Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46.

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yond this *Rouſvaine* it ſeems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger veſſels [b], but our author ſeems here to be quite miſtaken, for *Rouſvaine*, or *Raſaine*, is an inland place, at a diſtance from the banks of this river. A traveller [c] who actually went down this river, and ſeems to have had as great a ſenſe of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls *Deer* [d], and which is conſiderably beyond *Racka*, or *Racca*, where they were obliged to uſe the ſkill and aſſiſtance of pilots [e]. At *Bir* in *Meſopotamia*, which was the common place of embarkation from the weſtern parts, this river is compared to the *Thames* at *London*, but was then obſerved to have been conſiderably fallen [f]; and indeed the breadth of this river muſt be very uncertain, and, as the caſe uſually is, depend upon the ſeaſons and the weather. In many places it divides itſelf into ſeveral ſhallow branches, and forms ſeveral iſlands [g]; in ſome parts it is broad and ſhallow, in others wide and deep like a little ſea [h], and, upon the whole, is not near ſo convenient as the *Tigris* [i]. Though the *Euphrates*, we have obſerved above, is moderate in its courſe, its water is ſo continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has ſettled for a time, or been paſſed through a cloth, or a ſtrainer [k]; but its water, when in proper order, is preferred before any in theſe parts, and ſaid to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring people, by a name which ſignifies the *water of deſire* [l]. The fiſh of this river is alſo reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken of one ſomewhat like a carp, which ſometimes weighs 17 or 18 pounds [m], which is all that may be neceſſary to ſay on this ſubject.

The antient way of navigating this river has ſomething very ſingular and extraordinary in it. The veſſels they uſed were round, without diſtinction of head or ſtern, and were no better than great wicker baſkets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars or paddles. Theſe veſſels were of different ſizes, and would ſome of them carry a burthen of palm wine, or other merchandiſe, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their ſize, had five aſſes on board

[b] THEVENOT. ibid. [c] RAUWOLF. [d] Idem. ibid p. 152. [e] Ibid. [f] MAUND. Jour. from Aleppo to the river Euphrat. p 3 See alſo THEVENOT ubi ſupr. [g] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr p. 120 [h] Idem ibid. & p. 102. [i] Idem ibid & THEVENOT. ubi ſupr. [k] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr. p. 126. [l] THEVENOT. ubi ſupr. [m] RAUWOLF ubi ſupr.

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of them. Having thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their cargoe, they ſtripped off their hides, and ſelling the reſt of their veſſel, with the ſtraw and whatever elſe might have ſerved them for the convenience of ſtowage, and putting their hides upon the backs of their aſſes, they returned by land to the place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or baſket, to repeat their voyage; it being impoſſible for them to ſtem the ſtream up again by water [n].

Natural and artificial rarities.

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the ſeat of *Paradiſe*, which is moſt rationally ſuppoſed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it [o]; as alſo for the great plain of *Shinaar*, now *Senjár*, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they diſperſed themſelves over the face of the earth [p]. The bitumen of this country we have already [q] ſpoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded [r]. The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as ſuppoſed, of *Babel*, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work [s].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.

Antiquity. BABEL is the firſt kingdom we find erected in ſcripture, and claims an origin prior to that of *Aſſur*, though, according to the common courſe of hiſtory, it muſt appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it [t], but for many ages it enlarged not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Aſſyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or, on the other hand, if it be granted, that even under *Nimrod* himſelf it attained a height of power, nothing ſeems more natural than to conclude, that it ſuddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below ſome of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam*, or *Perſia*; for ſo early as the days of *Abraham* we meet with a king of *Shinaar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer*

[n] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 194. [o] See Vol. I. p. 113, & ſeq.
[p] Ibid. p. 312, 347. [q] Ibid. p. 319 not. (I). [r] Ibid.
[s] Ibid. p. 319, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. p. 345.

king

king of *Elam* [u], as a vaſſal, ſeemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly uſed to deſtroy the boaſted antiquity of *Aſſyria* [w], may be exhibited here to deſtroy that of this empire; but not to repeat what we have ſo fully urged, and which muſt of courſe affect this empire, as it confeſſedly roſe upon the ruins of the former; we would only take notice, that ſcripture knows nothing of any king of *Babylon* from the king of *Shinaar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Merodach Baladan*, who was contemporary with *Hezekiah* [x]; as alſo that, by the ſeveral hiſtories of the nations that precede in this work, it is plain, that no *Babylonian* ſceptre awed any one of them, till many years after the ſaid *Merodach Baladan*. So that, though we confeſs this to have been the moſt antient kingdom of the world, we deny it to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in compariſon of what has been vainly boaſted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldæans*, however, laid claim to a moſt enormous antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any nation elſe, pretending to have regiſtred the tranſactions of 150,000 years [y], according to ſome, or 472,000 years, according to others [z], reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they firſt began to obſerve the ſtars; a moſt monſtrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deſerve ſome animadverſion (M).

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[u] Geneſ. xiv. 9. [w] See before in the preceding chapter *paſſim*. [x] 2 King. xx. 12. [y] Vid. SYNCELL. Chronogr. [z] DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. Hiſt. l. 2. p. 81.

(M) This extravagant and ſenſeleſs deſire of ſeveral nations to be thought antient, has not only been, in good part, the deſtruction of hiſtory, but has, to all appearance, alſo been conſiderably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have ſhewn (61), firſt introduced the forging of records to ſupply the want or loſs of them: and as antiquity was thought the moſt honourable diſtinction of a people, when nations, as the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, or others, came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predeceſſors made, in compariſon, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted; and to perceive, that perhaps ſome other nations had a great value for themſelves for their antiquity, they were aſhamed of their deficiencies, ſcorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the ſun, and ſo not only ran up their antiquities

(61) *See before*, p. 134.

Their government.

The government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod* [a] may be relied

[a] See Vol. I. p. 380.

they knew not whither, but removed some of their eminent princes who had lived as yesterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themselves above their fellows, and claiming a right of superiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great measure given a glaring instance of this in the latter *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, *Hadad* and *Hazael*, in his time, and carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives who were carried away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors, just like the *Irish* at this day, who, though chiefly descended from colonies of *English* and *Scotch*, and not very antient ones either, disown both the nations, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or false; and thus these latter *Syrians*, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, *Hadad* and *Hazael*, to reflect a dishonour upon the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger; and hence you have *Adad, the first of gods* (62).

If the want of regular history was not in some measure the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them thereto, presently grounded themselves upon false principles, and thence proceeded to subtilise themselves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely absurd, which were soon propagated among the studious men in all branches of literature; to that historians and antiquaries thinking there was room enough to range in, and some of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all desirous of it, you have by this means the disorder and disagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with respect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nation, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

(62) *See Vol. II. p.* 310, *note* (K). (63) Ludov. Viv. *in not. ad August. de civit. Dei, xii.* 10. *See the appendix to* Whiston's *Essay towards restoring the true text of scripture, p.* 233.

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lied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and deſpotic; but that it continued ſo is not to be ſuppoſed, except at the ſame time it be conceived that firſt prince was ſucceeded by kings exactly of his own ſort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of theſe parts, till the *Aſſyrians*, in proceſs of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itſelf as the *Queen of the Eaſt*. And as from the former it derived its luſtre and majeſty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as theſe *Babylonians* themſelves were *Aſſyrians*, deſcended from *Pul* the great *Aſſyrian*, who immediately gave riſe to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the ſequel. The government therefore of *Babylon*, like that of *Aſſyria*[b], was haughty and deſpotic, and the ſceptre, as ſhould ſeem, hereditary. The whole centered in the perſon of the king, all decrees iſſued from his mouth *; and how could it be leſs, when he affected even deity and divine worſhip, as the cuſtom was with theſe princes? And here by the way, it may be obſerved, that this political, not to ſay blaſphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had ſuch wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the moſt effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to reſtrain thoſe who did, from aſſerting their right to be governed by whom, and in what manner they pleaſed. For without ſome ſuch bridle upon the ſuperſtitious minds of men, it had been next to impoſſible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the ſeat of the imperial reſidence; and no doubt, the argument they uſed of having prevailed againſt all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far

[b] See before, p. 131. * See Dan. iii. 29. iv. 6.

	Years.
Zoroaſter lived before *Plato*'s death	6000
Before the *Trojan* war	5000
Chaldees had accounts of	470000
From the firſt *Chaldean* aſtronomer to *Alexander*	473000
Sais in *Egypt* had chronicles of	8000
Athens built before *Sais*	1000
From *Vulcan* to *Alexander*	4363
Kings of *Egypt* before *Amaſis* reigned	1300
From *Oſiris* to *Alexander*	10000
Or	13000
Men reigned in *Egypt* after the gods	15000

Egypt then

than they [c], carried a conviction with it, which not only ſerved all purpoſes for the preſent but for the future alſo. And hence it muſt have been, or upon principles of the ſame ſort, that the great conquerors of the eaſt have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a ſuperiority not much inferior to what was claimed by theſe firſt monarchs of the *Aſſyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Nineveh*, as on that of *Babylon*; and is, as we have ſaid, one of the moſt politic methods of keeping in ſubjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who muſt be a ſtranger to almoſt all of them. Theſe proud potentates, however, adminiſtered their government by officers of ſeveral ſorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three claſſes, and ſuppoſed to be choſen from among the graveſt and moſt noble perſonages in all the empire [d]; the firſt had the charge of virgins, and their diſpoſal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the ſecond took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the reſt [e]. We find the ſubordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treaſurers, counſellors, and ſheriffs [f], ſo that it is plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under ſevere regulation: as for what relates to religion and ſuperſtitious matters, that will fall under another head.

His officers civil and military.

His houſhold.

This great *King of Kings* [g] had a houſhold equal to the ſublimity of his ſtation, the chief officers of which ſeem to have been the captain of his guard [h], the prince of his eunuchs [i], and the prime miniſter [k], in the nature of the *Turkiſh* vizier, who more immediately repreſented the perſon of his great maſter. The firſt of theſe had the execution of the arbitrary and ſanguinary commands [l]; the ſecond had charge of the education and ſubſiſtence of the youth of the palace [m], and the latter ſat in the king's gate, as it is called [n], to hear complaints and to paſs judgments. Beſides theſe, there ſeems to have been a maſter of the magicians always at hand [o], to ſatisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognoſtication.

[c] See before, p. 196. [d] Strab. l. 16. p. 745. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. [f] Dan. iii. 2, 3. [g] Dan. ii. 37. [h] Idem, ibid ver. 14. [i] Idem. i. 10. [k] Idem, ii. 48, 49. [l] Idem, ibid. 14. [m] Idem, i. 7. 8, 9, 10. &c. [n] Idem, ii. 49. [o] Idem, iv. 9.

Nonc

None were allowed the honour of ſerving in his preſence that were not remarkable for beauty of perſon [p], and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which were, doubtleſs, the moſt exquiſite of their ſex, ſeem to have been in very great numbers [q].

BUT though theſe kings ſeem to have claimed ſuch high honour, and to have placed themſelves at ſuch a diſtance from the greateſt even of their officers and ſubjects, and in ſhort to have conſidered the whole world as created for their uſe and ſervice, and to have conſulted nothing but their own glory and majeſty; yet we underſtand, that they would ſometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thouſand of them were at one time entertained by *Belſhazzar* [r]. The common ſtile of accoſting this mighty ſovereign was, *O king live for ever* [s]; and the man, who was ſo happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or ſcarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and inveſted with ſome government [t].

THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, muſt have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which ſeems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been *Laws.*

[p] Idem, i. 4—10—20 [q] Idem, v. 2, 3. [r] DAN. v. 1.
[s] Idem, ii. 4. v. 10. [t] Idem, v. 7.

(N) This has always been the cuſtom in the eaſtern countries, and at this day, "The youths, that are deſigned for the great offi-"ces of the empire, [in *Turkey*]—muſt be of admirable features "and pleaſing looks, well ſhaped in their bodies, and without any "defect of nature; for it is conceived, that a corrupt and ſordid "ſoul can ſcarce inhabit a ſerene and ingenuous aſpect; and I have "obſerved, not only in the ſeraglio, but alſo in the courts of great "men, their perſonal attendants have been of comely luſty youths, "well habited, deporting themſelves with ſingular modeſty and re-"ſpect in the preſence of their maſter. So that when a baſha, aga, "or ſpahee, travels, he is always attended with a comely equi-"page, followed by flouriſhing youths, well cloathed and moun-"ted, in great numbers, that one may gueſs at the greatneſs "of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of "ſervants which accompany perſons of quality in their journies; "whereas in the parts of *Chriſtendom* where I have travelled, I "have not obſerved, (no not in attendance of princes) ſuch often-"tation in ſervants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the life and "ornament of a court (64).

(64) *Sir* Paul Ricaut's *Preſ. State of the Ottoman Empire*, c. 5. p. 46.

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very politically contrived to keep up and increaſe the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in ſuch manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to live ſingle, and deſigned particularly to encourage the poorer ſort to engage themſelves in wedlock, which is generally a great burthen to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to beſtow his own daughters in marriage [u], but they were to be diſpoſed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we ſhall relate hereafter.

Puniſhments. As the laws were vague and changeable, the puniſhments ſeem alſo to have been unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmoſt, and ſuch as might beſt ſuit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breaſt. Beheading [w], and cutting to pieces [x], and turning the criminal's houſe into a dunghill [y], and burning in a fiery furnace [z], are puniſhments we underſtand to have been executed by order of the kings of *Babylon*.

Their religion. Chaldees *their prieſts,* THE religion and boaſted learning of the *Babylonians* are ſo blended together, that we hardly know how to ſeparate them into diſtinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, properly ſo called, were not only their prieſts, but alſo their learned men; whoſe whole ſcience ſeems to have been ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ſuperſtition and infatuation. The *Chaldeans*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Babylonians*, were in ſome ſort diſtinct from theſe people, and rather more ſo than the clergy were from the laity with us. Theſe *Chaldæans* were as much revered in their country, as the *Egyptian* prieſts were in theirs; and are ſaid to have enjoyed the ſame rank and degree in the kingdom [a]. They were wholly devoted to the buſineſs of their ſuperſtitious religion, and pretended to prophecy, and the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inſpection of victims; and profeſſed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phœnomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their inchantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happineſs or with miſery [b]. Having by their ſituation been early addicted to celeſtial obſervations, they, inſtead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his ſons, fell into the impious error of

[u] Vid. Herodot. l. 1. c. 196. & Strab. l. 16. p. 745. [w] Dan. i. 10. Idem, ii. 5. [x] Idem, Ibid. [z] Idem, iii. 19. [a] Diodor. Sicul. Bibloth. Hiſt. l. 2. [b] Idem, ibid. eſteem-

eſteeming them as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in ſubordination, however, to the deity, who was inviſible but by his works and the effects of his power c. They concluded then, that God had created the ſtars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and ſubſtituted them his miniſters; and that it was but juſt and natural they ſhould be praiſed, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they ſhould be magnified, and feared, and worſhipped; juſt as a king deſires his ſervants ſhould be reſpected in honour of himſelf d. *Are the authors of the* Sabian *religion.*

PERSUADED of this they began to build temples, or *Sacella*, to the ſtars, to ſacrifice to them, to praiſe them, and to bow down before them, that through their means they might obtain the favour and good-will of God e, ſo that they eſteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a neceſſity for a mediatory office between God and man, is obſerved f to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; "Conſcious of "their own meanneſs, vileneſs, and impurity, and unable to "conceive how it was poſſible for them of themſelves alone "to have any acceſs to the all-holy, all-glorious and ſupreme "governor of all things. They conſidered him as too high, "and too pure, and themſelves as too low, and too polluted "for ſuch a converſe; and therefore concluded that there "muſt be a mediator, by whoſe means only they could "make any addreſs unto him, and by whoſe interceſſion "alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no "clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom "God had appointed, becauſe as yet he had not been mani-"feſted unto the world, they took upon them to addreſs "themſelves unto him by mediators of their own chuſing; "and their notion of the ſun, moon, and ſtars being, that "they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, "which animated thoſe orbs in the ſame manner as the ſoul "of man animates his body, and were the cauſes of all their "motions, and that theſe intelligences were of a middle na-"ture between God and them, they thought theſe the proper-"eſt beings to become the mediators between God and them; "and therefore the planets being the neareſt to them of all "the heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the "greateſt influence on this world, they made choice of them "in the firſt place for their *Gods Mediators*, who were to *First ſtage of idolatry.*

c Vid eund. ibid. d RAB MOS. MAIM. in Mor. Nevoch.
e Idem, ibid. f See PERIZONIUS, and the authors he cites, POCOCK, GOLIUS, HOTTING. Hiſt.

" mediate for them with the ſupreme God, and procure " from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for, " and accordingly they directed divine worſhip to them as " ſuch; and here began all the idolatry that has been prac- " tiſed in the world[g]." For perſuading themſelves of this doctrine, they became anxious about the moſt effectual means of making their worſhip acceptable to the ſeveral deities, whence they firſt began to build temples or tabernacles to them, as we have ſeen, dedicated to their ſervice, and to be as places of abode for them, but as in matters of this kind there can be no ſtable form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men actuated either by fear or avarice, or ambition, or ought elſe, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing of; in proceſs of time impoſtors aroſe, and gave out, that they had had it injoined and commanded them from God himſelf, That this ſtar, or that, or all of them ſhould be worſhipped in this, or that manner, and repreſented under this, or that form, and that none of any age or degree ſhould be exempt from the worſhip thereof; and this they impudently gave out, in a ſolemn manner, for revelation. Upon this it was, that men began to furniſh the *Sacella*, tabernacles or temples, with images, and to erect the ſame under trees, and upon the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they aſſembled themſelves together to pay them worſhip, and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them, and to honour them with deepeſt reverence, and to fear them *; and their prieſts, ſenſible of the ſweets of the trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be obſerved by the credulous and deluded multitude †. Other impoſtors there were who improved upon the firſt, and pretended to have been honoured with particular inſtructions from particular ſtars, concerning the exact mode of the worſhip due or peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought not, to be done to pleaſe them; ſo that, in proceſs of time, the name of God became obliterated among them; and the moſt ſtupid idolatry poſſeſſed the whole place of the true religion ‡.

Second ſtage of idolatry.

Such was the riſe of idolatry and the firſt ſteps of its progreſs, than which nothing can be more natural to conceive, and ſuch were the original *Sabian* doctrines, which, taking root firſt among the *Chaldæans*, did afterwards ſpread

[g] Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Part. I. Book III. p. 177. in 8vo. * Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi ſup. † Vid. eund. ibid. ‡ Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi ſup.

their

their branches so far as to over-shadow, at one time, all the nations of the east with their prophane obscurity. For it must be difficult to conceive, how men could have been deceived into so gross an absurdity, as to worship wood, stone, or metal, formed and fashioned by their own hands, if it be not at the same time allowed, that they must have imagined their images to have been, some how or other, animated or informed with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means. A late author [i] thinks it more natural to suppose, that their loss to know how to address themselves to the planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what first suggested to them the use of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in their tabernacles, or *Sacella*, they directed their worship towards the planet, which they have thought of none effect, when he was absent and hidden from sight; and that therefore they thought to supply his absence by a representation: Thus it may have been, though it may be as natural to suppose, that, as their priests observed the stars as their gods, and made them the chief subject of their study, and persuaded themselves that each star or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that those superior beings had revealed their will to them, just as their crazy imaginations, or designing craft, may have suggested to them.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain, that the first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the vertues of the planet into the image that was meant to represent it; which they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligences into their respective idols; and hence came all the foolery of *Telesms* [k], or *Talismans*, and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation, all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

THAT this was the first origin of image-worship is evident, and that the same was first derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous, and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can understand no other than the sun, and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them [l].

[i] PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. [k] See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. [l] Vid. eund. ibid.

This was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Assyrians*, and *Mesopotamians*, even before the days of *Abraham*; nay in the days of *Enos*, the son of *Seth* [m], whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy and astrology [n]; the *Sabians* themselves boasting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called *Sabius*, as also to have among them what they call the book of *Seth*, written by that same patriarch [o].

Third stage of idolatry

This was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celestial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the first, and that the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* [p], shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, *Benhadad* the second and *Hazael* [q]. A late learned author [r] is inclined to think, that the first *Sabians*, or idolaters, desirous to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of those they thought to be such, and that thus they added to their polytheism: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church, which teaches the same doctrine, and allows of the same practice; and calls to our mind, how frequently *Rome* is supposed to be signified under the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be so wide a difference between some parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather choose to think, that they deified their greatest and most powerful men, and that however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods of this class were their greatest warriors and most potent kings.

According to this we are told [s], That *by the vain-glory of men idols entered into the world* · · · That, *in process of time, an ungodly custom grown strong*, was kept as a *law*, *and graven images were worshipped by the commandment of kings*, *or* [as it is in the margin] *tyrants*. That *whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end that, by this their forwardness, they might flatter him that was absent, as*

[m] Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi sup. [n] See Vol. I. p. 163. [o] See Prideaux, ubi sup. [p] See before, p. 145, & seq. [q] See Vol. II. p. 255, & note (E). [r] Prideaux, ubi sup. [s] Wisd. of Solomon xiv. 14, 16, 17.

if he were present. This was moſt certainly the caſe with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being leſs than gods. The ſame author [t] aſſigns two other reaſons for this practice, which muſt ſtrongly cooperate with the former; firſt, "The grief of a parent for "his child untimely ſnatched away, whoſe image he may "have been tempted to honour as God when dead, and to "deliver to thoſe beneath, or in ſubjection to him, ceremo-"nies and ſacrifices of duty and commemoration;" and ſecondly, "The ſkill of the workman, who by his art, "might contribute greatly to the deception of the ignorant; "for that, ambitious to flatter ſome great man, he may "have exerted all in his power to repreſent him beyond what "he truly was, and ſo, by the beauty of his work, capti-"vate and delude the unwary multitude, who took him now "for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; "and that thus men, ſubject either to calamity or tyranny, "did aſcribe unto ſtones and ſtocks the incommunicable name of God."

SUCH were the cauſes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to conſent to it, and the exquiſite ſkill of the workman to allure to it. That the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the firſt of theſe, muſt appear by the hiſtories of their ſeveral kings, who ſeem, at leaſt, to have been as abſolute tyrants as were ever ſuffered to live; and that they did give into this error is plain, both by ſacred authors and prophane writers; theſe laſt, for the moſt part, aſſerting, That the *Aſſyrians* were the people that firſt ſhewed the example of it to others; though that this was falſe, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the *Syrians*, who before them deified their great kings [u].

Pul *meant by* Belus.

HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that *Ninus* was the firſt that ſet up images to be worſhipped, and particularly one to his father *Belus* [w], and granted privileges and pardons to thoſe who reſorted to it. Who this *Ninus* ſhould have been but *Tiglath-pileſer*, the ſon of *Pul*, or *Belus*, in ſcripture, we know not, and therefore we muſt conclude, that *Pul*, and none other, was the firſt that was worſhipped in theſe parts as a god [x], and that conſequently he, who was the undoubted founder of the empires both of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babyloni-*

[t] Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.
[u] See Vol. II. p. 255.
[w] AMBR. in Epiſt. ad Roman. c. 1.
[x] See before p. 186, (W).

ans, *Phœnicians* and others, where the descendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple

THIS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors, both at *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described so famous in all ages since; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another, and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here [y]; nor was any body suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught, that he was wont to come and repose himself [z]; so that, according to this, they must have held him to have been the supreme over all, the living and self-subsisting, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter*, [*Belus*] all of gold, with a table before him of the same metal; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him; insomuch that the whole work was valued at 800 talents of gold [a]. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for, we think, we read of another all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height [b]; but whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true god.

HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who, we think, cannot possibly be any other than the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, by being thus placed in subordination, as should seem, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him; for by this they must, to all appearance, have

[y] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 180. [z] Idem ibid. c. 182. [a] Idem ibid. c. 183. [b] Idem ibid.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, must have taught of this invisible God, and attributed to him what the *Egyptians* did to their god *Cneph* (65).

(65) *See Vol. I. p.* 445.

implied

implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that as he was Lord above, the other was lord below; that as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at leaſt delegated god on earth, and inveſted with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the inviſible ruler of all things. Thus the thing ſeems to have been by this account of the temple at *Babylon* (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their ſuperſtitious perſuaſions, and agreeable to what we may ſafely conceive concerning this their firſt warrior, we know not how to think otherwiſe; and wonder not at what has been ſince exaggerated, concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great *Belus*.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it alſo two altars; they ſtood without, one of gold of a moderate ſize, and the other much larger; upon the golden altar none but ſucking victims might be ſacrificed [c], and on the great one none that were not full-grown [d]; concerning which we leave the reader to make his own conjectures, only obſerving, that as it was evidently two diſtinct gods they ſacrificed to, the golden altar ſeems to have been devoted to the ſupreme God, and the other to his ſubordinate *Jupiter*; for by the ſucking victims they ſeem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nouriſher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he deſigned them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures ſacrificed to him. But as here

The two altars, and the different ſacrifices upon them.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid.

(P) It may be diſputed, whether or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the ſun, rather than God himſelf. We are told, they never repreſented the ſun, or, at leaſt, that the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from theſe people, concluding it ridiculous to repreſent what was ſo glorioufly conſpicuous (67), and we have ſuppoſed, that they ſometimes paid adoration to the ſun and moon immediately (68); but it does not ſeem likely, that theſe *Babylonians* ſhould ever give it out, that the ſun himſelf was wont to come and repoſe himſelf upon the top of this tower, as we have ſeen; they never could have perſuaded the people to that abſurdity; ſo that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they muſt have deſigned it for the intelligence of the ſun, and that may with them have amounted pretty much to the ſame thing.

(66) *See Vol. II.* p. 258. (67) *Ibid.* (68) *Ibid. p.* 314. *&. ſeq.*

they

they plainly ſacrificed to them in diſtinction of each, they at other times ſeem to have ſacrificed to them in common; for the prieſts reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus [e]; this may ſeem to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgment from *Belus* to the God above him, might be inſiſted on, ſo far as it is poſſible to be certain in things of ſuch an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture.

Such was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and ſuch his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventer of the ſideroal ſcience, or of aſtrology, as ſome would have it, muſt not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Semiramis*, as we have partly ſeen already [g], and as we ſhall ſee farther in a more proper place. Nor muſt this ſame *Belus*, or *Baal*, be confounded with the others we read of in ſcripture, before the riſe of the *Aſſyrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites* [h], the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites* [i]; the title ſignifies lord with all theſe people, who, and particularly all ſuch as are ſaid to have *paſſed their ſeed through fire*, meant thereby the ſun, whoſe heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be ſacred; which muſt have been one of the firſt doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldæa* (Q), who, as we have ſaid, firſt broached this error, and communicated the ſame, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country, on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, for the idolatries of the land [k], and, to avoid them, came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the ſentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for *Melchiſedec* was then alive in *Canaan*, and ſtiled the prieſt of the moſt high God [l], and the people there were, for the moſt part, in a ſtate of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about muſt alſo have been [m]; nay, in theſe days we do not find, that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. [g] See before p, 174. note (I). [h] See Vol II. p. 82. [i] Ibid. p. 99. [k] Ibid. p. 356. & Vol. I. p. 291. not. (Y). [l] See Vol. II. p. 168. [m] See the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c. in Vol. II. Chap. 4.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worſhipped fire, was derived from the *Sabians*, as we ſhall obſerve a little farther on in this ſection.

with

with idolatry; so that whatever the *Greeks* may pretend of the *Egyptians*, that they brought idols and false gods into fashion [n], the contrary appears by the book of *Genesis*, which sufficiently informs us, that while the country on the other side of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were as yet strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that all we have said concerning the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, is only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees*; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have so fully exhibited in the histories of those several nations.

BUT upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Assyrians*, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the *Babylonians* before the city itself was built; for as much is granted by all authors, who suppose *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Assyrian* greatness, and therefore deified; but who this *Belus* was we may read in scripture [o], and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by *Ptolemy*'s canon, and therefore we are not to look so far back as *Nimrod*, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* understood either the sun, or their founder *Pul*; but whether or no they transslated him into the sun, or whether they kept their planet-worship and their heroe-worship, so distinct as never to confound them with each other, may be past our solution, and a point which might draw us into a needless length.

THE deity next in order to this seems to have been the *Venus* of latter days in the west, and that she was no other than the goddess *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, may be gathered most evidently from what is to follow. *Succoth Benoth* is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians* [p], though it was apparently rather the shrine, or shrines of an idol belonging to some deity we have since transslated into the lascivious goddess *Venus*, for the import of the word is, *the tabernacles of* Benoth, or, *the tabernacles of the daughters* [q], though there are those who render them, *a tabernacle of wings* [r], and suppose the idol itself to have been represented as a hen brooding Succoth Benoth, *the* Assyrian Venus.

[n] See Vol. I. p. 443.
[o] See before p. 186, not. (W)
[p] 2 Kings xvii. 30.
[q] Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7.
[r] KIMCHI & JARCHI, apud eund. ibid.

over her chickens, and that ſhe was deſigned in honour of the conſtellation, called vulgarly, *the hen and chickens*, but more learnedly the *Pleiades*; but this a dream ſeemingly. It is more likely, that theſe tabernacles of the daughters were for *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* called [r] *Mylitta*, ſignifying *Genetrix*, or *Mother*, or *Urania*, as the *Greeks* will have it, and to this goddeſs, the daughters of the country, or the women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a ſacrifice of their modeſty and virtue, a practice which will be found among the cuſtoms of this people. And hence it is, that a very learned author [t] gathers her not only to have been our *Venus*, but hence it is alſo, that he derives the very name itſelf from *Benoth*, by changing the *B* for a *V*, and the *Theta* for a *Sigma*, whence you will have *Venos* (R). This ſeems partly confirmed by an author, who ſeems to call her *Binos* [u]; but particularly by what we are told of a city in *Africa*, called *Sicca Venerea* [w], a name which ſeems to have been tranſported from *Phœnice*, and evidently formed from this *Siccoth*, or *Succoth*, *Benoth*; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchaſe their marriage-money by the proſtitution of their bodies [x]. Her temples ſeem to have been fixed at this place, and at *Aphaca* [y], and at *Babylon* [z], and may likewiſe have been erected at other places; but for the convenience of ſuch as had not ſuch a building dedicated among them, the prieſts ſeem to have taken them into their conſideration, and to have carried ſmall tabernacles, or models of the ſeveral temples, upon their ſhoulders, for the public emolument and their own gain for their labour.

The derivation of the name of Venus.

Both maſculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddeſs, for ſhe is underſtood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed ſecond to *Belus*, is generally underſtood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are ſure he lived in; but this is upon a ſuppoſition, that the prophane hiſtorians, poets, and mythologiſts are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from

[r] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 131. [t] SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. [u] SUIDAS, ad vocem. [w] VALER. MAXIM. l. 2. c. 6. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See Vol. II. p. 311. not. (N). [z] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 199.

(R) *Voſſius* (69) ſubſcribes to this. *Beyer*, in his additamenta to *Selden*, diſputes it, though with no great ſtrength of argument.

(69) *De Idololat.*

the

the words of *Æſchylus* [a], who calls *Phœnicia* the land of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, to which the ſcholiaſt ſubjoins, that ſo it was called, becauſe it was ſacred to her on the account of *Byblus* and *Libanus*, where ſtood her temple at *Aphac* [b]; but this may be no very great argument to prove it; for if the *Aſſyrians*, whence the *Phœnicians* had her, are not ſo very antient as pretended, this deity muſt be deprived of the veneration conceived for it on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the riſe of the *Aſſyrian*, or *Babylonian* empire, if it was a ſtar they meant by this *Venus*; for we have already obſerved, that the *Chaldees*, as they are called, worſhipped the ſtars by images before they conſecrated the *Aſſyrian Belus*, or perhaps any other mortal man; ſo that it may be worth the while juſt to enquire, whether or no this idol was really deſigned to repreſent ſome ſtar from among the hoſt of heaven, or ſome woman who may have been preferred to deification, for reaſons, in thoſe days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the caſe of *Baal*, both a planet and a perſon may have been intended, and reciprocally tranſlated into each other?

WE have ſeen, by ſome parallel circumſtances, that ſhe was, to all appearance, the ſame with the *Phœnician Aſtarte*, and we ſhall produce ſeveral others, to confirm the ſame, in the courſe of this ſubject. In the mean time, to begin with this *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddeſſes ſeem to be derived; She is called the celeſtial *Venus*, and ſaid to have been firſt of all worſhipped by the *Aſſyrians* [c], whereby, though our author, it is more likely, means the *Syrians*, properly ſo called, we ſhall plainly diſcover, that the former were the firſt authors of this worſhip, and tranſmitted it to the latter. This goddeſs was of both ſexes, and accordingly it was the cuſtom to worſhip her ſometimes in the habit of a man, and ſometimes in the habit of a woman [d], the men and women mutually changing dreſſes with each other [e], whence it is ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* forbids [f] *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment*. According to this, the worſhip of this planet, or idol, muſt have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worſhipping, is underſtood by *Maimonides* [g] who obſerves that in the book of magic, compoſed by one *Cuthi*, as he is

A rite in the worſhip of the Aſſyrian *or* Babylonian Venus.

[a] In Supplicib. [b] See Vol. II. p. 311, note, (N). [c] PAUSAN. in Attic. [d] Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 4. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. part III. c. 38. [f] Deuteron. xxii. 5. [g] In More Nevoch.

corruptly [h] called, it is written, that a man ſhould put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he ſtood before the ſtar called *Venus*, and that a woman ſhould put on the arms and armour of a man, when ſhe ſtood before the ſtar called *Mars* [i]; and hence the *Aſſyrian* prieſts are ſaid [k] to have been unfit to wait on the goddeſs *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and aſſumed all the ſoftneſs and dreſs of a woman. And hence a *Greek* author [l], who calls her the moon, ſays, that the men ſacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reaſon, becauſe ſhe was both maſculine and feminine; whereby it is plain, that it is this *Aſſyrian Venus* he means, though, being tranſlated into *Greece*, he may not exactly have meant the ſame. That this *Uranian* or celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians* was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank ſhe holds next to *Bel*, or the ſun; and that ſhe was ſo, will be immediately ſeen by what we certainly know of her, under other names; and that ſhe was of both ſexes, will appear as plain by the ſame evidence. For to bring her nearer to us, we ſhall find ſhe was the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs.

She is the ſame with the great Syrian *goddeſs.*

This *Syrian* goddeſs, as we have her deſcribed to us, and by her rites, was no other than the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*. She was called *Juno*, and the ſtatue of her was contrived ſo as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*, as if ſhe included them all, and that ſo ſhe did has been ſufficiently proved by very great men [m]. She was drawn, or ſupported, by lions, ſhe had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the ceſtus, or girdle of the celeſtial *Venus* [n], and as ſhe was contrived to be the ſource of all idolatry, in honour of the female ſex; ſo we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians* [o], who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddeſs of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this reſpect, ſeems to have ſucceeded the city of *Babylon*, whence ſhe had been chaſed by the *Perſians*. Her eunuch prieſts, who took on them the habit and offices of women [p], declare her to have been one and the ſame with the *Aſſyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, who, among others, are ſaid to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

[h] Vid. Selden, ubi ſup. [i] Maimonid. ubi ſup. [k] Jul. Firmic. c. 4. [l] Philochor. apud Macrob. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 8 [m] Vid. Lil. Gyrald. de Diis Gent Selden, de Diis Syr. Voss de Idololat. [n] See Vol. II. p. 258. [o] Ibid. p. 200. [p] Ibid.

If

IF then it appears, that this great *Syrian* goddeſs was no other than the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*, as evidently appear of the *Phœnician Aſtarte*. We have ſeen her the *Queen of heaven* [q], the *Moon*, *Lucifer*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Io* [r], and married to an *Aſſyrian* [s]. We have ſeen her the luſtful goddeſs [t], and the warlike deity [u], and accordingly adreſſed to under both ſexes; nor need we cite the monſtrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac* [w], or the impudent and mercenary proſtitution of the women at *Byblus* [x], to prove, that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for as to the proſtitution of the women in particular, it muſt be confeſſed to owe its origin to an infamous cuſtom, among the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to be mentioned hereafter.

She is the same with the Aſtarte *of the* Phœnicians.

NOR ſhall we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Derceto* [y] of the proper *Paleſtine* in general, or of *Aſcalon* in particular, was any other than the *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian Venus*. For although ſhe is made diſtinct from the great *Venus*, and is ſaid to have undergone her diſpleaſure, and in conſequence of that to have ſuffered a metamorphoſis into a fiſh [z]; the worſhip that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddeſs at *Hierapolis*, declares her to have been the ſame; and this is not conjecture only, for *Atargatis* is ſaid to have been worſhipped at *Hierapolis*, by a very judicious author [a], who, in ſo ſaying, moſt evidently confounds her with the *Syrian* goddeſs, and makes them one and the ſame. Nor is he ſingle in this, for others [b] do the ſame, and particularly one [c], who calls her the mother of the gods, and *Aſtarte*, and the *Hierapolitan*, or *Aſſyrian* goddeſs. In ſhort, *Atargatis* was alſo *Venus*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and the *Syrian* goddeſs [d], and conſequently the celeſtial *Venus* of the *Aſſyrians*. That ſhe muſt, at the ſame time, have been *Aſtarte*, we need not ſay; but that we may depend as little upon probability as we can, we have an author [e] who ſays, that the *Syrians* abſtained from fiſh, in regard to the rites of *Aſtarte*; ſo that we ſee her the ſame goddeſs tranſported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which ſhe is ſaid firſt to have plunged herſelf, to

She is the same with the Derceto *of* Aſcalon.

[q] Ibid. p. 309. [r] Ibid. p. 310, (L). [s] Ibid. p. 309, note (K). [t] Ibid. p. 316. [u] Ibid. p. 310, not. (M). [w] Ibid. p. 316. [x] Ibid. p. 315. [y] Ibid. p. 158. [z] Ibid.
[a] STRABO, l. 16. p. 748. [b] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 23.
[c] MACROB. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 23. [d] Vid. SELDEN, ubi ſup.
[e] ARTEMIDOR. apud eund. ibid.

eſcape the fury of the inexorable *Typhon* [f] (S); and but juſt varied ſo as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the *Syrians*, who ſeem to have received her firſt, and were neareſt to the place of her native abode, preſerved her, it is likely, in the moſt genuine form; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician*; and the *Philiſtines*, or *Aſcalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own alſo, turn her into a monſter, woman upwards and fiſh downwards [g], and rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in ſubordination to ſome other goddeſs, who had power over her to the degree of chaſtiſing her by a change from her firſt ſhape [h].

It appears then, that all this adoration to this various goddeſs came from *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, and that it was eſtabliſhed in theſe countries by the prevailing might of thoſe two potent empires, who ſucceſſively ſubjugated all theſe parts; and while they flouriſhed, it is likely, they maintained a ſtrict uniformity of worſhip and tradition among them; but theſe empires being aboliſhed by the *Perſians*, who had an averſion to all this *Sabianiſm*, each of them forgetful of the ſource whence they derived their ſuperſtitions, claimed them as peculiar to themſelves, and new modelled them accordingly.

Is worſhipped as Semiramis.

And now it may not be amiſs to inquire, how far the tradition of *Semiramis* quadrates with what we are told of this goddeſs; as alſo, whether or no we cannot from thence make it out, that ſhe, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other ſubject, may have been adored as the celeſtial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddeſs. Her preſence in the temple at *Hierapolis* [i] is as ſtrong an argument as any, that the ſuperſtition there migrated from *Babylon*; and her inferior degree [k] there, will argue nothing againſt her original ſuperiority, if it be remembred, that this temple was rebuilt by *Stratonice* [l] the wife of *Antiochus Soter*, who may have had ſome pique to the memory of *Semiramis*, whom ſhe may have remembred with envy, and therefore reſolved to degrade her; if it may not rather be attributed to the ſenſeleſs caprice, or ſome ſtrange

[f] Manil. Aſtronom. iv. notes, ibid.

[g] See before, p. 158. and in the

[h] See before, ibid.

[i] See Vol. II. p. 258.

[k] Ibid. p. 260.

[l] See Vol. II. p. 310, note (M).

(S) We ſee here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian*; but we may perceive by ſome parallel circumſtances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

inconſiſtence

inconſiſtence with relation to this *Aſſyrian* heroine, whom they might ſome how or other, and in ſome caſes, make inferior to herſelf. Theſe are points not for us to dive into.

THUS much is certain, we ſhall in the tradition of *Semiramis* find ſo many circumſtances to make us believe ſhe was worſhipped as the ſupreme goddeſs of the *Babylonians*, that few will heſitate, perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have ſeen her born of a goddeſs at *Aſcalon*[m], who, for the ſhame of conceiving her, plunged herſelf into a lake, and became a fiſh [n]; and hence fiſh are ſaid to have been worſhipped, though indeed not ſo much upon her own account, as ſhould ſeem, as on account of her mother *Derceto*, or *Atargatis*, who underwent this transformation. We have ſeen her miraculouſly fed by doves or pigeons in a deſert [o], and hence that bird became ſacred; hence it ſhould ſeem, and from other fabulous circumſtances it is, that you have the *dove from the land of Aſſyria* [p]. We have ſeen it predicted, that ſhe ſhould not die, but vaniſh from the ſight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Aſiatic* nations [q]. We have ſeen it was pretended, that ſhe made her exit in the form of a dove, and that ſhe went off attended by a flight of them [r]; and hence another reaſon is given why the dove became ſacred. We have ſeen her the abandoned proſtitute [s], and the martial heroine [t]; and hence ſhe may have been the celeſtial *Venus* adored under both ſexes, and the *Phœnician Aſtarte*, now painted in arms [u], and now repreſented as the patroneſs of lewdneſs and effeminacy [w]. In ſhort, we have ſeen her the firſt that made eunuchs [x]; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch prieſts, or *Galli*, who attended upon the *Syrian* goddeſs [y]; which was certainly more the caſe than what is pretended in the idle ſtory of *Combabus* and *Stratonice* [z], who, being wife to one of the *Seleucidæ*, lived ſome hundreds of years after *Semiramis*, and who, as we have ſuggeſted above, may have affected to raiſe herſelf upon the depreſſion of this great *Babylonian* queen, who is ſaid even to have firſt built the temple at *Hierapolis* [a], which though it is certainly falſe, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that ſhe was meant by the celeſtial *Venus*, or the *Syrian* goddeſs, and that ſo ſhe was muſt appear ſtill further, by her be-

[m] See before, p. 158. [n] Ibid. [o] See before, p. 158, 159. [p] See before in the notes, p. 159. [q] See before, p. 169. [r] See before, p. 174. [s] See before, p. 168. [t] See before, p. 162. [u] See Vol. II. p. 315, 316. [w] Ibid. [x] See before, p. 174, at the end of note (H). [y] See Vol. II. p. 260. [z] Ibid. [a] Vid. Voss. de idololatr. l. 2. p. 303.

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ing directly called *Rhea* [b], *Nemesis* [c], and the like, if there could be any necessity further to inculcate this opinion, after such variety of corroborating evidence.

Upon the whole, we think it self-evident to conclude, that the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, the *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto*, or *Atargatis* of the latter *Philistines* were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever else her true name was, the first *Babylonian* foundress; who seems to have been translated into the bright and various *Queen of Heaven*, the moon; as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* monarch, was into the sun; and that whatever the mythologists and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worship into an adoration of the universe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we may professedly treat of in the mythology of the *Greeks*, as we have partly already in the theology of the *Egyptians* [d]; yet nothing is more certain, than that all the *Jupiters* and *Juno*'s, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source, and that on this *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation the whole superstructure of the *Greek* polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the *Greeks* had their religion from the *Phœnicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious state of the countries on this and that side of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abraham*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonian*, as any body that will compare them together will at the first glance perceive. The *Phœnicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly seen, that they worshipped what the *Babylonians* worshipped, what had been imposed on them by the tyranny of that empire; in short, *Astarte*, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, was the celestial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was also as plain the *Egyptian* goddess *Isis* [e]. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of those two great and antient nations, who being in constant rivalship with each other,

[b] See before in the notes, p. 175. [c] Vid. Jos. Scalig. in animadvers. [d] See Vol I. p. 415, & seq. [e] Vol. II. p. 309, note (H)

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and emulous of surpassing each other, you thence have the seeming differences between them in religious matters, the *Egyptians* particularly contending the honour of antiquity * and sanctity with the *Babylonians*, though by the *Mosaic* history they must yield to these last; nor is there any discrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is there any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity between all the nations on both sides of the *Euphrates*, as to the fundamentals of their religion; and consequently, if we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry: But for want of this certain stand to take the survey from; for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, but especially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of prophane writers to the tenor of scripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the first great *Assyrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and translated; our mythologists have rambled backwards to *Noah*, and *Nimrod*, and the whole tribe of the postdiluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed more particularly for mortal men, who lived many and many ages after them; whereby they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more so, and, what is worse, have cast an impenetrable mist upon the first days of prophane history, which most certainly is fabulous, and quite so, if we make a very few exceptions, till about the first rise of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Josiah* king of *Judah*. For not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, as should seem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived in about the middle of the *Persian* empire; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once mere men, and no more, the priests and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this than *Sanchoniatho*'s *Phœnician* history [f], it would be abundantly sufficient to justify us in what we say; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Josephus*, who, in those days boasted of the antiquity of their

* See Vol. I. p. 187, & seq. [f] Ibid p. 174.

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great god *Adad*, who was one of their deified kings [g], who, at moſt did not live above 901 years before Chriſt [h]; it might be deemed enough, for our purpoſe. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the moſt learned, who, inattentive to the hiſtory of the antient empire of *Syria*, ſuppoſe this *Adad* to have been an *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* deity [i], and only, as ſhould ſeem, becauſe he is in prophane authors called an *Aſſyrian*, forgetting, that the name of *Aſſyria* extended itſelf over all *Syria* and the adjacent parts [k]. He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been tranſlated into the heavens by the antient *Syrians*, and, as ſhould ſeem, revived again after the deſtruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whoſe new gods muſt have brought him into diſcredit [l], not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, but alſo as being a ſtranger to the people tranſplanted into theſe parts [m], in the room of the firſt inhabitants, by the ſucceſſors of *Pul*; though ſome how or other received again into veneration, as we have obſerved before [n]. However, *Adad* was alſo the ſun as well as *Bel*, or *Baal*, *Oſiris* and others. And this is what we have thought neceſſary to premiſe preparatorily to what we ſhall hereafter have to ſay of the *Greek* mythology, and which we have on purpoſe deferred, till we came to this place, as the moſt proper for a reſearch of this nature.

Adad not properly a Babylonian deity.

Fiſhes and doves worſhipped, and whence.

To return to our celeſtial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddeſs, or *Aſtarte*, or *Dercето*, or *Semiramis*, we find, that fiſhes [o] and doves [p] were peculiarly ſacred to her; and whence this ſuperſtition took birth we have partly ſeen in the metamorphoſis of *Dercето* [q], and the birth, education, and apotheoſis of *Semiramis* [r], and we have ſeen, that both at *Aſcalon* [s] and *Hierapolis* [t] they were equally revered; ſo that they may well deſerve to be conſidered as deities with this people, and are ſeemingly ſo allied to this great and multiplied goddeſs, that though we have ſome other deities of this nation, who may deſerve to take place of them, we have not been able to ſeparate them from their great miſtreſs. As for fiſhes in particu-

[g] See Vol. II. p. 285 (X), & p. 310 (K). [h] Ibid. p. 275 in the margin. [i] Vid. Lyl. Gyrald. Hiſt Deor. Selden, de Diis. Syris. Vossius, de Idololatr. [k] See before, p. 123, (B. [l] See Vol. II. p. 255. & ſeq. [m] See before, p. 191, note (D). [n] See before in the notes, p. 234, (M). [o] See before, p. 133. [p] See before, ibid. [q] See before, p. 158. [r] See before, p. 174. [s] See before, p 158. [t] See Vol. II. p. 257, & ſeq.

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lar, they are ſaid to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Aſſyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphoſis above [u], but alſo becauſe they were ſaid to have ſaved one *Derce*, [*Derceto*] a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the ſea [w], or becauſe ſhe took refuge among the fiſh when ſhe fled from *Typhon* [x]. It is ſaid, that *Venus* and *Cupid* being in *Syria* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, the giant *Typhon* came ſuddenly upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fiſhes to ſave themſelves [y]; in ſhort, *Venus* and *Cupid* are ſaid to have been tranſlated into the zodiacal ſign called *Piſces* [z]; ſuch were the reaſons given why they not only abſtained from fiſh, but worſhipped them likewiſe. As for doves, they ſeem to have been worſhipped as ſymbols only of luſt and fondneſs, which made up part of their goddeſs's character (T); but of theſe we have ſaid enough in this place [a].

Salambo, as ſhe is called [b], was alſo a goddeſs of the *Aſſyrians* or *Babylonians*, and is plainly *Aſtarte*, or any other of the goddeſſes whom we have ſhewn to have been the ſame with her; but we particularly mention *Aſtarte*, becauſe this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is ſaid to have been a demon, or goddeſs, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her loſt *Adonis* [c], ſo that we need add nothing farther concerning her. Salambo.

Shach, *Saca*, or *Seſhach*, is another god, or goddeſs, of the *Babylonians*, as uſually reckoned [d], and ſuppoſed to have been the earth, and to have been the ſame the *Romans* after- Sheſhach.

[u] See before, p. 158. [w] THEON. apud GYRALD. Hiſt. Deor. Syntagm. 1. p. 85 [x] MANIL. ubi ſup. [y] DIOGENET. apud HYGIN. in Aſtronom. [z] Vid. Voss. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254. [a] See before, p. 133, 159, note (P), & p. 174, note (I).
[b] HESYCH. apud SELDEN, & Alios, Etymol. Magn. ad vocem.
[c] Etymol. Magn. ibid. [d] Vid. VOSS. SELDEN, &c.

(T) This goddeſs is ſaid to have been produced from a vaſt egg, which being rolled out of the water by the fiſh of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove who ſat thereon (70). This muſt be the primigenial egg, mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and according to this, our great goddeſs muſt have been the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon ſo ſtrange an inconſiſtency, as this ſeems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Aſſyrian* goddeſs into the ſame with *Oannes*, may be a fruitleſs taſk.

(70) Nigid. *apud* Voſſ. *de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254.* (71) *See Vol. I. p. 184.* (72) *Ibid.*

wards worſhipped under the names of *Tellus* and *Ops* [e], and if ſo, ſhe was partly the ſame with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddeſs, whom we have already ſeen unuer the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods [f], in whom all theſe titles and imaginary deities are ſaid plainly to have centered. However, there is ſome doubt, whether or no ſhe may not be more properly a *Perſian* goddeſs than a *Babylonian*; though that ſhe was the latter, may appear to ſatisfaction from the prophet [h]; who calls *Babylon* the land of *Sheſhach*, before the *Perſians* aroſe to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when *Babylon*, to all appearance, had diſdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddeſs, the *Babylonians* were wont to celebrate a feſtival for ſeveral days together, which we ſhall take notice of among the cuſtoms of this people, and which confeſſedly gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

Nebo. *Nebo*, or *Nabo*, was alſo an *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* deity [i], and his name is often compounded in thoſe of the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* kings [k]: he therefore may be concluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have been one of their moſt antient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemoſh*, or the *Baal-peor*, of the *Moabites*, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in the religion of *Moab* [l], and ſaid almoſt as much of him as we know. However, we have to add, that by the prophet he is joined with *Bel* [m], and ſuppoſed generally to have been the ſun; and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we have aſſerted to have been the deified *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* [n], who may, by the viciſſitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are of another mind, and conceive, that by their being joined together, we are rather to underſtand him to have been deſigned for the moon [o], *Bel* being, for certain, known to have ſtood for the ſun, concluding it to be a ſenſeleſs tautology to mention the ſame deity, at the ſame time under different names; ſo that, inſtead of ſuppoſing him to have been one with *Bel*, we are rather to conclude him to have been the ſame with *Mylitta* the great goddeſs; but this may appear a weak argument to thoſe who perceive how apt theſe people, and all that followed them, were to multiply

[e] WELLER upon Dan. i 16. [f] See before p. 284, & ſeq. [g] Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. [h] Jerem. xxv. 26. to 41. [i] Iſai. xlvi. 1. [k] See before, p. 143. [l] See Vol. II. p. 84. [m] Iſai. ubi ſup. [n] See before, p. 186, note (W). [o] Vid. Voss. de Idololat.

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one and the ſame god into many; and eſpecially if it be recollected, by what ſteps ſabianiſm or idolatry advanced among theſe apparently firſt founders of it, and how, by degrees, it began from the hoſt of heaven till it degenerated, if we may uſe the expreſſion, into the adoration of men; till a full ſtop ſeems to have been put to this practice, in honour of the great *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* family, who muſt, for very ſtrong reaſons ſuggeſted formerly [p], have eclipſed all that went before them; ſo that nothing need prevent our ſuppoſing *Nebo* to have been worſhipped as the ſun before the riſe of *Pul*, to whom he may, according to the fantaſtic theology of this people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This *Nebo* ſeems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as ſignifying prophecy or divination [q]; but all this, and whatever elſe may be advanced concerning him, is too palpably obſcure for us to dilate on; all we know for certain, is that he was ſome god of the *Babylonians*.

HOWEVER, if true it be that he was the ſame with *Chemoſh*, or *Baal-peor*, or *Phegor*, and if what is ſaid of the obſcene rites of this god [r] be juſt, we have a ſeeming reaſon to aſſert, that the famous, or, as the common tradition goes, infamous *Sardanapalus* took the place of this ſhameleſs idol, in the latter days of the *Aſſyrian* family; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god, when they deſtroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and extirpated the kings there. For that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the ſame temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy City* [s]. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude [t], but whether or no this attitude was the ſame we have formerly mentioned [u], it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him [w], and as it is likely, that all the kings of *Aſſyria* to a man were deified after their death, he may very well have ſerved for a god of beaſtlineſs and ſenſuality. And this is plainly underſtood by the common way of ſpelling his name, for the moſt part in antient manuſcripts, which write him *Sardanapallus* with a double L [x], and ſeemingly with an obſcene intention, for *Phallus*, or *Pallus*, ſignifies the privities of a man; and hence *Cicero* pronounces [y], he was not more odious for his character than this name; and the *Priap* which ſtood near him [z], in Sardanapalus.

[p] See before in the preceding chapter, *paſſim*. [q] HIERONYM. in Eſai. in loc. ſupr. citat [r] See Vol. II p. 82. [s] Ibid. p. 259. [t] Ibid. [u] See before, p. 179, note (O). [w] See before p. 178, 179. [x] Vid. Jos. SCALIG. Animadverſ. ad Graec. EUSEB. p. 64. [y] De Repub. l. iii. [z] See Vol. II. p 257.

the temple of *Hierapolis*, may have been intended for him; for as there were confeſſedly two ſtatues of *Semiramis* in this temple [a], the ſame may have been with regard to *Sardanapallus*, as we will for this once write him.

Rach. Other gods the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* had, as *Rach* [b], who is generally thought to have been intended for the ſun, and therefore we may claſs him under the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, who, as we have ſeen, was ſubſtituted for the ſame. But a diſpute may take place, whether or no he was a deified man or ſome intelligence, as for example, that of the ſun; and if this latter be the caſe, he muſt be removed higher up, as he muſt have been much more antient than *Belus*. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular beſides related of him.

Nego, *and* Nergal. *Nego* [c] and *Nergal* [d] were alſo gods of this people, if they were not one and the ſame; but as they are generally agreed to have been worſhipped as fire, we forbear further mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*.

Merodach *Merodach* [e] alſo was a god at *Babylon*; but who or what he was, is quite in the dark to us.

In a word, we may call in the gods of the ſeveral nations, whoſe hiſtories precede in this work, to complete the liſt of the *Babylonian* idols; for they are confeſſedly ſprung from the city of *Babylon*; and hence it is, that *Maimonides*, in ſpeaking of the death of *Thammuz*, who was ſlain a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the ſun at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz* [f]; ſo that we ſhall not here need to repeat what we have ſpoken ſo largely to already.

Thus we have ſeen, that the great *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddeſſes of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and that inſtead of being ſo antient as mythologiſts and hiſtorians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Chriſt among the *Aſſyrians*, who firſt erected themſelves into what we call a monarchy; as is by all confeſſed, though falſely, for the moſt part, related.

Fire worſhip. The *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here conſider them in that light, did we not reſerve that ſubject for the ſection where we ſhall ſpeak of the *Magian* religion, in the hiſtory of the *Perſians*.

[a] Ibid. p. 258. [b] Vid. Wilkes ubi ſup. Selden. de Diis Syr. Syntagm. II c. 17. [c] Vid. Eoſd. ibid. [d] See before, p. 132. [e] Ibid. p. 143. [f] See Vol. II. p. 318.

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THE ſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon* [g] might here claim to be conſidered, were we not aſſured that the whole is ſpurious. We have therefore only to add, that by the *Dragon* here we ſhould underſtand a *Serpent*, or *Aſp* [h], which the *Babylonians* uſed as the ſymbol of God, for which they had ſeveral reaſons to give, as that this creature without the aſſiſtance of limbs, and by a kind of vertue or power latent within himſelf, could not only move [i] at a conſiderable rate, but alſo wind and turn himſelf into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed his life with his coat every year; and that the acuteneſs of his ſight might aptly enough qualifie him to repreſent divine providence, or God [k]. Other reaſons were given for this ſerpent-worſhip both by the *Babylonians* and the *Egyptians*, but we wave them, and ſhall only obſerve, that theſe ſame people revered the ſame reptile as the ſymbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting alſo, that they made him the emblem of fraud [l].

As the *Babylonians* were hardly at all different in religion from the *Egyptians*, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fiſhes [m], ſo in other points of worſhip they were the ſame with each other. The goat they worſhipped as well as the *Mendeſians* [n] in *Egypt*, and for the ſame reaſons; and the onion, as mean an object as it may ſeem, was conſidered with a religious eſteem by both the nations [o], and for a reaſon, it is moſt likely, we have already given [p]. *Worſhip a goat.*

THEIR god *Thurras*, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have ſpoken to already [q]; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, beſides what we have obſerved here, and ſhall relate hereafter, to what we have ſaid of the kind in the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians* and *Aſſyrians*.

WE have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their prieſts, in the epiſtle of *Jeremy* [r]. Their idols were of gold, and ſilver, and wood, and carried about in proceſſion, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and worſhipping them. They were crowned, and cloathed in purple, and beſmeared with the ſmoke of incenſe, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of ſmoke and duſt, *Their temples, idols, & prieſts.*

[g] In the Apocrypha. [h] See Vol. I p. 457. [i] Ibid. [k] Vid. Voss de Idololatr. l. 9. p 233. [l] Vid. eund. ibid. [m] See Vol I. p. 446. [n] Ibid. p. 453. [o] ALEXAND. ab ALEXAND. l. 6. [p] See Vol. I. p. 460. [q] See before, p. 175, note (K). [r] BARUCH vi. *paſſim*.

raiſed

raiſed and cauſed by the numerous reſort of votaries; and their prieſts took care of themſelves. They would ſometimes make free with the gold and ſilver preſented to their gods, and either keep it for themſelves, or beſtow it upon lewd proſtitutes, who were accounted ſacred. Whatever was offered a ſacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themſelves, and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they were ſure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to ſit in the temples with their beards and their heads cloſe ſhaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods, as for the lamentation of ſome perſon deceaſed; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the ſpoiler, they were ſure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and ſuch their practice, which muſt have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the ſequel. In the mean time,

Human victims.

The *Babylonians* having given riſe to all the idolatries and ſuperſtitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we muſt charge them with the horrible cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims to appeaſe or conciliate their god or gods. That this muſt have been an antient cuſtom with all theſe people, we have ſometimes as good as aſſerted, in what we have ſaid of them in their religious capacity; and that it took birth among the *Babylonians*, muſt be as readily granted, as that they communicated the reſt of their ſuperſtitions to all their neighbours about. That this was a practice, in early days, in *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, may appear by the attempt *Abraham* made to ſacrifice *Iſaac* [r], for he came from thoſe parts; and though he is abundantly to be juſtified in that attempt, it is ſeemingly plain that the thing was familiar to him; But if we had no other proof of it than in *Jephthah*, who, as the ſtory is commonly taken, actually made a victim of his only daughter [s], that would be ſufficient to charge the deed upon the nations of thoſe early times. This cuſtom, however, grew ſo ſhocking to human nature, that the prieſts ſeem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be diſuſed, and ſeems, in the latter days, at leaſt, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular ſect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are ſaid by way of diſtinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have *burnt their*

[r] See Vol. II. p. 375. [s] See Vol. III. p. 468.

children

children in fire to Adrammelech *and* Anammelech, *the gods of* Sepharvaim [u]. Who these two gods were, we have seen already[w], and that these *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly so called, appears very plainly, if we can, with the most learned geographers, agree, that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. However, there are traces of this antient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Assyrian* goddess, at *Hierapolis*, to whom they without remorse made away with their children, by precipitating them down a steep at her temple [x]; which is all we need say about it.

To enter into the allegory of all this worship and deification, is what we have above professed to avoid; for the present, and indeed for the future, we shall have no great matter to add to the subject, which we have in general treated already. In the history of the *Egyptians* [y] we have already declared almost as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a physical or natural view; nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only observe, that if the *Babylonians*, and others after them, made gods of the sun, the moon, or any other luminary; that if they extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element or created being of any sort or degree, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude at first for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into

[u] 2 Kings xvii. 31. [w] See before, p. 132, & Vol. I. p. 99. [x] See Vol. II. p. 262. [y] See Vol. I. p. 443, & seq.

(V) Sir *John Maundeville* (73) has so judiciously summed up the history and progress of idolatry, that, for the curiosity of it, we cannot, though somewhat long, but present it to the reader, in his own words: speaking of a people in *India*, he says, "Summe "of hem worschipe the sonne, summe the mone, summe the "fuyr, summe trees, summe serpentes, or the first thing that thei "meten at morwen; and summe worschipen symulacres, and "summe ydoles. But betwene symulacres and ydoles is a gret "difference. For symulacres ben ymages made aftre lykness of "men, or of wommen, or of the sonne, or of the mone, or of "ony best, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles is an ymage made "of the lewed wille of man, that a man may not finden among "kyndely things; as an ymage, that hathe four hedes, on of a

(73) *Voyage and Travels*, c. 15. p. 198.

that

into every thing that was bad and ſtupid; and this ſhall ſuffice for the preſent to have ſaid concerning idolatry, and leſs than this

" man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of ſum other beſt,
" that no man hathe ſeyn aftre kyndely diſpoſicioun. And thei
" that worſchipen ſymulacres, thei worſchipen hem for ſum worthi
" man, that was ſum tyme, as *Hercules* and many othere, that diden
" many marvayles in here tyme. For thei ſeyn wel, that this be not
" goddes: for thei knowen wel, that there is a god of kynde, that
" made all thinges; the whiche is in hevene. But thei knowen wel,
" that this may not do the marvayles that he made, but zif it had
" ben be the ſpecyalle zifte of God: and therfore thei ſeyn that he
" was wel with God. And for be cauſe that he was ſo wel with
" God, therfore thei worſchipe him. And ſo ſeyn thei of the ſonne;
" be cauſe that he chaungethe the tyme, and zevethe hete and no-
" riſſchethe alle thinges upon erthe; and for it is of ſo gret profite,
" thei knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God lovethe
" it more than ony other thing. And for that skylle, God hath
" zeven it more gret vertue in the world: therefore it is gode re-
" ſoun, as thei ſeyn, to don it worſchipe and reverence. And ſo
" ſeyn thei, that maken here reſounes, of othere planetes; and of
" the fuyr alſo, be cauſe it is ſo profitable. And of ydoles, thei
" ſeyn alſo, that the ox is the moſt holy beſt, that is in erthe, and
" moſt pac. ent and more profitable than ony other. For he dothe
" good ynow, and he dothe not evylle. And thei knowen wel,
" that it may not be with outen ſpecyalle grace of God: and ther-
" efore maken thei here god of an ox, the on part, and the other
" halfondelle of a man; be cauſe that man is the moſt noble crea-
" ture in erthe; and alſo for he hathe lordſchipe aboven alle beſtes;
" therfore make thei the halfendel of ydole, of a man upwardes,
" and the tother half of an ox dounwardes: And of ſerpentes, and
" of other beſtes, and dyverſe thinges, that thei worſchipen, that
" thei meten firſt at morwe. And thei worſchipen alſo ſpecially alle
" tho that thei han gode meetynge of; and whan thei ſpeden wel in
" here jorneye, aftre here meetynge; and namely ſuche as thei han
" preved and aſſayed be experience of long tyme. For thei ſeyn,
" that thilke gode meetynge ei may not come, but of the grace of
" God. And therfore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that
" thei han beleeve inne, for to beholden hem and worſchipen hem
" firſt at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious thinges. And
" there ben alſo ſumme criſtene men, that ſeyn, that ſumme beſtes
" han gode meetynge, that is to ſeyn, for to meete with hem firſt
" at morwe; and ſumme beſtes wykked meetynge: and that thei
" han preved ofte tyme, that the hare hath fulle evylle meetynge,
" and fwyn, and many othere beſtes. And the ſpharhauk, and
" other foules of raveyne, whan thei fleen aftre here praye, and
" take it before men of armes, it is a gode ſigne: and zif he fayle
" of takynge his praye, it is an evylle ſigne. And alſo to ſuche
" folk,

this we could not have ſaid in this place, where the whole ſeems to center, and where the whole, or at leaſt a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of uſe to us hereafter, in ſpeaking of theſe deities, or ſome borrowed from them in climes far remote from this.

Their cuſtoms.

IT may be now time to ſpeak of the cuſtoms of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*; and of theſe one of the chief ſeems to have been their method of diſpoſing of all their young women in marriage. No man ſeems to have had a right to diſpoſe of his own daughters, but as ſoon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were expoſed in ſome public place appointed for the purpoſe, where, in the midſt of a crowd of men who attended upon theſe occaſions, they were ſold one by one. The moſt beautiful of them were firſt put up, and delivered to the higheſt bidder, and ſo on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus diſpoſed of, the money that was raiſed by this ſale, was applied in behalf of ſome of them, to whom nature had not been ſo laviſh of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to ſuch as would take the leaſt money with them; and the poorer ſort, to whom the uſe of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had before been in vying for the fair ones. The conſequence of this was, that their young women were all diſpoſed of in marriage; the poorer ſort of the men only labouring under this particular reſtriction, that they ſhould give ſecurity to take the girls they had conſented to, before they were in proper poſſeſſion of the money they had agreed to take with them [z].

Sale of virgins.

Purifications.

WHEN a *Babylonian* had lain with his wife, they both ſat by hot perfumes, and took care to waſh themſelves about

[z] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 196. STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.

" folk, it is evylle meetynge of ravenes. In theiſe thinges, and " in ſuch othere, ther ben many folk, that beleeven, be cauſe it " happenethe ſo often tyme to falle, aftre here fantaſſyes. And " alſo there ben men ynow that han no beleeve in hem. And ſithe, " that criſtene men han ſuch beleeve, that ben informed and " taughte alle day, be holy doctryne where inne thei ſchold be- " leeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that the *Paynemes*, that han no " gode doctryne, but only of here nature, beleeven more largely, " for here ſympleneſſe (74)."

(74) *Ibid.*

twilight, accounting themſelves unclean till they had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing [a].

Proſtitution to Venus.

Every *Babylonian* woman was once in her life-time bound to proſtitute herſelf to ſtrange men, at the temple of *Venus*. A number of them ſat crowned with knots and garlands at the door of the temple, while ſome were continually going and others coming. They were ſo ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the ſame in ſuch manner, that the men had paſſage among them, and the convenience of getting at thoſe they beſt liked. The women having once ſat down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till ſome ſtranger had thrown money into her lap, or boſom, and taken her aſide; the man, as he threw the money to her, ſaying, *I implore the goddeſs* Mylitta *for thee*. The money, how little ſoever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted ſacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accoſted her in the form preſcribed, but ſhe was abſolutely to retire with him without delay; and having ſuffered his embraces, and performed the accuſtomed rites to the goddeſs, ſhe returned home; after which no temptation, though ever ſo great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Thoſe who were handſome were ſoon diſpatched, but thoſe who were not ſo happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; ſo that they ſometimes waſted two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Thoſe who were rich, and ſcorned to ſit with the meaner ſort, were conveyed thither in ſome covered vehicle, and ſeated therein [b], while their ſervants waited their return at ſome diſtance.

Feſtival of Sacca.

For five days in one month of every year they celebrated a feſtival they called *Sacea*, or *Sacca*, during which the ſervants commanded their maſters, one of them being, for the

[a] Herodot. l. 1. c. 198. Strab. ibid. [b] Herodot. ibid. c. 199. Strabo, ibid.

(W) We have this cuſtom, with ſome additional circumſtances, in *Baruch*, (75); *The women*, ſays he, *alſo, with cords about them, ſitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by ſome that paſſeth by, lie with him, ſhe reproacheth her fellow that ſhe was not thought as worthy as herſelf, nor her cord broken*. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been ſuppoſed they were cords of ruſhes (76), which might be eaſily broken.

(75) *vi.* 43. (76) *See* Purch. *Pilgr. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *p.* 65.

time,

time, conſtituted chief over the houſe, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana* [c].

THEIR manner of treating their ſick was very extraordinary. Having no phyſicians among them, it was their cuſtom to expoſe them publicly in the moſt frequented places, that ſo every body might ſee them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the caſe, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that paſſed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians* [d]. *Manner of treating their ſick, and burials*

THE *Babylonians* were exceſſively credulous, ſuperſtitious to the utmoſt, and as lewd and as debauched as a nation well could be. Their credulity muſt appear by the eſteem their *Chaldæans*, prieſts, or juglers were in among them, and their ſuperſtition muſt appear by the ſame, and what we have ſaid of their religion; and ſo exceſſively were they prone to idolatry, that we even find an inſtance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worſhip him [e]. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were juſtified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet *Belſhazzar* was giving when he ſaw the fatal inſcription on the wall [f]. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their prieſts, as we have ſeen in the rites of their great goddeſs and others, together with the reverence paid to proſtitutes [g], completed them the moſt ſenſual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and huſbands would, for money, expoſe their wives and children to the embraces of their gueſts. Drunkards they are particularly ſaid to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon thoſe occaſions, firſt appeared modeſt and reſerved, till putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal whatever belonged to them [h]. Such is the character given of the *Babylonians*, and it ſeems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged ſuch monſtrous impudence in the women, and ſhameleſsneſs in the men; though it cannot be ſuppoſed, that in the beginning *The Babylonians; their character.*

[c] BEROS. apud ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. l. 14. p. 639. [d] HERODOT. ibid. c. 199. STRABO l. 16. ibid. [e] Dan. ii. 46. [f] Ibid. c. v. [g] See before, p. 262. [h] QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1.

of their empire they were quite so dissolute as here represented.

Their habit.

THEY seem to have indulged themselves in dress as well as in other respects, and to have affected some pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over [i] with oil of sesame [k]. They each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff or sceptre, adorned at the head with some particular enfign, or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lilly, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers [l]. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at *Persepolis*, as we may observe hereafter.

Learning of the Chaldees.

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were peculiarly called *Chaldæans*, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers, and the like. And in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are distinguished quite from the *Babylonians*, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the *Arabians* and the *Persian* gulf [m], just where we have placed them. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsippeni*, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places [n], where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons, who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Adena*, *Nalurian*, *Sudin*, and many others [o].

WE have already considered this tribe as set apart for devotion and superstitious concerns, when just now we spoke of the religion of this people; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of what they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

Had not their learning from the Egyptians.

WE have already seen how they pretended to have first come by their learning [p], and their strange fable concerning their first instructor *Oannes*, who, long before the deluge, came out of the sea, and formed them in the several branches of policy, religion and learning, and particularly explained to

[i] HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 195. [k] STRABO ubi sup. p. 745.
[l] HERODOT. STRAB. ibid. [m] STRABO Geogr. l. 16. p. 739.
[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] See Vol. I. p. 183.

them

them geometry and aſtrology; and have obſerved, that, as the tradition went, he was a monſter, partly man and partly fiſh, and, that by his coming out of the ſea he muſt have been ſome ſtranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in *Syriac* ſignifies a *Traveller*, or a *Foreigner* [q]; as alſo that by ſome circumſtances he muſt have been the ſame they meant by their *Mylitta*, or great *Venus* [r], and would now add, that by what is ſaid of his inventions and uſeful communications to men, he may have been conſidered as the *Egyptian Iſis*, or *Oſiris*, or both. However this may have been, the report of *Oannes*'s appearance in *Chaldæa* from out of the ſea, has given birth to an opinion, that *Oſiris* and *Oannes* were at leaſt contemporaries, and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, and that not much earlier than the days of *Ammon* and *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak*, whom our author [s] will have to have been the ſame with *Seſoſtris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of ſeveral antient authors, the one [t] writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune* and *Libya*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*, and that, ſettling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he inſtituted prieſts with the ſame privileges as in *Egypt*, and that theſe were called *Chaldæans*, and were to obſerve the ſtars after the manner of *Egypt*; another [u] declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the ſon of *Libya*. In a word, our author [w] concludes, that when *Sabbaco*, the *Ethiopian*, invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldæa*, and carried with them their aſtronomy, aſtrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preſerved in the æra of *Nabonaſſar*; and as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypotheſis, ſeems plauſible enough, but muſt be confeſſed to be quite deſtructive of what we read in ſcripture, by which the reverſe ſhould appear.

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and ſituations, have, certainly in all reſpects a very near reſemblance of each other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it ſelf-evidently appear. We have ſeen, that they *Arguments to prove it.*

[q] See Vol. I. p. 183, note, (A). [r] See before p. 257, T). [s] Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 210, 211, & ſeq. [t] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 1. p. 17. [u] PAUSAN. l. 4. c. 23. [w] Sir Is. NEWT. ubi ſup.

were

were conſtant rivals with each other for antiquity [x], in which the *Babylonians* muſt have had the preference, according to ſcripture, where we read, that they kept poſſeſſion of what we may call the original ſeat of mankind after the flood; and muſt have been therefore ſettled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in *Shinar*, a country which muſt have been a good deal improved before the diſperſion, when all the reſt went out in queſt of new ſeats. This hiſtorical circumſtance may be ſufficient to rank them the firſt of nations, though the *Egyptians* would never allow them that honour; and if theſe unjuſtly arrogated the point over them in this reſpect, why may they not have done the ſame with regard to others?

The truth is both theſe nations have been ſtrangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be fairly queſtioned in moſt we know of their pretences to ſuperiority; and are doubtleſs to be equally diſbelieved. But if the *Egyptians* are preferred to the *Babylonians* in any reſpect by the *Greeks*, it muſt be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of ſuch near neighbours as they were in compariſon; and if not to this, at leaſt, it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the ſtory but on one ſide. We have at leaſt as good authority to argue in behalf of the *Babylonians*, as can be produced in favour of the *Egyptians*.

The early tranſaction of attempting to raiſe the tower of *Babel*, in the very country of this people, muſt imply them to have been informed of architecture in thoſe days, and ſome of the concomitant arts; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not ſeem to have been ſuch as to deſerve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge, than the refinement of it, or, at leaſt, it ſeems to have been built upon ſuch principles, as were a reproach to ſound reaſon, rather than an honour to the human underſtanding, and rather calculated to deceive, than to inform; to ſpread the miſts of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

However, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the *Egyptians* were inſtructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, and namely by *Abraham* [y], who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the *Jews*, the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, which deſerves at leaſt as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people, as the pretences of the *Egyptians*, who were

[x] See before, p. 255. [y] See Vol. II. p. 383, (Q).

immediately

immediately parties concerned, or of the *Greeks*, who were particularly biaſſed in their favour. Nor are theſe orientals unſupported by the traditions of the weſterns, according to whom the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian Belus* was the inventor of the ſidereal ſcience [z], and the nation he belonged to the foremoſt in antiquity for empire and power, and conſequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their inſtructor *Oannes* from times preceding the deluge [a], as ſhould ſeem, and ſuppoſe him to have ſprung from the primigenial egg; it is ſeemingly plain, that whatever conſtructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the ſea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themſelves beholden to no nation under the ſun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that by the bulk of what we underſtand, both by ſacred and prophane writers, our author, has here ſtrained things too violently to accommodate them to his hypotheſis; but to inſiſt no longer on this doubt, let us take a ſurvey of what the learning was that is ſo conteſted.

Their manner of inſtitution.

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the *Greeks*, but poſſeſſed what they knew by tradition from father to ſon, and being exempt from all offices or impoſitions to divert their ſtudies, they had nothing to do but to apply themſelves to the inſtruction they received, which came not from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue or maſter. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully ſatisfied of what they received from their anceſtors; and by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they profeſſed [b].

SUCH was the manner of their inſtitution, and the tenaciouſneſs of their adherence to what they had received from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof to aſſure us, that they made little or no progreſs, even in the learning they particularly profeſſed, and that ſo it really was, may be diſcovered in the ſequel.

Their doctrine about the world.

THEY taught, that the world was eternal; that it never had beginning, and never ſhall have end; though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed ſpontaneouſly, but by the guidance and direction of ſuperior agents, or gods. They are univerſally ſaid to have been the firſt that cultivated aſtronomy, and are pretended to have made ſuch progreſs therein, as to have not only diſcovered the exact mo-

[z] See Vol. I. p. 184. [a] Ibid. [b] DIODOR. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſtor. l. 2. p. 82.

tions

tions of the heavenly bodies, but alſo to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity [c].

They were more aſtrologers than aſtronomers.

By this it appears, that whatever advances they made as aſtronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may ſo expreſs ourſelves, as aſtrologers. From this deluſive amuſement, they boaſted a knowledge of what was to come, to a power of averting of evil, and the procuring of good; hence chiefly they were conſidered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers [d].

The planets they called *Interpreters*, and made the greateſt account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call *Saturn*; the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the ſun, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; ſix in all, which were all the planets they reckoned; Theſe they called *Interpreters*, as by their motions and aſpects they, in a more evident manner, portended the will and pleaſure of the gods. They ſometimes judged by their riſing, and ſometimes by their ſetting, and ſometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold ſtorms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as alſo the appearance of comets, eclipſes of the ſun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private perſons in particular [e].

The ſyſtem of their aſtrology.

Under theſe ſix planets they ranged 30 ſtars, which they called *Counſelling Gods*; and half of theſe they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done by men, or tranſacted in the heavens. And they gave out, that once in ten days one of the ſuperior of theſe ſtars deſcended to the inferior, as it were a meſſenger from thoſe above; and that in return one of the inferior aſcended to the ſuperior in the ſame nature; and that this their mutual correſpondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chief of theſe *Counſelling Gods* were 12 in number, and aſſigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole ſign of the zodiac [f].

All theſe ſtars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forbode whatever is to befal them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the courſe of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they ſelected 24 ſtars, and

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid.

placed

placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the ſouth. Thoſe of them within our ſight they aſſigned to the living, and thoſe not within it they called the ſtars or *Conſtellations of the Dead*; and theſe ſtars they termed the judges of all things: In ſhort, the *Chaldæans* were complete aſtrologers, and pretended to excell all other nations therein [g].

THEIR aſtronomy, which ought to have taken place of the former, in reſpect of its dignity above it, muſt yield its rank here, it being ſeemingly what they cultivated as a ſcience ſecondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarſe and plain. They had notions, that the earth was like a veſſel or boat, and that it was hollow within; and had a way of ſupporting this doctrine by various arguments [k]. *Deficient in aſtronomy.*

WE have ſeen their diviſion of the zodiac into 12 ſigns, throughout which they taught that the ſeveral planets performed their revolutions: But they ſeem to have had no notion of the immenſe diſtance of ſome of the planets from the ſun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardineſs of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary ſhould appear, for they taught, that ſhe compleated her courſe the ſooneſt of any, not becauſe of her extraordinary velocity, but becauſe her orbit, as we now ſpeak, was leſs than the orbit of any other body that circumvolved in the heavens. They taught, that ſhe ſhone with a light not her own, and that when ſhe was eclipſed ſhe was immerged in the ſhadow of the earth. But for eclipſes of the ſun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen [i]. In ſhort, the whole of their philoſophy and learning ſeems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial aſtrology; a ſcience, falſely ſo called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

NOR has this boaſted knowledge and learning of the *Chaldees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has alſo been condemned by the antients, as inconſiſtent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal neceſſity, and deſtroying the freedom of our will [k]. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldæans* were ſo famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a diſtinct nation from the *Babylonians* for the ſake of it; and indeed from ſcripture we gather they were no better; for *Daniel*, ſpeaking of them, divides them into four ſorts or kinds, as magicians, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, and *Chaldæ-* *Their boaſted learning condemned.*

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Vid. BARDISAN. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & ALIOS apud eund ibid.

ans [l], adding afterwards to theſe wiſe-men, or ſuch as divined by lots, and ſoothſayers or ſuch as foretold events by the inſpection of entrails [m]. And though there are thoſe who ſuppoſe the *Chaldæans*, as here diſtinguiſhed from the five other ſorts, to have been a ſect peculiar to themſelves, and to have been of deeper and more ſolid learning [n]; we may eaſily perceive, that they, as well as the reſt, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the reſt, to diſcover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may ſafely conclude, that they all in their ſeveral ways were ſo many oracles, and that they were all devoted to the ſame end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining thereto; ſo that ſeemingly theſe *Babylonians* had their ſcience branched out amongſt them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* phyſicians had theirs [o]. Their learning muſt have been made up entirely of ſuperſtitious practices, and deluſive arts, and if any better they had, they muſt have concealed it under ſuch ænigmas, and far-fetched reſemblances and allegories, as muſt have rendered it quite a ſecret even to themſelves, who, conſidering that they are ſaid from father to ſon to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any ſolid purpoſe; and it ſeems not to have been without good reaſon, that many [p] of latter times have made ſlight of them as philoſophers, and concluded, that the *Greeks* were in this reſpect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the *Egyptians*.

Babylonians *in diſtinction from* Chaldees; *their arts.*

As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, ſo the *Babylonians*, properly ſo called, were the men of art; though perhaps we ſhall have more reaſon to call theſe the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and ſet apart for, the ſidereal conſultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which muſt, as ſhould ſeem, have made up the ſyſtem of their philoſophy. For in this caſe the *Babylonians*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Chaldæans*, muſt have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as muſt appear by the immenſe buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great ſkill in the ſeveral branches of the mathematics and in geometry. This we may ſay in general; but to ſay how far, or how far not, they excelled in perſpective and the true

[l] Dan. ii. 2. [m] Ibid. ver. 27. [n] PURCH. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 12. p. 63. [o] See Vol. I. p. 473. [p] CÆL. RHODOG. JOSEPH. SCALIG. PEUCER. &c. &c.

harmony

harmony of proportion, may not be quite ſo eaſy a matter, though that their ornaments and decorations fell ſhort of what was afterwards ſeen in *Greece*, can never be doubted.
This may be plain to any body that has ſeen the repreſentations of the ruins of *Perſepolis*, which muſt certainly have been built in the *Babylonian* manner, which, how far it was beneath the *Grecian* for elegance and proportion, may be more properly conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of the *Grecian* architecture, and to compare it with that of the *Egyptians* and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vaſt in their performances of this nature than exquiſite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and ſtatues, however gaudy, rich, and coloſſean, were nothing to compare with the ſame that took birth with the *Grecian* artiſts.

MUSIC they had, but in what perfection we muſt never hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to labour in ſo unfruitful a field. But that they had a variety of inſtruments among them, we are well aſſured; for we read, that they had flutes, cornets, harps, ſackbuts, pſalteries, dulcimers, and *all kinds of muſic* [q]. What theſe inſtruments exactly were, no body will ever know; but if we may judge of their ſkill in harmony, by what we can diſcover of their painting and ſtatuary, we muſt not equal them with the *Grecians* in the harmonic ſcience. *Muſic.*

THEIR poetry we have nothing to ſay to; but muſt leave the reader to form his judgment of it, by that of the other eaſtern nations their neighbours, both antient and modern. Nor do we pretend to ſay by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldæans* or the *Babylonians*; but as it has at all times been ſacred to religion and ſuperſtition, we may ſuppoſe the former, as prieſts, laid claim thereto as a part of their province. *Poetry.*

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular ſcience among this people, in what we have ſaid of their manner and cuſtom of treating the ſick; though that the ſame as a ſcience grew into vaſt repute with the *Perſians* their ſucceſſors, will be obſerved when it comes properly in turn. *Phyſic.*

WE have already declared, there is no more difference between the *Syriac* and the *Chaldee*, the language of this people, than between the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch* [r]. Their common alphabet we have already given [s]; and as for the Mendean character, which is alſo peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but alſo ſo nearly like the *Language.*

[q] Dan. iii. ver. 5.—15. [r] See Vol. II. p. 266. [s] See Vol. III p. 406.

Eſtrangelo of the *Syriac* [t], that we have thought it unneceſſary to inſert it. *Bochart* [u] ſuppoſes they had a ſacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon a very unſatisfactory foundation.

Architecture.

The *Babylonians*, properly ſo called, were great architects, and ingenious in the caſting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to ſpeak of their great city of *Babylon*; and therefore it may be needleſs to expatiate thereon in this place, when we have reſerved another, where we intend to do them ſufficient honour for their great labour and induſtry in theſe reſpects, wherein they will be obſerved to have fallen ſhort of no one nation under the ſun; and in which they, perhaps in great meaſure, ſhewed the way to every nation beſides.

Manufactures and fine linen.

Nor were they leſs famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich embroideries, ſumptuous veſtments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linen; inſomuch that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately ſold a *Babylonian* cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was aſhamed to wear [w]; and elſewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid for a ſuit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room ſix thouſand four hundred and fifty eight pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence [x]. It were to no purpoſe to quote authors for further inſtances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the ſeveral products of their induſtry: we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they ſent into the eaſtern parts by way of traffic [y]. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus* near the *Euphrates* [z]; but as it is diſputed, whether or no this was what may be called a diſcovery among them, and whether they were not before uſed to ſupply themſelves therewith from *Tyre* [a], we ſhall not inſiſt thereon, any further than to take notice, that their country afforded the beſt material of its ſort for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial [b].

Particular tribes.

This people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Chaldæans* properly ſo called; there ſeems to have been other ſubordinate tribes or ſects of them. Three

[t] See Vol. II. p 267. [u] Canaan c. 17. col. 773. [w] Plutarch. in vita Catonis. [x] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 8. c. 48. See Arbuth. of anc. coins, weights, and meaſures, p. 142. [y] Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Eryth in minor. Hudson, Vol. II p. 20, 21. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Vid. Bochart. Phaleg. c. 7. col. 28. [b] Vid. eund. ibid

of

of theſe are ſaid to have fed upon nothing but fiſh [c], and thereby ſeem to have infringed a ſacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddeſs, for whoſe ſake the *Babylonians* ſeem to have abſtained therefrom. Thus we have ſeen, that ſome of the *Egyptians* worſhipped the fiſh which others of them fed upon. However it may not have been upon a religious principle that this people departed from the reſt of their countrymen; and the rather as it ſeems to be imputed to neceſſity [d], theſe tribes living among the fens, and being deſtitute of corn; to ſupply the want of which, it was their cuſtom to dry their fiſh in the ſun, which they afterwards made into paſte, and having baked it ate it by way of bread [e]. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants of *Barſippa*, where the bats being much larger than uſual in other places, they were uſed to ſalt them for food [f]; and this, whether it proceeded from any ſuperſtition or want, which laſt ſeems a little hard to believe in ſo plentiful a country as this muſt have been, we leave undecided.

Commerce.

THE trade of this antient people is no where, that we know of, profeſſedly treated of; but that it muſt have been very conſiderable, is not in the leaſt to be doubted, and eſpecially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory; whoſoever contemplates the ſplendor of this monarchy, and the commodious ſituation of this country in general, and its capital in particular, cannot doubt, but commerce muſt here have flouriſhed to a very eminent degree. *Babylon* was ſituated, as it were, in the very midſt of the old world, and by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very eaſy communication with the weſtern and northern parts, as alſo with the eaſtern by the means of the *Perſian* gulf. In a word, it may, either by land or by water, have had eaſy commerce with all the points of the compaſs; and as it was not only the ſeat of a potent monarchy, but alſo afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours round about, and lay ſo within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extenſive here as ever it was any where. Whether the *Babylonians* were famous for ſhipping of their own is pretty much in the dark; though it cannot well be diſputed, but they muſt have been conſiderable as navigators; the ſame is hinted at (X), and

[c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 200. [d] STRAB. l. 16. p. 746. [e] HERODOT ubi. ſup. [f] STRAB. ubi ſup. p. 739.

(X) Beſides what might be gathered to prove this point in the *Prophets*,

and as *Babylon* was so much *a city of waters*, as the prophet expresses himself, it is but natural to conclude, that they very much abounded in shipping of their own.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the Babylonians, *from the first Rise of the Monarchy, to its Dissolution.*

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views; first, as composing a small, though perhaps a formidable, kingdom, immediately after the deluge, the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear [g]; and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by and at last rising upon the ruins of the *Assyrians*, their brethren [h]; so that in effect we are here only to look back to the early times of the *Assyrian* monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed, as should seem, by princes of the same blood with those who filled the throne of *Nineveh*. We may refer the reader back to what we have said, in the

[g] See Vol. I. p. 278. [h] See before, p. 217, & seq.

Prophets, the book of *Revelations* (77), describing the fall of *Babylon*, has these words, which at once display the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they must have abounded in shipping; Babylon *the great is fallen, is fallen* —— *The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more: The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine, or sweet-wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.* —— *The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping, and wailing, and saying, Alas! alas! that great city, that was cloathed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls* ——*And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried* —— *Alas! alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness*——*is*—— *made desolate* (78).

(77) *xviii.* 2. —— 19. (78) Ibid.

chronology

chronology of the *Assyrians*, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, meaning *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and nearly at one and the same time. But not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of *Babylon* from the kingdom of *Assyria*, and to exhibit, according to our custom, a series of the kings of *Babylon*, according to several authors.

A TABLE *of the Successions of the* Babylonian *Kings, according to* Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon and the Ecclesiastical Account.*

	According to the most correct copies of *Ptolemy*'s canon.		According to the ecclesiastical account in *Syncellus*.	
		Years.		Years.
1	*Nabonassar* reigned	14	1 *Nabonasarus* or *Salmanasar* reigned	25
2	*Nadius*	2	2 *Nabius*	8
3	*Chinzirus* and *Porus*	5	3 *Chinzerus* and *Porus*	5
4	*Jugæus*	5	4 *Illulæus*	5
5	*Mardoc-Empadus*	12	5 *Mardocempadocus*	12
6	*Arkianus*	5	6 *Arceanus*	5
7	Inter-reign I.	2	7 Inter-reign I.	2
8	*Belibus*	3	8 *Belithus*	3
9	*Apronadius*	6	9 *Aporanadisus*	6
10	*Rigébelus*	1	10 *Iregiballus*	1
11	*Mesessimordacus*	4	11 *Messisimordacus*	4
12	Inter-reign II.	8	12 Inter-reign II.	8
13	*Assar-Addinus*	13	13 *Isarindinus*	13
14	*Saosduchéus*	20	14 *Saosduchius*	9
15	*Chyniladanus*	22	15 *Cineladanus*	14
16	*Nabopallasarus*	21	16 *Napobalasarus*	21
17	*Nabcolassarus*	43	17 *Nabuchadonosor* his son	43
18	*Ilvarodamus*	2	18 *Ebidan Merodach*	5
11	*Niricassolassarus*	4	19 *Niregalesarus* or *Baltasar*	3
20	*Nabonadius*	17	20 *Nabonadius*, or *Astyages*, or *Darius*, or *Assuerus*, or *Artaxerxes*	17
		210		209

THIS

This table contains on the one side a genuine and most correct copy of *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here enquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. *Syncellus*, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has under the same head another, the authors of them being *Africanus* and *Eusebius* [1]. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary, to prove the first rise and duration of the *Babylonian* empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by *Ptolemy*, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to scripture history, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous prophane æra's, that of *Nabonassar* the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprizing, than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined, by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians from out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the extravagancies of one fabulous *Greek* writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the christian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of *Pul*'s first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ; which shews the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Assyrian* origin, according to the prophet *; *Behold the land of the* Chaldæans; *this people was not till the* Assyrian *founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof,*

The æra of Nabonassar.

[1] Vid. Can. Chron. Sæcul. xvii. * Hai. xxiii. 13.

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, and sent by Dr. *Overal*, dean of *St. Paul*'s, to *Seth Calvisius*, and first published, with *Ptolemy*'s *Hypothesis*, by Dr. *Bambridge* (79), professor of the mathematics at *Oxford* (80).

(79) *Vid.* Gregor. *Posthum. de æra & Epoch.* c. 7. p. 149.
(80) *Vid.* Marsh. *Can Chron. Sæcul.* 17.

thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof. The kingdom of *Babylon* was then founded by the *Assyrians*. This is so plain, that it may be needless to multiply words in proof of it, especially after what we have said in the chronology of *Assyria*, which tends directly to make it appear.

Ptolemy, we may perceive, could discover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonassar*, and therefore begins with him; and scripture mentions no king of *Assyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this side of the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the first year of the canon; and as *Nabonassar* is an *Assyrian* name, most evidently compounded of *Nebo-addan-assur*, we may be certain, that he was the son or grandson of *Pul*, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This is a most evident point, and abundantly helps us to understand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impossible to understand how the *Assyrians* should have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Assyrian* extraction, and considered as a sister kingdom with *Assyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the *Assyrian* empire, which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of *Pul* in the west. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of *Pul*'s appearance to the westward of the *Euphrates*, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Christ: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Christ. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years complete; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 234 for the years of the duration of the great *Assyrian* family; whether at *Nineveh* or at *Babylon*, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms; and that *Nineveh*, which is confessedly the oldest, did not much exceed this number, must appear to any one that gives himself the trouble to recollect what we have so amply observed in the third, fourth, and fifth sections of the preceding chapter.

THE *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Assyrian*; and, by the undoubted authorities of scripture and *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon, this *Assyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the existence of another *Assyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we shall be very ready to congratulate him upon the discovery. The canon itself directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, meaning the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's

reign there begins with the laſt Thoth of his predeceſſor's reign.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of this people, as conſtituting a wide and moſt famous *monarchy*, we muſt juſt take a retroſpect of their firſt eſtabliſhment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have exiſted before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader, that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the ſeveral authors, and that we have already ſaid as much of its firſt founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are ſaid to have been his immediate ſucceſſors in this infant kingdom, a liſt of which we have tranſcribed.

A TABLE *of the Kings of* Babylon, *that immediately ſucceeded* Nimrod.

According to *Euſebius*.

		Years.
1	*Evechoos* or *Nimrod* reigned . . .	6
2	*Chomaſbolus*	7
3	*Porus*	35
4	*Nechobes*	43
5	*Abios*	48
6	*Oniballus*	40
7	*Zinzirus*	45
		224

According to *Syncellus*.

		Years.
1	*Evochoüs* or *Nimrod* reigned . . .	6
2	*Choſmabolus*	7
3	*Porus*	35
4	*Nechubes*	43
5	*Abius*	48
6	*Oniballes*	40
7	*Zinzirus*	45
		224

Our authors, we ſee, perfectly agree as to theſe kings who are called the dynaſty of the *Chaldees*, and indeed, in this caſe, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Euſebius*. This dynaſty, which laſted no more than 224 years, was no ſooner expired, than the *Arabians* became uppermoſt, and produced a race of ſix kings at *Babylon*. This *Arabian* dynaſty laſted 216 years, and the two dynaſties together 440 years.

The

The whole interval, as we have ſtated it, between the firſt of the reign of *Nimrod* and the call of *Abraham*, is 646 years. This *Arabian* dynaſty then expired 206 years before the call of *Abraham*, and was ſucceeded by the *Aſſyrian* dynaſty, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*, as we have given it in the chronology of the *Aſſyrians* [k]. The *Aſſyrians* muſt then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*, and the ſame muſt have continued at leaſt a thouſand years after him, without any intermiſſion, according to the *moſt common accounts*, which may be ſufficiently diſproved by this one argument. Beſides there can be well no doubt, but theſe *Arabian* kings were, according to ſcripture, of the country of *Elam* or *Perſia*; for under *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*, warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*; we may then as good as ſatisfy ourſelves, that this *Arabian* dynaſty, as it is called, ſubſiſted after the call, when *Abraham* reſcued his brother *Lot* from them; ſo that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the firſt monarchy, the *Elamites* or *Perſians* are the people, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper place.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this kingdom, except that, about 600 years afterwards, there was a king of it called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *Elam* [l]. This is all we have to ſay concerning theſe early times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the *Cteſian* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, muſt be called the foundreſs of *Babylon*; and that is what we need not repeat. *Firſt kingdom of* Babylon, *when* Amraphel *founded.*

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the ſeries we have given of the *Aſſyrian* kings, as they ſtand in *Euſebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynaſty of the *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Aſſyrian*; but concerning this we muſt refer the reader to our chronology of the *Aſſyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may ſatisfy him of the little weight this ſucceſſion of dynaſties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy*'s canon ſhould be called the fourth dynaſty of the orientals, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Babylonian*; but this we muſt reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and eſpecially with us, who diſtinguiſh, ſo widely as we do, between

[k] See before, p. 138, & ſeq.

[l] See Vol. II. p. 361.

between the antient kingdom of *Babylon* and the monarchy or empire of the ſame.

We have now brought all the hiſtory we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonaſſar*; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can poſſibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the ſaid *Nabonaſſar*, we muſt relate what is fabulouſly reported of the man, who, according to ſome prophane authors, muſt be accounted the firſt king of *Babylon*.

The ſtory of Beleſis, *or* Nanybrus

He is by ſome called *Beleſis* [m], and by others *Nanybrus* [n], and both affect to give us an extraordinary ſtory of him, which will be almoſt all we ſhall be able, in theſe authors, to find concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end.

Under the name of *Beleſis*, this firſt prince is repreſented as a crafty and a mean-ſpirited knave, and as nothing leſs than a hero. It is ſaid he was baſe enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his collegue and friend, in the moſt ſhameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midſt of the war, made to his god *Belus*, That if ſucceſs was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was conſumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the aſhes that were left to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to ſtand as a monument, to all who ſhould navigate the *Euphrates*, of the ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* empire. He, it ſeems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch he kept cloſe up to himſelf, of the immenſe treaſure which had been conſumed in the conflagration of the palace at *Nineveh*, and knowing it to be a ſecret to *Arbaces*, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His requeſt was granted him, the aſhes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only ſo, but *Arbaces* conſtituted him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Beleſis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treaſure with him to *Babylon*; but when the ſecret was diſcovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been aſſiſtant in the war, and who, upon his confeſſion of the crime, condemned him to the loſs of his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in poſſeſſion of the treaſure, and alſo in the independent government of *Babylon*, ſaying, The good he had done ought to ſerve as a vail to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion [o].

[m] See before, p. 181. [n] Nicol. Damasc. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 424. [o] Cris. apud Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 78.

In

IN proceſs of time, and under the ſucceſſor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dreſs and ſhew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Nanybrus*, for ſo we muſt now call *Beleſis*, underſtanding a certain robuſt *Mede*, called *Parſondas*, held him in the utmoſt contempt, and had ſollicited the emperor of the *Medes* to diveſt him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himſelf, offered a very great reward to the man who ſhould take *Parſondas* and bring him to him. *Parſondas*, hunting ſomewhere near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and ſtraggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with ſome of the ſervants of the *Babylonian Nanybrus*, who had been tempted with the promiſed reward. He had been all the day at his exerciſe, and being very thirſty, and theſe ſervants being purveyors to the king of *Babylon*, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plyed him therewith, and not only ſo, but prevailed upon him to ſtay and eat a meal with them. *Parſondas*, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and ſending the prey he had taken to his king, he indulged himſelf in what was laid before him, and eſpecially in ſome rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpoſe to inebriate him. *Parſondas* quite fluſtered called for his horſe, that he might go to the king of the *Medes* where he was encamped, but inſtead of his horſe they brought him ſome beautiful women, and deſired he would paſs the night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He conſented, and being ſated with his pleaſures, and fallen into a profound ſleep, they ruſhed upon him in the midſt of the night, bound him, and carried him off to *Nanybrus*; who no ſooner ſaw him, than he began to expoſtulate with him for his ſubdolous attempts to diſplace him in *Babylon*, without any the leaſt offence given on his part, that ſhould make him an enemy. In the end, *Parſondas* reſolutely declared, That he thought himſelf to be more worthy of the dominion, than ſo indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high diſdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by his ſervants, vowed he would make him as ſoft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body [P].

HAVING thus ſworn by the gods *Belus* and *Molis*, [or *Mylitta* as it ſhould be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his muſic girls, and ordered him to ſhave him, and ſmooth, and paint him, and dreſs him juſt after the manner of thoſe girls, and to ſee that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods poſſible to transform him into one of

[P] Nicol. Damaſc. ubi ſup.

them;

them; so that in a very short time *Parsondas* was quite effeminated, and became more delicate than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded them all in singing, and playing, and the other arts of allurement; and whoever saw him at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the most beautiful of the train in waiting [q].

The king of the *Medes*, *Artæus* it seems by name, had in vain sought after his favourite companion *Parsondas*, and in vain offered rewards to whoever should produce him alive or dead, and hearing no news of him gave himself up to grief for his faithful servant, concluding, he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chase when he lost him. At length, after seven years, it happened, that an eunuch having been most cruelly scourged and beaten by *Nanybrus*'s order, *Parsondas* took the opportunity of the man's discontent, and with great promises, prevailed on him to fly to the king of the *Medes*, and to make known to him his metamorphosis. The eunuch went and told what he was ordered, and the king of the *Medes* no sooner heard it, than he was moved with the highest indignation. Immediately he dispatched an officer to *Nanybrus* to demand *Parsondas*; but when the officer arrived at *Babylon*, he denied, that he had ever known any thing of any such person. This answer being carried back to the *Mede*, he sent a more resolute and robust officer, than the former, with letters commanding *Nanybrus*, without delay or reserve, to send him the man whom he had shamefully debased and confined among his eunuchs and music girls, or to expect the sudden loss of his head; and ordered the officer, if he persisted in the denial to bind him with his sash or girdle, and to lead him to immediate execution. *Nanybrus*, scared at this, and consulting his own safety, promised to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly justify himself with the king of the *Medes* for what he had done in this respect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the dishes were no sooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom *Parsondas* was, made their appearance, singing and playing upon various instruments; but *Parsondas* was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the rest; and accordingly *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede* which he liked best? he immediately pointed at *Parsondas*. The *Babylonian* at this clapt his hands; and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and asking his guest, whether or no he should be willing to pass his night with his favourite? and he declaring his desire that the thing might be so; *Nanybrus* told

[q] Idem, ibid.

him

him he could not possibly grant it: Why then did you ask me the question, said the *Mede? Nanybrus* paused a while, at last, This, says he, is the *Parsondas* you want. The officer was astonished, and incredulous of what he heard, till at last the *Babylonian*, convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with *Parsondas* he could answer for before the king of the *Medes*. *Artæus*, wondering at the prodigious alteration he saw in *Parsondas*, asked him, how it had been possible for him to live so long under such a load of infamy? *Parsondas* pleaded necessity, and the desire he had to see his face again, as also to live to see himself revenged; and begged of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. *Artæus* promised him fair, and *Parsondas* recovered himself to his former masculine habit and appearance [r].

Artæus came to *Babylon* attended by *Parsondas*, who was continually calling upon him for justice; but when *Nanybrus* appeared before the king, he pleaded his cause with great resolution, urging that *Parsondas*, towards whom he never was guilty of the least offence, would subdolously and barbarously have procured his death, that so he might succeed him in the kingdom of *Babylon*. The king of the *Medes* observed, that this was but a weak argument in him, who had presumed to act as judge in his own cause, and inflict punishments in his own right, instead of appealing to him, and submitting to what he should have seen to have been most proper to be done in the case; and in short, declared, that in ten days time he would pass the sentence on him he had deserved [s].

Nanybrus, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called *Mitraphernes*, who was in greatest favour with the king of the *Medes*, and promised him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 10 golden cups, 200 of silver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but stand his friend. As for the king of the *Medes* himself, he made him by this eunuch, at the same time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the same in silver, innumerable vestments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life spared, and the kingdom of *Babylon* secured to him [t].

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bedchamber, and pressed him very much in the behalf of his client, representing, that he had done nothing worthy of death, that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on *Parsondas*; that he had abstained from his blood, and served him only in kind.

[r] Idem, ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem, ibid.

He

He then urged, that, if after this it ſhould be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be ſpared for his ſake, and promiſed, that if the favour was granted him, the *Babylonian* ſhould preſent him with vaſt gifts, and give *Parſondas* 100 talents of ſilver. The king, at length, gave ear to the inſinuations and arguments of this his favourite eunuch, and ſentenced *Nanybrus* to a fine accordingly; which, as it gave great joy to *Nanybrus*, affected *Parſondas* equally with indignation and diſdain, who beſtowed his maledictions upon the man that firſt found out gold, ſeeing for the ſake of that he was to live the ſport and deriſion of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The eunuch, who had thus interpoſed with his good offices, underſtanding, that *Parſondas* ſtill glowed with rage, and even more than ever, not only exhorted him to be reconciled to *Nanybrus*, but told him, it was the king's will and pleaſure he ſhould be ſo. But *Parſondas*, deaf to all that could be ſaid to him on that ſubject, continued to meditate revenge both on *Nanybrus* and his friend the eunuch; and in the end had the ſatisfaction of being revenged on both [u].

But we have been too particular in theſe ſtories about this firſt king of *Babylon*, ſo ſelf-evidently fabulous, and to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition of what is gone before in diſproof of all of it.

The genuine hiſtory of the Babylonians.

From this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine hiſtory of the *Babylonians*, in which there is a vaſt chaſm of many hundreds of years, between the times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel* to the times we are now reached down to; the firſt *Babylonian* king after theſe, and thoſe we have mentioned to have ſucceeded between them, that we meet with in hiſtory ſacred or prophane, is *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt in *Ptolemy*'s canon.

Nabonaſſar.

Concerning this king, ſo well known for the æra that paſſes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded; but as it may be of great uſe to know in what manner he came to be king of *Babylon*, and how it comes to paſs, that *Ptolemy* could be aſſured of no *Babylonian* king who lived before his time, ſo late in compariſon of what has moſt generally, and till very lately, been pretended, we will venture to ſupply the deficiency by ſome probabilities and conjectures, which may carry ſo much weight with them, after what we have ſaid of the firſt riſe, progreſs, and apparent obſcurity of the antient kingdom of this people, as may ſatisfy every reader, that no point of hiſtory has been ſo perfectly miſtaken, as that which relates to the firſt riſe of the *Babylonian* kingdom, ſo much talked of by prophane writers.

[u] Idem, ibid.

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already; but this muſt be here premiſed, or rather repeated, that however, we diſtinguiſh the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* from each other, they were but two branches of one and the ſame family. By ſcripture this moſt evidently appears, where the *Babylonian* names are pure *Aſſyrian*; and by prophane authors as much is explicitly confeſſed, who own and declare the city of *Babylon* was built by the *Aſſyrians*; and hence we are to conclude, that the antient people that were in immediate ſubjection to *Nimrod*, have properly nothing to do with the great *Babylonian* kingdom, which aroſe in after-times, but that the whole muſt be attributed to the people who migrated with *Aſhur*, or *Aſſur*, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be wanting, after what we have ſo often attempted in favour of it, we might not only recur to *Cteſias* himſelf and to *Herodotus*, but to the whole tribe of *Greek* and *Latin* writers; we therefore ſhall inſiſt no farther on it here, ſuppoſing it to be what muſt be univerſally granted, and ſhall only obſerve, that in *Ptolemy*'s canon the Kings of *Babylon* are called *Aſſyrians*, and that in the ſame the kings of *Perſia* are called the kings of the *Medes*, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were natural branches; for, in ſtrictneſs, the hiſtory of the empire of *Babylon* is no other than a continuation of the hiſtory of the *Aſſyrian* empire; juſt as the empire of the *Perſians* is of the empire of the *Medes*, and hence in the title of the canon above, you have mention only of the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, though none but the kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia* are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow *Alexander* the great.

HAVING ſettled this point, as we think, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, we ſhall next endeavour at the proof of what we ſuggeſt, by the very ſituation of the countries in reſpect of each other, and the nature of things; by which it muſt be plain, that the kingdom of *Babylon* took birth with the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and that they were twin ſiſters, or at leaſt produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we muſt juſt repeat, that *Pul*, the firſt *Aſſyrian* with us, does not appear as a conqueror weſtward above 24 years before the firſt of the reign of *Nabonaſſar*, and we would venture to aſſert, that *Pul* muſt then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at leaſt 24 years. And this being ſuppoſed, as it very naturally may, we ſhall have as good a proof as we can almoſt require, that he divided his empire between two of his ſons; for, according to *Ptolemy*, *Nabonaſſar* had *Babylon* for his portion, and, according to

ſcripture, *Tiglath-pileſer* had *Aſſyria* for his; for in ſcripture we find him as the immediate ſucceſſor of *Pul*, in about ſeven years after whoſe death, as we have here ſtated it, he appears on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations; ſo that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the ſcripture and the canon in this particular; and what is more, they will, at the ſame time, help us to ſome lights to guide us to the truth of what *Cteſias* and his followers have ſo ſeemingly diſguiſed, as we ſhall not fail to obſerve. In the mean time to return to our point: The very ſituation of theſe countries may convince us, that the thing was as we contend; for they ſo mutually extend againſt each other on the banks of the *Tigris*, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and *Babylonia* was ſo throughout a barrier between *Aſſyria* and the weſtern parts, that the *Aſſyrian* could not have reached any of them, but by croſſing ſome part or other of the country of *Babylon* [w]; and but to imagine he attempted to croſs the *Euphrates*, before he had made a conqueſt of this rich and fertile land, were an abſurdity of the moſt glaring kind. And accordingly we find, that *Cteſias*, how inconſiſtent ſoever he may have been in other points, was ſo ſenſible of this, that he makes this the firſt conqueſt the *Aſſyrians* attempted, even though he as good as confeſſes his *Ninus* never to have croſſed the *Euphrates*, concluding, it would appear ridiculous, that a man who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other countries, ſhould not firſt make ſure of ſo near a neighbour, which muſt have been more tempting to him than any other he could poſſibly have in view.

The kingdom of Babylon *in ſubjection to that of* Aſſyria.

Now, as we have plainly ſeen, that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconſiſtent to ſuppoſe, they were not in ſubordination to one another; and accordingly it appears, that *Nabonaſſar* was the younger ſon, and conſequently in ſubjection to his brother *Tiglath-pileſer*, who is ſtiled the king of *Aſſyria*, and held his reſidence at the original ſeat of the empire, *Nineveh*, which, that it was older than the city called by us *Babylon*, is not only to be gathered from the prophet [x] and other paſſages in ſcripture, but from the bulk of profane authors, who concur, that *Nineveh* was finiſhed before the foundations of *Babylon* were laid.

This being ſettled, we ſhall have no more reaſon to wonder, that theſe two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers ſhould agree together; the ambition of the one

[w] See the map of theſe countries

[x] See before, p. 281.

muſt

muſt have contributed to the grandeur and proſperity of the other reciprocally; and that a right of ſuperiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at *Babylon*, towards the elder at *Nineveh*, may be eaſily conceived. If this was not exactly the caſe, we ſhall have ſuch difficulties ſtart up againſt us, both in the hiſtory of *Babylon* and that of *Aſſyria*, as are quite inſurmountable. We know they exiſted as collateral kingdoms; for while the great *Sennacherib* was in his full glory, and warring in the weſt, we read of an embaſſy from *Merodach-baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to *Hezekiah*; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the ſtricteſt union, and a moſt natural ſubordination, between the two kingdoms on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, is it to be imagined, that any king of *Aſſyria* would have croſſed that river to war in the weſt, while he was disjoined from his own country by ſo formidable and powerful a kingdom as *Babylon* muſt have been, and who might have taken the advantage in his abſence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country of the choiceſt of his ſoldiery, to ſpoil and deſtroy it? Or might they not have joined the *Ciſeuphratenſians* againſt him, and have ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, by the additional numbers they muſt have brought into the field, have routed and utterly deſtroyed him? And muſt not this or the other have really been the caſe ſome time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the moſt ſolemn ties of obligation every way? Could the *Babylonians*, who were confeſſedly a kingdom all the time, have been ſo ſupine as ſuppoſed, with ſuch a neighbour at their very door; and when, at the ſame time, they muſt have known, that all the weſtern nations would moſt readily have joined them to deſtroy theſe ambitious princes, who, by ſo frequently croſſing the *Euphrates*, expoſed themſelves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often in great meaſure to their mercy? Other irreſiſtible arguments may be urged to maintain us in what we would here advance; but, apprehending, we have ſaid rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we ſhall paſs them over as needleſs.

FROM all this we may gather, that *Nabonaſſar*, this firſt king of *Babylon*, bids as fair to have been the *Ninus* of *Cteſias* as *Tiglath-pileſer*, and rather more ſo; and particularly as he was, as is moſt likely, the huſband of *Semiramis*, who, if ſhe had any right to be denominated from any city of theſe parts, was confeſſedly, according to the common notion, a *Babylonian*, as we ſhall obſerve immediately. For notwithſtanding the *Ninus* of *Cteſias* is ſaid to have raiſed the city of

Nabonaſſar *likely to have been the* Ninus *of profane authors.*

Nineveh, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in so many other points with the person of *Nabonassar*, that he makes full amends for it. We have seen him the visible son of *Pul*, whom we have asserted to have been the *Belus* of that author; and that he was a warrior, cannot be doubted, when it is considered, that the family he was a branch of had just begun to establish a power, by conquest, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, must not astonish us, when we remember, that this younger family, rising upon the ruins of the elder, may have arrogated more to themselves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always spreads as it goes.

Thus far again we see a resemblance between *Ninus* and *Nabonassar*; the conquests of the former are confined wholly to the *Transeuphratensian* regions, he never once makes his appearance on this side of the river [y], except in the romantic lists of his conquests. And so it is most likely to have been with *Nabonassar*, who may have warred upon the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldest brother, was prosecuting a war, and grasping at conquests of far greater importance; whereby he hoped to become master of the great and wealthy kingdoms of *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Palestine*, and thereby to pave his way to *Egypt* itself, states who, for their great opulence, must above all others, have allured a race of princes possessed with an unnatural lust to live upon the spoil.

As we have seen that he may possibly have been the *Ninus* of prophane writers, we are next to declare, that he can never have been either the *Shalmaneser* of scripture, or the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*, according to the generality of christians. *Shalmaneser* he cannot possibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before *Shalmaneser* seems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been *Belesis*, for if he be a prince any where in the canon, he must have been *Nabopallasar*, and indeed can have been no other. Now *Nabopallasar* did not begin to reign at *Babylon* till full 118 years after *Nabonassar* had been departed this life. Nor consequently can he have been *Nanybrus*, who was confessedly the same with *Belesis*.

Semiramis *most likely to have been the wife of* Nabonassar.

To dwell no longer on the mistakes that have been committed with regard to this first king of *Babylon*, we would next observe, that the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks* must have

[y] See before, p. 150, 151, & seq.

been

been his wife, if ever there was ſuch a queen of *Babylon*; whereby we ſhall ſtill more amply evince that he may have been *Ninus*. We have been told ſhe was born at *Aſcalon* in *Syria*, that ſhe was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of *Aſſyria*, and that *Ninus* fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen [z]. Now as we have ſtated the chronology of *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, it was about the middle of *Nabonaſſar*'s reign at *Babylon*, that his ſeeming brother, *Tiglath-pileſer*, croſſed the *Euphrates*, and captivated ſome of the tribes and nations to the weſtward. Among theſe captives, it is very likely, *Semiramis* may have been, according to the ſtory of *Cteſias*; and, as ſhe muſt have been a woman of very ſuperior wit and beauty, it is not ſtrange, that ſome great *Aſſyrian* lord ſhould take her to his bed, and even make her his moſt favourite wife. It is poſſible alſo, that ſhe may have attended him to the war with the *Bactrians* as related [a], where we have made it probable, that *Nabonaſſar* may have commanded. And that this was ſomething of the caſe appears by this, that *Ninus* lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child [b]. Now *Nabonaſſar* reigned but 14 years in all [c]; and it was in the ſeventh year of his reign that *Tiglath-pileſer* firſt made any captives from this ſide of the river. If then we ſuppoſe, as according to the ſtory we may, that ſhe lived with her firſt huſband five years, ſhe muſt have fallen to the lot of *Nabonaſſar*, if ſhe was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and ſo he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees ſeemingly with *Cteſias*, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very ſhort [d].

Whence it came to paſs, that Semiramis *ruled over* Babylon

IF we build upon any foundation, as poſſibly we may, we ſhall hereby be able to diſcover, how it came to paſs that ſhe had the ſovereign ſway over *Babylon*, as alſo that her reign was but very ſhort. For, conſidering her own perſonal excellencies, that ſhe muſt have been the idol of her deceaſed huſband, and the mother and nurſe of a tender infant he had left to ſucceed him, nothing is more natural, than that ſhe ſhould aſſume the reins of the government, and in conſequence thereof attempt to make herſelf an everlaſting name, for her exploits abroad, and her works at home. Accordingly it is poſſible ſhe may have headed armies to ſome of the people mentioned in her ſtory; and though ſhe did not build the city of *Babylon*, which by all circumſtances we may aſſure ourſelves ſhe did not.

[z] See before, p. 163. [a] See before, p. 160. [b] Ibid. p. 163.
[c] See before in the canon, p. 279. [d] See before, p. 163.

ſhe

ſhe may ſo have added to it, or embelliſhed it, as to have intitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundreſs of *Babylon*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had to be eſteemed the founder. A woman of the ſort ſhe muſt have been, could never ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of making herſelf conſpicuous to all ages; and by her example ſhe is ſaid to have ſtirred an emulation in a queen, who ſucceeded almoſt 200 years after her, and who, it ſeems, vied with her to the degree of eclipſing her [c]. The name of this queen is *Nitocris*, and between her and *Semiramis* there is ſaid to have been five generations [f]; which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the ſum of the years of the *Babylonian* kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of *Nabonaſſar*'s reign, and as many from that of *Nabonadius*, who was the laſt king, and the ſon of this *Nitocris* [g], we ſhall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument againſt us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of *Semiramis*, and we confeſs it; for after this rate *Semiramis* muſt have lived above ſix generations before *Nitocris*; we would therefore, ſince we have ſo many concurrent circumſtances in our behalf, conclude, that *Herodotus* is miſtaken in this matter, which he well may be, in ſo traditionary a piece of hiſtory as this muſt have been in his time. If no hiſtorian had made greater miſtakes than this, we ſhould not have been involved in ſuch labyrinths, as we have often been throughout the courſe of this work.

Her reign but ſhort.

Now if things were as we ſuſpect them to have been, this great and deified *Semiramis* reigned but two years [h], for her ſon, according to this, lived no longer, and muſt have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objection [i], that ſhe ſhould have reigned ſo great a length of time after her ſon was arrived at years of diſcretion. Nor can ſhe have been any other than the wife of *Nabonaſſar*, by the tradition which makes her the foundreſs of *Babylon*, of which ſhe is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is ſuppoſing her to have been the firſt queen there, and if ſo, as at the bottom of the prophane accounts there may be ſomething of truth, as we have obſerved [k] before, ſhe can have been queen to no *Ninus* but *Nabonaſſar*, and can have reigned no longer than her infant ſon, who was king but two years.

Having thus picked ſome ſeeming truth out of *Cteſias*'s fiction, we may from the ſeveral particulars reflect a light on

[c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 185. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid.
[h] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [i] See before p 174, note (H). [k] See before, p. 144.

the

the worſhip that was paid to her, particularly in *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, and *Babylon* [l]. For ſhe may have really been born in the firſt, tranſported from the ſecond, and deified in the third; ſo that, each having a ſort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they ſo eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may ſtand with the times we here ſuppoſe her to have lived in; but can poſſibly ſuit with no other that we know of. And that ſhe was of mean extraction at *Aſcalon*, that ſhe was in the ſtate of a ſervant in *Syria* or the parts adjacent; and that thence ſhe was carried to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, does not only appear by the *Cteſian* account of her, and by what is poſitively aſſerted of her, that ſhe was originally a ſervant or ſlave [m], but alſo by the fable invented to cover the obſcurity of her birth. In a word, the circumſtances, as related of her by prophane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumſtances of the firſt riſe of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy in ſcripture; and it is plain, they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor muſt we wonder, that ſhe had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the prieſts, or others, who may have had a greater intereſt in magnifying her, than in an adherence to the naked truth, any more, than that ſhe ſhould be ſaid to have done infinitely more than it is certain ſhe did; or that in the end ſhe ſhould have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her, contributed the more to confirm her in the ſuperſtitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

Particulars concerning her.

HAVING thus ſeen that *Semiramis* muſt, in all probability, have been the wife of *Nabonaſſar*, the firſt *Babylonian* king, and ſon to the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, we ſhall next take notice of ſome circumſtances concerning her, which we purpoſely omitted when we gave her hiſtory as queen of *Aſſyria*. She is equally famed as the foundreſs of the city of *Babylon*, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole known world, as we have ſeen: That ſhe may have embelliſhed or added greatly to that city we have granted, nor can we refuſe ſome ſort of credit to ſo general a tradition; nor will we deny, but ſhe may have warred againſt the *Bactrians*, and other nations in thoſe parts [n]; and this her maſculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that ſhe was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a ſervant, as reported, which muſt naturally,

[l] See before, p. 251. [m] See before p. 164, note, (Y), & PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 35 c. 18 p. 694. [n] See before, p. 169, 170.

turally have formed her to ſuch exploits. As for what ſhe did at *Babylon*, it muſt have been but little in compariſon to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve; only for the preſent taking notice, that, as the city muſt in her time have been in its infancy, and ſhe at moſt reigned but two years without the participation of her huſband, and not above four years in all, and in the midſt of the wars then waging by the *Aſſyrians* with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable, but ſhe muſt have left that city in no very extraordinary ſtate for magnificence or grandeur.

Again, as her reign muſt have been very ſhort, we would urge, that ſhe did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine; and that it is almoſt clear, that ſhe did no more than finiſh the war with the *Medes*, or with the *Bactrians*, or perhaps with both, as tradition informs us; and that thus ſhe compleated what her huſband *Nabonaſſar*, according to our ſuppoſition, had begun and conducted towards an end. More ſhe certainly cannot have done in the ſhort ſpace of her adminiſtration, whether in the days of her huſband or of her ſon; and this muſt have intitled her to immortal fame, if, at the ſame time, as it ſeems, we muſt grant, ſhe did any thing notable towards the improvement or embelliſhment of the city of *Babylon*; nor is it ſtrange, that after this we ſhould be ſhewn her through the magnifying glaſs of prophane authors, who had their accounts from the *Babylonians*, who may have thought, they could not poſſibly do themſelves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their firſt and moſt fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily ſwallowed even by the moſt judicious, we have her thence compared with *Seſoſtris* [o] a fabulous hero; and hence we ſee her building fleets, arming legions, raiſing *Babylon*, and, in ſhort, circumnavigating the *red-ſea*, or *Indian* ocean, and reducing the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians* [p]; and hence her altars, together with thoſe of *Hercules*, the *Liber Pater*, and others towards the confines of *India* [q]. Hence ſhe is repreſented to have been a tyranneſs of the moſt rigid and inexorable ſort [r]; and hence ſhe is fabled to have been ſo active in keeping the people in ſubjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult and an inſurrection of the *Babylonians*, as ſhe was dreſſing her

[o] Plutarch, Γυναικῶν ἀρεταὶ, p. 243. [p] Idem, Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς λόγος, β'. p. 336. [q] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 16. p. 314. [r] Excerpt. Chronol. ex African. Euseb. & alii, p. 74.

head.

head, ſhe would not give herſelf time to finiſh what ſhe was about, but ruſhed forth from her chamber, with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revolters, and would never ſo much as ſet her hair in order before ſhe had done as ſhe had reſolved [r]; and that thenceforward ſhe was repreſented, by a ſtatue at *Babylon*, in an undreſs, and with her hair half diſhevelled [s]. Hence it is ſhe is repreſented as a monſter of luſt [u]; and hence ſhe is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her [w], and others equally fabulous, which we ſhall not here inſiſt on. In fine, ſhe is ſaid to have been the firſt *Aſſyrian* queen and lady, to have firſt ſurrounded *Nineveh* with walls, and to have changed its name into *Babylon* [x], a ſtrange abſurdity we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boaſted of her by the ſame author [y] he acquaints us, that ſhe died in her bed [z].

THE ſecond king of the *Babylonians* is called *Nadius* [a], who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the caſe, as, by comparing things together as we have there done, it ſeems to have been, this *Nadius* muſt have been the *Ninyas* of *Cteſias* and his followers, and muſt have dyed an infant of about three years old. Nadius.

THE next that filled the throne were *Chinzirus* [b] and *Porus* who reigned five years: Concerning theſe we have nothing to conjecture. The names ſeem to belong to two perſons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which ſeem to have no direct affinity either with the *Chaldee* or the *Aſſyrian*. Chinzirus *and* Porus.

Jugæus * reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as thoſe he immediately ſucceeded, and thoſe that came after him, down to *Aſſar-addin*, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have paſſed their days in ſloth and effeminacy. Jugæus.

Mardoc-empad [c], he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of ſcripture, the ſame that ſent an embaſſy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in ſcripture, agree exactly; and it muſt have been in the ſeventh or eighth year of his reign that he ſent to *Hezekiah*. In *Iſaiah* [d] he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have Mordoc-empad.

[r] VALER. MAXIM. l. 9. c. 3. [s] Idem ibid. [u] PLIN. ubi ſup. [w] See before in the fourth Sect. of the Hiſt. of *Aſſyria*. [x] SUIDAS ad vocem Σεμίραμις. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] See before in the canon, p. 279. [b] Ibid. * Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Iſai. xxxix. 1.

written him above, but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Berodach-baladan* [e], and in both places, the ſon of *Baladan*, whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who ſeems to have been his father, would be more properly called *Baladan*, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is moſt generally ſuppoſed, he ſent this embaſſy to *Jeruſalem*, to inquire concerning the regreſſion of the ſhadow upon *Ahaz*'s ſun-dial [f], he muſt be concluded to have been a prince of curioſity, and a man that cultivated aſtronomy, or at leaſt encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the buſineſs of this embaſſy, may be diſputed; for there ſeems to have been ſome other view in it, by the parade *Hezekiah*, upon this occaſion, made of his warlike ſtores and treaſures [g]. It may be ſuſpected there was ſomething more than the ſolution of a curious enquiry intended; for, as *Sennacherib* was then alive, it cannot well be conceived, how there ſhould have been ſuch a liberty taken by his *Babylonian* relation or dependant, as to correſpond with an enemy by ambaſſadors. This is the firſt *Babylonian* king we read of in ſcripture to have had any intercourſe with the kings at *Jeruſalem*; and he muſt have been a man of reſolution and ambition, if we ſuppoſe he wanted to draw *Hezekiah* into an alliance with him againſt the *Aſſyrian* emperor. Upon the whole, the men he ſent from *Babylon* ſeem rather to have been private agents than public ambaſſadors, and what was tranſacted with them ſeems to have been quite a ſecret. He may have underſtood, that the *Medes* were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very ſhort time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the ſame; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the *Jews* and others, on this ſide the *Euphrates*, againſt *Sennacherib*, to ſecure his own dominions, or to enable him to withſtand ſuch incurſions, as he may have dreaded from the ſame people; but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now began to threaten ſome calamity to *Aſſyria*; and it is likely, *Merodach-baladan* might have foreſeen it, and beſtirred himſelf to make ſure of what belonged to himſelf. This prince reigned 12 years and was ſucceeded by

Arkianus. *Arkianus* [h], concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an interreign of two years [i]. This is diſtinguiſhed as the firſt interreign in the *Babylonian* kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded, that the line of *Nabonaſſar* became extinct

First interreign.

[e] 2 Kings xx. 12. [f] See before, p. 86. [g] Iſai. xxxix. 2.
[h] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [i] See before, ibid.

in

in the laſt king, or that it was ſet aſide, if it be not more rational to ſuppoſe, that the kingdom was not hereditary, ſo as to fall of courſe to the eldeſt ſon. There may have been diſputes among the ſons about the ſucceſſion, or the king of *Nineveh*, who may have appointed the kings of *Babylon* according to his own pleaſure and good liking, may not, in this ſpace of time, have determined who ſhould next be king of *Babylon*. *Aſſar-haddon* was now emperor of *Aſſyria*, and the *Medes* had actually revolted five or ſix years before, and he may now have been at a loſs whom to ſubſtitute in the throne of *Babylon*, which, if what we have obſerved be right, may have been filled with ſlothful and inactive princes ever ſince the death of *Nabonaſſar*, or his wife, if ſhe was ſo, *Semiramis*. For while the kings of *Nineveh* were ſucceſſively warring in the weſt, the kings of *Babylon* may have degenerated conſiderably, and have fallen into diſgrace and vice, in conformity to what prophane authors relate of the ſucceſſors of *Semiramis*; and may, by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the *Medes* to ſhake off the yoke.

Belibus [k] ſucceeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, or by what right, we know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by *Aſſar-haddon*. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or was diſplaced, may be doubted, by the ſhortneſs of his duration as king. Belibus.

HE made room for *Apronadius* [l], who reigned ſix years, and gave place to *Regibélus* [m], who, poſſeſſing the throne but one year, made way for *Meſeſſimordacus* [n], who held the ſceptre but four years, and gave place to an inter-reign [o], which laſted full eight years. To fill up this chaſm, it may hence be confirmed to us, that the kings of *Babylon* were at the pleaſure of the king of *Aſſyria*, and appointed by him, as he thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family; the ſhortneſs of the four preceding reigns may perſuade us, that the kings, between this inter-reign and the former, did not ſucceed each other as father and ſon, and the ſame we may indeed conclude of the kings between *Nabonaſſar* and the firſt inter-reign, who were but a little while on the throne, and ſeem to have been rather appointed governors for a certain term of years, than kings ſucceeding in right of each other; nor can it well have been otherwiſe. The elder family at *Nineveh* muſt in time have aſſumed conſiderably over the younger at *Babylon*, and contracted a jealouſy of them, and impoſed ſuch hardſhips on them, or have ſome way or other behaved to them ſo as to provoke them at laſt to join with Apronadius. Regibélus. Meſeſſimordacus. *Second inter-reign.*

[k] See before, ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid.

the *Medes* to deſtroy them. Thus the thing ſeems to have been.

Aſſar-addin. The eight years of this inter-reign being expired, *Aſſar-addin* [p], the *Eſar-haddon* of ſcripture, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already ſaid all we poſitively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Aſſyria*. It is remarkable, that he ſhould deliberate ſo long as eight years, before he aſſumed the government of *Babylon* in perſon. We formerly made it a doubt [q], whether or no he ſeated himſelf maſter here by art or by violence; but by what we think we plainly diſcover of theſe collateral kingdoms of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, he now ſet aſide the *Babylonian* family as uſeleſs, or dangerous, to his empire, which muſt now have been in a very crazy condition [r]. By this ſtep of policy he ſeems to have re-eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought, that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extenſion of the *Aſſyrian* conqueſts weſtward, till he had thus taken *Babylon* to himſelf [s]. Hence it may appear, that the former diviſion of the empire, however ſmall it may have been, was now judged hurtful thereto, and that ſo it had been, appears by the conſequences of this junction, after which the *Aſſyrians* roſe to a higher pitch than ever they had been, at leaſt in the weſtern parts, where under this king they eſtabliſhed their power more firmly than it ever had been, and even conquered *Egypt* [t]. The obſcurity of the kings of *Babylon*, between *Nabonaſſar* and this *Aſſar-addin*, may have given birth to what is related of the ſloth and inactivity of all the kings that ſucceeded between *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince [u]; but at the ſame time we have ſhewn there were two of the name, a warrior and an effeminate man. This then muſt have been *Sardanapalus* the warrior, for his hiſtory declares him to have been ſuch, but that is what we need not repeat. He reigned at *Babylon* 13 years, and was ſucceeded by

Saoſduchæus. *Saoſduchæus*, or *Saoſiluchinus* [w], who, as well as his predeceſſor, was king both of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. We have already ſaid all of him we have been able to collect [x], as king of *Aſſyria*. He reigned 20 years, and was ſucceeded by

Chyniladan. *Chyniladan* [y], whom we have ſhewn to have been the *Nebuchadonoſſor* of the book of *Judith* [z], where we have given

[p] Ibid. [q] See before, p. 201, & ſeq. [r] See before, Ibid.
[s] Ibid. [t] See before, p. 203. [u] See before, p. 205, note (M).
[w] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [x] See before, p. 205. [y] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr. [z] See before p. 207, note (Q).

all

all the history we know of him. He, as well as his two predeceſſors, was king both of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned 22 years. The length of theſe three reigns, which in ſum make up 55 years, which exceeds the ſum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonaſſar* and *Aſſar-addin* by two years, may convince us, that the kings of *Babylon* during that interval were little better than governors, placed and diſplaced by the kings of *Aſſyria* at their will and pleaſure; and continued or diſcontinued juſt as they approved themſelves more or leſs truſty and ſerviceable to the *Aſſyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependent on the emperors at *Nineveh*; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up the head as an empire, exalting itſelf on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy.

FOR *Nabopallaſar* [a] ſucceeded *Chyniladan*, and is ſaid to have wreſted the kingdom of *Babylon* from the *Aſſyrians*, and to have ſeized on it himſelf, and is plainly the man who transferred the ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy to *Babylon* [b]. His name declares him to have been an *Aſſyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonaſſar* his ſon, it partaking equally of both; for as *Nabonaſſar* is plainly compounded of *Nebo-addan-aſſur*, this man ſeems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*, and to have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-aſſur*; which, it is likely, he may have aſſumed upon his revolt from the *Aſſyrian Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardanapalus* [c], and claims, as ſhould plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally deſcended from *Pul* by *Nabonaſſar*, and ſo, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family had been unjuſtly deprived by the elder branch of *Aſſyria*. Thus it ſeems natural to conclude; if ſo it was, he had a fair opportunity of aſſerting his right, for being appointed over *Chaldæa* upon the death of *Chyniladan*, who left the *Aſſyrian* affairs in great confuſion, and at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their purſuit againſt the kings at *Nineveh* [d], he took the advantage, and, ſeizing on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himſelf, he entered into alliances with *Aſtyages* the *Mede*, and to confirm the ſame deſired his daughter *Amyite* in marriage for his ſon *Nabocolaſſar* [e], and joining heartily in the war with him againſt the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have

Nabopallaſar.

Year of the Flood, 2373. Year before Chriſt 626.

[a] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [b] See before, p. 215. note (A). [c] See before, ibid. [d] See before, p. ibid. [e] ALEX. POLYHIST. apud SYNCELL. p. 210. EUSEB. in Chron.

made

made it appear [f], he did not live to see the final destruction of it; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of 28 years [g].

This prince is called by contraction *Nabulassar* [h], but by the same author he is also called *Nabuchadonosor* [i], as he is by others [k] *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence he is distinguished from his son, as the first of the name [l]; in a word, he, and no other, must have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias* [m], and the *Nanybrus* of *Nicholas* of *Damascus* [n]; but what is seemingly strange, he is also called *Sardanapalus* [*], which we have taken notice of already. This prince, besides what he must have suffered and apprehended from the *Scythians*, who during his time prevailed in *Asia* [o], was in imminent danger of being blasted in his hopes by an invasion from *Egypt*. For *Pharaoh Necho*, at that time king of the country, understanding, that the kingdom of *Assyria* was as good as dissolved, by the combination of the *Babylonians* with the *Medes*, and that the confederates themselves were under restraint from the *Scythians*, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the *Transeuphratensians*, who had captivated the kingdom of *Egypt* in the days of the great *Esarhad-don* [p], and to raise himself an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this side of the *Euphrates*, which had, for some time past, been under the kings of *Assyria* by conquest. He prosecuted his design, succeeded to his wish, and even took the great city of *Carchemish*, *Circutium*, or, as it is most corruptedly written, *Carchabesa* [q], upon the *Euphrates* [r]. This we are told was his case, but we have seen it is false; for before this invasion of *Necho* he must have been dead [s] some time, as appears by the circumstance we are told of *Josiah*'s death, who was slain at *Megiddo* in making head against *Necho*, as he was marching against the king of *Assyria* [t], who can have been none other than *Sarac* [u]; for as *Josiah* reigned full 31 years [w], he must according to the course of scripture and *Ptolemy*'s canon,

[f] See before, p. 218, & seq. [g] Ibid. note (E). [h] Beros. apud Josephi. contr. Ap. l. 1. p. 1044, & Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [i] Idem apud eund. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [k] In Libr. Juchasin. p. 136. [l] David Gantz II. Chron. l. 2. n. 285. [m] See before, p. 284. [n] See before, ibid. [*] See before p. 215, note (A). [o] See before, p 218, note (E). [p] See before, 203. [q] Josephi. Antiq. ubi sup. c. 7. [r] See Vol. II. p. 47. [s] See before p. 219, note (G). [t] See before, p. 99. [u] See before. p. 215. [w] See before, p. 99.

have

have ſurvived *Nabopallaſar*. It is therefore plain, that we cannot rely upon *Beroſus* [x], when he informs us, that he ſent his ſon *Nabuchadonoſor* to quell the rebellious ſatrapa, or governor, of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, as he plainly calls *Pharaoh Necho*; nor did *Nabuchadonoſor* effect this till after his death, and after he had ſubverted *Nineveh*, which was brought to paſs by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with *Cyaxares* the *Mede* his brother-in-law [y]. There was then no war between *Babylon* and *Egypt* during the life of *Nabopallaſar*, nor was there any ſuch officer as a ſatrapa over *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, in his time, for the *Aſſyrians*; *Egypt* had recovered itſelf a conſiderable time before [z] from the conqueſt and captivation of *Eſar-haddon*; and *Judah* was all this time under her own king *Joſiah* [a], and that all the weſtern regions, on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, had ſhaken off the *Aſſyrian* yoke is plain, not only by the hiſtory of *Chyniladan* [b], but by the trouble the great *Nebuchadnezzar* had afterwards to reduce them to *Babylon*. We may perceive then, that *Beroſus*, in the paſſage before us, confounds the father and ſon together, and that he is too haſty in bringing on the deſtruction of *Nineveh*; for till that had been effected, there is no ſuppoſing the *Babylonians* could have pretended to croſs the *Euphrates*; and that there was a king of *Aſſyria* ſubſiſting in the day that *Joſiah* was killed by *Necho*, we learn from ſcripture [c], and that *Joſiah* ſurvived *Nabopallaſar*, we underſtand by comparing the ſame with the canon [d]. This ſatapra of *Egypt* and *Syria* muſt be underſtood proleptically, except we ſuppoſe the office to have ſubſiſted upon the conqueſts of *Eſar-haddon*; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boaſt but the empty title, as may be eaſily diſcovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to *Nabopallaſar*, except that he withdrew obedience from the king of *Aſſyria*, that he joined with the *Mede*, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon

Nabocolaſſar [e]; this is the great *Nebuchadnezzar* of ſcripture, by the *Greeks* called *Nabuchadonoſor* (A). It was he that Nabocolaſſar.

[x] Apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra APION. l. 1. [y] See NEWTON's Chron. of anc. kingd. amend. p. 292 [z] See before p. 203, note (K). [a] See before, p. 92, 93, & ſeq. [b] See before, p. 205, & ſeq. [c] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. [d] See before p. 219, note (G). [e] See before in the canon, p. 279.

(A) His name, taken which way you will, may be diſcovered to have been *Aſſyrian*, by the termination *Aſſar*. We have already given

Year of the Flood, 2394. Year before Christ 605.

that compleated what his father had aimed at, and subjected what had been before the *Assyrian* empire to the obedience of the throne at *Babylon*; it is he that must be called the first *Babylonian* monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the government some years before he died, and that in consequence of this, he waged war with *Pharaoh Necho*, who had conquered all *Syria* to himself, while the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were under restraint by the *Scythians*, or busied in the reduction of *Nineveh*; and that in this war he not only wrested *Carchemish*, or *Circesium*, or *Circutium*, a considerable town on the *Mesopotamian* side of the *Euphrates*, from *Pharaoh Necho*, and routed him with a great slaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates* which had been seized by *Necho*, and made a conquest even of *Egypt* itself, where, understanding his father was dead at *Babylon*, he took the necessary measures to secure those countries, and by the shortest way of the desert, hastened to *Babylon* [f]. This we have shewn to be a mistake, so far as it is possible to detect an error of this nature (B). He certainly did

[f] Beros. apud Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 1. & apud Euseb. in Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

given the seeming derivation of it, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have so often asserted, that the *Babylonian* monarchy, how much soever it may have been distinguished from the *Assyrian*, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince was not only the first emperor at *Babylon*, properly so called, for his father can never be quite considered as such; but as he was also the man in whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* greatness arrived at its utmost height, as appears by *Daniel*, who, summing up the whole of it in his person, declares, that the golden head he saw in his vision was meant to signify himself *.

(B) We have already (1) demonstrated the thing to have been as we here suggest, concerning the death of *Nabopallasar*; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the history of this branch of the *Assyrian* family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by stating it in another manner, and to make it still clearer, if it be possible so to do. From the death of *Assar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is twenty years, and from the first of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the 12th, that he warred upon the *Medes*, is

* *Dan.* ii. 38. (1) *See before, p.* 206, *note* (Q), & *p.* 219, (C).

did not croſs the *Euphrates*, before he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, had put an end to *Nineveh*, and eſtabliſhed himſelf on a ſolid baſis in the eaſt.

THIS

32 years. *Manaſſeh* was taken priſoner by *Aſſar-addin* in the 21ſt year of his reign, and, according to all appearance, in the 9th or 10th year of *Aſſar-addin*'s reign at *Babylon*. The 9th or 10th year we ſay; becauſe, as he took *Manaſſeh* captive not long before he invaded *Egypt*, and was to hold *Egypt* but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at *Babylon* but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think, he effected his conqueſt of *Egypt* in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly muſt have kept the ſame in ſubjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken *Manaſſeh* priſoner. This being ſtated, if *Manaſſeh* was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of *Aſſar addin* at *Babylon*, and, as *Manaſſeh* reigned 34 years after his ſaid captivity, if, to the 32 years between the war *Chyniladan* made upon the *Medes* and the death of *Aſſar-addin*, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this laſt king complete at *Babylon*, it muſt follow, that *Manaſſeh* died either in the 10th or 11th year of the ſaid *Chyniladan*; and as between the laſt year of *Manaſſeh* and the firſt of *Joſiah*, there is an interval but of two years, *Joſiah* muſt have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the ſame *Chyniladan*; from the 12th or the 13th of *Chyniladan* to the laſt year of his ſucceſſor *Nabopallaſar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now *Joſiah* reigned 31 years, and therefore muſt either have outlived *Nabopallaſar* by one year, or have died the ſame year he died, ſuppoſing the reign of this *Babylonian* to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwiſe; for if he had committed the reins of his government ever ſo much to the guidance of his ſon, he muſt have been conſidered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father muſt ſtill have been king, tho' we conſider him but as collegue with his ſon, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, muſt have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when *Joſiah* was killed, there was a king of *Aſſyria* ſtill in being; it was not againſt the *Medes* and *Babylonians* that *Pharaoh Necho* went up, as *Joſephus* * in a hurry miſtakes the matter: his buſineſs was apparently to get a ſhare of the *Aſſyrian* empire, which the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were on the point of dividing between them; *Nabopallaſar* then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of *Egypt*, who can have been no rebel to him, nor can he have even ſent his ſon to ſuch remote parts as *Egypt*, when he had ſo much to do at home, and found, that his whole force, combined together with that of the *Medes*, was not more than neceſſary to deſtroy the old *Aſſyrian* family;

(2) *See before, p.* 203, *&* *ſeq.* * *Antiq. l. x. c.* 6.

This when he had done, he croſſed the *Euphrates* (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the *Aſſyrian* empire, taking

not to mention the *Scythians*, who, if ever they held any dominion in theſe parts of *Aſia*, muſt have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the *Aſſyrians* and the riſe of the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*. *Beroſus* then, in what he ſays of the expedition *Nabopallaſar* ſent his ſon againſt his prended ſatrapa of the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, ſeems rather to have deſired to magnify this firſt *Babylonian* hero, than to adhere to the truth. No attempt can have been made, either by him or his ſon, on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, till *Nineveh* had been deſtroyed and the *Scythians* expelled. Now in the very laſt year of his reign *Pharaoh Necho* came upon his very frontiers, and took *Carchemiſh* from him, as we have here ſtated it, though, as we computed before †, this invaſion and ſucceſs of the *Egyptian* muſt have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you poſſibly can in the behalf of *Beroſus*, it is plain, he is not ſincere with us in this caſe. *Pharaoh Necho*, who muſt have been the ſatrapa or governor he talks of in the weſtern parts, muſt have been by far a more powerful prince than *Nabopallaſar* his pretended maſter; and we are, for this reaſon, inclined to think, that by the ſame rule he degrades this potent *Egyptian*, he muſt have ſpun out the life of his *Babylonian* beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If *Beroſus* abounded with many ſuch miſtakes as theſe ſeem to have been, he deſerves to be as little regretted as *Trogus*, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an overſight and ſeeming inconſiſtency, that formerly (3) eſcaped us, where we ſuppoſe the city of *Nineveh* to have been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which, as we have ſtated things there, coincides with the year *Joſiah* was ſlain by *Necho*, though, according to ſcripture, there was then an *Aſſyrian* king abſolutely in being, and though we have elſewhere determined (4), that *Nineveh* was not ruined but in the ſecond, third, or fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which is what we ſtill adhere to as moſt probable: By the computation here above it muſt appear, that *Nineveh* had been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of *Aſſyria*, when *Joſiah* was ſlain at *Megiddo*.

(C) *Eupolemus* (5) tells us, that *Nebuchadonoſor*, king of *Babylon*, underſtanding that *Jeremiah* had propheſied in his favour, entreated *Aſtibares*, the king of the *Medes*, to aſſiſt him in this expedition againſt *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. That accordingly the army of

† *In the note*, p. 206.
(4) *Ibid.* p. 210, *note* (G).
(3) *See before*, p. 207, *note* (Q).
(5) *Apud* Euſeb. *Præpar. Evang.* l. 9. c. 39. p. 454.

the

aking *Carchemiſh* from the *Egyptians*, and reducing *Syria* as elated; but as for *Egypt*, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the hiſtory of *Egypt* itſelf, as delivered by prophane authors, but alſo by the plain concurrence of ſcripture.

HAVING deſtroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carchemiſh* [g], he croſſed over to this ſide of the river *Euphrates*, and, having conquered *Syria* and the neighbouring countries, came with a mixed number of nations [h], and having ravaged [i] *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, and the *Jews* in *Galaaditis*, he at length laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* [k], and took it on the 9th of the month *Chaſleu*, or *November*, a day the *Jews* commemorate even in our times [l]. He now took *Jehoiakim* priſoner, and bound him in chains with deſign to carry him to *Babylon*; but he changed his mind upon the humble deportment of the captive king, who ſwearing to be true to him as his vaſſal and tributary, he reſtored him to his liberty; though he did not abſtain from the plunder of *Jeruſalem*, whence he tranſported the veſſels in the temple to that of *Belus* in *Babylon* [m], and took with him ſome of the choiceſt and moſt promiſing youths, whom he committed to the care of *Aſhpenaz*, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to ſee them inſtructed in the learning [n] and language of the *Chaldees*, and to educate them in ſuch manner, that they might be fit to attend him as his royal domeſtics. Of theſe, particular notice is taken of *Daniel* and his three friends, *Hananiah*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah* [o].

He takes Carchemiſh, *and conquers* Syria.

THUS did *Nebuchadnezzar* begin to eſtabliſh himſelf in the weſt (D), and returning to *Babylon*, he reſolved to adorn Babylon. *Returns to* and

[g] BEROS. ubi ſup. [h] EUPOL. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] EUPOLEM. ubi ſup. [k] 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. Dan. i. 2. [l] USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3398. [m] Dan. i. 2. [n] Dan. i. 3. [o] Ibid. 6.

the *Medes* and *Babylonians* united together, and conſiſted of ten thouſand chariots, one hundred and eighty thouſand foot, and one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe. By this author then it appears they had made an end of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon *Syria*; which though it is certain, without any ſuch evidence, we may yet quote it, to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and moſt natural it muſt appear: he had ſettled himſelf in the eaſt, and his buſineſs now was to ſtrip *Pharaoh Necho* of his new empire over *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. He does ſo, drives the *Egyptians* from

and inlarge the ſeat of his growing empire, in proportion to the ſovereignty it was to poſſeſs over the nations far and near [p]; and being thus employed at home, it happened, that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams [q]. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, ſorcerers, aſtrologers, and *Chaldæans*, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had eſcaped his memory, but alſo what the dream had been. Perceiving it was in vain he conſulted them, his diſappointment wrought upon him to that degree of fury, that he reſolved to put them all to death [r], and gave his orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard; who, being on the point to do as he was commanded, was accoſted by *Daniel*, who, expoſtulating with him upon the raſhneſs of the decree againſt the wiſe-men, and requeſting him to ſuſpend the execution of it, gave him aſſurance, that he could ſatisfy the king in what he was ſo ſollitous to know [s].

His dream of the image.

Daniel then went into the preſence of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and, begging that he would grant him a little time to conſider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an addreſs to heaven, the ſecret was revealed to him in a night viſion [t]. Thus inſtructed from above, he went to *Arioch* the captain of the guard, deſiring, he would not ſo much as think of the orders he had received againſt the wiſe-men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to ſatisfy [u]. When the king ſaw *Daniel*, or *Belteſhazzar*, (that was his name in *Babylon*) he aſked him if he could tell him his dream, and what it portended; to which he anſwered, with a prefatory introduction to inſtil into the haughty prince ſome notions of the might and majeſty of God, that his dream had been as follows [w], That

[p] BEROSUS ubi ſup. [q] Dan. ii. [r] Ibid. ver. 12. [s] Ibid. ver. 16. [t] Ibid. ver. 19. [u] Dan. ii. 24. [w] Ibid. ver. 31.

Carchemiſh, whence they pretended to curb the *Babylonians* even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* quite to the river of *Egypt* (6), and the king of that country dares no more ſhew his head in theſe parts (7); being more ſollicitous to defend himſelf in his own country, which was to have its turn of invaſion, as having been joined to the *Aſſyrian* empire by *Eſarhaddon* (8), than any thing elſe.

(6) 2 *Kings xxiv.* 7. (7) *Ibid.* (8) *See before, p.* 203, *note* (K).

in

in his ſleep he ſaw an image, vaſt and reſplendent, and terrible to the ſight; that the head of this image was of fine gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay; that from an inviſible power he ſaw a ſtone, that ſtruck the image on the feet, which were part iron and part clay, and cruſhed them to pieces; that immediately all the metals in the body of the image became as duſt, which was ſwept away by the wind and no more ſeen; while the ſtone, which had cauſed this deſtruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth [x]. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himſelf, as king of kings, was ſignified by the golden head of the image; that a ſecond kingdom, inferior to his, ſhould ariſe, which was denoted by the breaſt and arms of ſilver; and that from thence a third kingdom of braſs ſhould ariſe, and lord it over the whole earth; that a fourth kingdom ſhould ariſe, and be as ſtrong as iron, and deſtroy all that had gone before; but that, the feet and toes being part iron and part clay, this fourth kingdom ſhould be nevertheleſs partly ſtrong and partly feeble: That after theſe, God would ſet up a kingdom which ſhould endure for ever, and that this was ſignified by the ſtone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had ſhattered the gold, the ſilver, the braſs, the iron, and the clay of the image into duſt, which had been ſcattered abroad by the wind [y].

An-

[x] Ibid. ver. 35. [y] Ibid. ver. 45.

(E) "In this viſion of the image compoſed of four metals, the "foundation of all *Daniel*'s prophecies is laid. It repreſents a bo-"dy of four great nations, which ſhould reign over the earth ſuc-"ceſſively, *viz.* the people of *Babylonia*, the *Perſians*, the *Greeks*, "and the *Romans*. And by a ſtone cut out without hands, which "fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to "pieces, *and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth*, it "further repreſents, that a new kingdom ſhould ariſe after the four, "and conquer all thoſe nations, and grow very great, and laſt to "the end of all ages.

"The head of the image was of gold, and ſignifies the nation "of *Babylonia*, who reigned firſt, as *Daniel* himſelf interprets. "*Thou art this head of gold*, ſaid he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Theſe na-"tions reigned till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon*; and, within a few "months after that conqueſt, revolted to the *Perſians*, and ſet them "up above the *Medes*. The breaſt and arms of the image were "of ſilver, and repreſent the *Perſians*, who reigned next. The "belly and thighs of the image were of braſs, and repreſent the "*Greeks*, who under the dominion of *Alexander* the great, con-

"quered

Nebuchadnezzar, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped *Daniel*, commanding that they should strait offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings. He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of *Babylon*, and made him chief of the presidents of all the wise-men. But *Daniel* requested, that his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abed-nego* (so they were called in *Babylon*) might have charge of the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, and the thing was so; while *Daniel* was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself [a].

Sends several nations to harrass Jehoiakhim.

WHILE he was thus at *Babylon*, news came to him, that *Jehoiakim* had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute; but not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* to make incursions into the territories of *Judah* [b]; and in this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years; till, at length uniting, they besieged *Jerusalem*, and laying hands on *Jehoiakim*, they slew him, and threw his body into the highway [c]; a warfare related a different way by *Josephus* [d], according to whom *Nebuchadnezzar* must now himself have been before *Jerusalem*, and must have taken it in person, and have put the flower of the inhabitants to the sword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into captivity.

Year of the Flood, 2400.

BUT to return to scripture [e]; these confederated nations, though they had thus destroyed the king of *Judah*, did not possess themselves of *Jerusalem*, but continued to blockade it

Year before Christ 599.

[a] Ibid. ver. 47. [a] Ibid. ver. 49. [b] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [c] See before, p. 105. [d] Antiq. l. x. [e] Ubi sup.

" quered the *Persians*, and reigned next after them. The legs " were of iron, and represent the *Romans*, who reigned next after " the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of *An-* " *tiochus Epiphanes*. For in that year they conquered *Perseus* king " of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*; and from " thence forward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with " great power, till the days of *Theodosius* the great. Then, by " the incursions of many northern nations, they brake into many " smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of " the image, composed part of iron and part of clay *.

* *Sir* Is. NEWTON's *Observ. on the Prophecy of* Dan. *Part i. c.* 3. *p.* 25, 26.

till

till *Nebuchadnezzar* came, who appeared in a few months (F) at the head of his whole army; and inveſting it with a regular ſiege, he forced *Jehoiachin* to ſurrender himſelf, with the circumſtances before related [f]. He now reſolved to exert the utmoſt of his rigour, and to give a glut to his avarice; and, in conſequence thereof, he emptied the ſacred and the royal treaſuries, and cutting to pieces the golden veſſels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the inhabitants that were conſiderable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer ſort juſt to cultivate the land; and appointing *Mattaniah*, whoſe name he changed into *Zedekiah*, king over the deſolate kingdom of *Judah* [g]. Thus did he march back in triumph to *Babylon*, laden with the ſpoils of the *Jews*, and followed by numbers of the captive people, who, by their valour and ſkill, might have been, and no queſtion were, of great uſe to him in the ſtupendous works he had begun or projected at *Babylon*, and highly ſerviceable to him in the proſecution of his conqueſts. And thus ended his ſecond war with the *Jews*.

No ſooner was this over, than *Jeremiah* [h] began to propheſie the increaſe of this prince's dominion, and particularly, that he ſhould ſubdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eaſtward of the *Tigris* (G). This country muſt have been

[f] See before, p. 105. [g] Ibid. p. 106. [h] Jerem. xlix. 34.—39.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to paſs, that *Nebuchadnezzar* neglected, for at leaſt three years, to appear in this war perſonally; it is anſwered (9), That it is uncertain what detained him ſo long, though it is very probable, he was buſied in the conduct of his vaſt deſigns at *Babylon*; that, however, he may have been engaged, as a mediator between the *Medes* and the *Lydians*, who, after a war of ſeveral years, being on the point of fighting a deciſive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipſe of the ſun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to ſubmit to the arbitration of two nieghbouring princes, they ſhould agree to chuſe for each other. It is now ſuppoſed, that *Nebuchadnezzar* was choſen by the *Mede*, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon *Judah*; but *Herodotus* expreſly ſaying it was *Labynetus* (11) who was this mediator, we ſhall defer what may be ſuggeſted thereon to the time of his reign.

(G) By the words of the prophecy *Elam* muſt have been a great and potent kingdom; *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief*

(9) PRIDEAUX's *Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Vol. I. part i. l. i. p.* 69. &c. (10) HERODOT. *l. i. c.* 74. (11) *Idem l. i. c. ibid.*

been the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*, and lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after-times, the capital of this country, *Shushan*, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the *Babylonian* monarchs.

This mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against the *Babylonian*; *Jeremiah* [1] sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to *Nebuchadnezzar*; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, should find mercy, and remain in possession of their country [k]; such was absolutely to be their fate if they resisted, and such their reward if they behaved submissively under their bondage.

A more sublime elevation no man can be shewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible soever he was represented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*,

[1] Ibid. xxvii. [k] Jerem. xxvii.

of their might. And upon Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the out casts of* Elam *shall not come. For I will cause* Elam *to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in* Elam, *and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord* (12).

(12) Jerem. xlix. 35 — 38.

were

were contriving how they ſhould free themſelves from the king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, underſtanding that the *Egyptians*, the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving to withdraw themſelves from his obedience; and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jeruſalem*, had been encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, to ſet him at defiance, reſolved particularly to puniſh ſuch ingratitude and infidelity [1] in the moſt extraordinary manner; and putting himſelf at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the ſame time to chaſtiſe all theſe preſumptuous nations; where being arrived, and conſidering with himſelf, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in ſuſpence for a while, dubious where he ſhould firſt open the war; till at laſt he referred this important buſineſs to the ordinary methods of divinatory direction in practice with the *Chaldees*, who, conſulting of entrails, their images, or teraphim, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their opinion, That

Year of the Flood, 2409. Year before Chriſt 590.

[1] 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxi. 1. xxxiv. 1.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mohammediſm* prevailed, which abſolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very ſame in uſe with the *Babylonians* at this time. "The arrows uſed by them for this purpoſe were "like thoſe with which they caſt lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of ſome idol, in whoſe preſence they were conſulted. Seven ſuch arrows were kept at the temple of *Mecca*; but generally in divination they made uſe of three only; on one of which was written, *My LORD hath commanded me*; on another, *My LORD hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the firſt was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in queſtion; if the ſecond, they made a contrary concluſion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew them over again, till a deciſive anſwer was given by one of the others. Theſe divining arrows were generally conſulted before any thing of moment was undertaken: as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like [*Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh. & al Beid.* in Kor. c. 5. *Al Moſtatraf.* &c. Vid. *Poc.* Spec. p. 327. &c. & *D'Herbelot.* Biblioth Orient. Art. Acdâh.] This ſuperſtitious practice of divining by arrows was uſed by the antient *Greeks*, [Vid. *Pott.* Antiq. of *Gr.* vol. i. p. 334.] and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in ſcripture, [*Ezek.* xxi. 21.] where it is ſaid, that *the king of* Babylon *ſtood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to uſe divination; he made* his *arrows bright*, (or, according to the verſion of the Vulgate, which ſeems

(13) *See the Koran, c.* 5 *p.* 94. *of* Mr. Sale's *tranſlation.*

preferable

That the war ſhould firſt break out againſt the *Jews* [m]. The *Babylonian* army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and in a few days became maſter of all their cities, except *Lachiſh*, *Azekah*, and *Jeruſalem* [n]; which in the latter end of *December*, the ſame year, was blocked up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all his formidable army, and a cloſe and vigorous ſiege enſued [o].

While he thus was employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophra* was on his march to relieve the beſieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle [p], and attack him before he could be poſſibly joined by any of the diſcontented nations mentioned above; but before he left *Jeruſalem*, he took care to ſend all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 perſons, under a good guard to *Babylon* [q]. He then moved againſt the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onſet, as ſhould ſeem by the prophet [r], retreated in proportion as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; though others [s] tell us, they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

Having thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their own country, he had leiſure once more to proſecute the vengeance he had reſolved to take on the king at *Jeruſalem*, which city he beſieged once more, raiſing works about the place from whence he ſo annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not ſo much as dare to ſhew their heads on the walls [t]. And yet this ſiege continued ſo long, and was in a way of continuing ſo much longer, that *Nebuchadnezzar* ſeems to have loſt all patience, and to have retired to recreate himſelf at *Riblah* [u]; if it was not buſineſs rather than pleaſure that drew him thither. While he was at *Riblah*, his generals, *Nebuzaradan*,

[m] Ezek. xxi. 19.—24. [n] Jerem. xxxiv. 7. [o] 2 Kings ubi ſup. Jerem. xxxix. 1. lii. 4. [p] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [q] Idem lii. 29. [r] Idem xxxvii. 7. [s] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. ubi ſup. c. 10. [t] Idem ibid. [u] 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 6.

" preferable in this place, *he mixed together*, or ſhook *the arrows*) " *he conſulted with images*, &c. The commentary of St. *Jerom* " on this paſſage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the " aforeſaid cuſtom of the old *Arabs*. *He ſhall ſtand*, ſaith he, *in* " *the highway, and conſult the oracle after the manner of his nation,* " *that he may caſt arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being* " *written upon, or marked with the names of each people, that he may* " *ſee whoſe arrow will come forth, and which city he ought firſt to* " *attack*" (14)

(14) *See the prelim. Diſe to the ſame, p.* 126, 127.

Nebuſhaſban

Nebuſhaſban, *Rabſaris*, *Nergal-ſharezer*, and *Rabmag* (I), ſtuck cloſe by *Jeruſalem*; and at length perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhauſted of their ſtrength and courage, they aſſaulted the city in the middle of the night, [w] and took it after a twelvemonth's ſiege. At firſt they miſſed *Zedekiah* and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to eſcape. *Nebuchadnezzar* no ſooner ſaw *Zedekiah* brought before him at *Riblah*, than, ſeverely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he cauſed his children and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then, depriving him of his eye-ſight, ordered him to be bound with chains of braſs, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to *Babylon* [x]. Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before Chriſt 588.

HE then diſpatched *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to diſmantle the city of *Jeruſalem*, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in ſhort the whole place. This was executed with the utmoſt rigour; and to compleat the tragedy, every ſoul in the land was led away into captivity, except ſome few of the moſt miſerable of the people, who were left to take care of the ſoil and the fruits as yet ungathered. Thus did the *Chaldæans*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, deal with the *Jews*; they ſtripped the temple of all its furniture, and deſtroyed the brazen ſea, and the two brazen pillars [y].

AMONG the priſoners *Nebuzaradan* brought with him to *Riblah* were *Seraiah* the high-prieſt, *Zephaniah* the ſecond prieſt, the three governors of the temple, *Zedekiah*'s chief general, and five of his favourites or counſellors, together with his muſter-maſter, who was alſo his ſecretary; *Nebuchadnezzar* ordered all theſe to be beheaded. In the midſt of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviſeable not to leave the land without ſomebody to look to the miſerable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one *Gedaliah* [z]: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, giving *Nebuzaradan* a favourable charge with regard to that holy perſon, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular

[w] Ibid. ver. 4. [x] See before, p. 109. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. p. 110.

(I) *Joſephus* (15) calls them *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Nabaſaris*, and *Echarampſaris*.

(15) *Antiq. Jud. l.* 10. *c.* 11.

protection, or of going forward with him to *Babylon*, there to enjoy himself in peace and plenty in his palace. And now *Nebuchadnezzar* returned once more in triumph to the city of his residence, adding great strength and glory to it, by an immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

With the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought, he erected [a] the monstrous colossus of that metal in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura* in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, should no sooner hear the sound of various musical instruments, than they should fall down and worship the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had set up; under the fearful penalty of being thrown into the midst of a burning fiery furnace [b]. They failed not to obey at the signal given, all but the *Jews*, and particularly *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abed-nego* (K), who being brought before the king, and accused of the neglect, and contempt, and persisting in a refusal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious against them, and ordered, that the furnace should be heated seven times more than ever it had been, and that they should be thrown into it [c]. They were then bound with all their apparel about them, and thrown in; but the heat or the fire of the furnace was so violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution [d]. This was

[a] Prideaux, ubi sup. l. 2. p. 87. [b] Dan. iii. [c] Ibid. ver. 20. [d] Ibid. ver. 22.

(K) It may be thought strange, that *Daniel* was not accused as well as his friends, it being impossible to suppose, he fell down and worshipped the image. To this it is answered (16), that he must have been either absent, or, if present, must have been too great a man to be accused: It is observed (17) to be most probable, that he was present, it being impossible well to conceive, how so important an officer could have been absent upon so general a summons, and upon so solemn an occasion; but that his enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and chose to pave the way to his destruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculously delivered, *Daniel* escaped all danger of course.

(16) *See* Prid. *ubi sup. p.* 87. (17) *Idem. ibid.*

no

no ſooner over, than *Nebuchadnezzar* became all aſtoniſhed, and haſtily inquiring, if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being anſwered accordingly, he cried out, *I ſee four men looſe walking in the midſt of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God* [e]. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, and conjured the three men, as ſervants of the moſt high God, to come out to him. They did ſo, and all were aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw, when they perceived, they had not received the leaſt hurt or alteration, even in their garments [f]. *Nebuchadnezzar* bleſſed the God of *Shadrach*, *Mieſhach*, and *Abed-nego*, and decreed, that whoſoever of any people, nation, or language, ſhould preſume to ſpeak any thing amiſs of the God of *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abed-nego*, the criminal ſhould be cut in pieces, and his houſe turned into a dunghil [g].

THUS mighty prince, thus reformed, was obliged once more to croſs the *Euphrates*, to make war on the nations on this ſide, whoſe turbulence of ſpirit could not reſt. It had been propheſied, that he ſhould ſubdue *Egypt* (L), and ſerve her

[e] Ibid. ver. 25. [f] Ibid. ver. 27. [g] Ibid. ver. 29.

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for* Pharaoh *king of* Egypt, *and ſay unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou* art *as a whale in the ſeas; and thou cameſt forth with thy rivers, and troubledſt the waters with thy feet, and fouledſt the rivers. Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will therefore ſpread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they ſhall bring thee up in my net . . . For thus ſaith the Lord God, The ſword of the King of* Babylon *ſhall come upon thee . . . There* be *the princes of the north all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which are gone down with the ſlain, with their terror they are aſhamed of their might, and they lie uncircumciſed with* them that be *ſlain by the ſword . . .* Pharaoh *ſhall ſee them* (that is, *Pharaoh* ſhall ſee the *Zidonians*, or *Tyrians* deſtroyed before him; for *Nebuchadnezzar* ſubdued *Phœniciæ* before he invaded *Egypt*), *and ſhall be comforted over all his multitude, even* Pharaoh *and all his army ſlain by the ſword, ſaith the* LORD GOD. That this prophecy immediately relates to *Nebuchadnezzar*, appears by the recapitulation, made in this ſame chapter, of the conqueſts of this monarch, as *Aſſur*, or *Aſſyria*, *Elam*, &c. *Jeruſalem* may not have been mentioned, as not being yet deſtroyed. The ſame prophet dilates much upon this fearful deſtruction and captivation of *Egypt* in other places (19). *Jeremiah* is quite explicit upon the occaſion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus ſaith*

(18) *Ezek. xxxii.* 2—31. (19) *xxix, xxx, xxxi.* (20) *xliii.* 10—13.

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her as *Judah* had been ſerved, and that the ſame fate ſhould alſo befal the city of *Tyre* (M).

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Chriſt 585.

In completion of theſe predictions he ſat down with his army before *Tyre*, and underwent a moſt tedious ſiege of 13 years there, and at laſt had nothing but an empty town for *the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *Behold, I will ſend and take* Nebuchadnezzar *my ſervant . . . And when he cometh, he ſhall ſmite the land of* Egypt, and deliver *ſuch* as are *for death, to death; and ſuch* as are *for captivity, to captivity; and ſuch* as are *for the ſword, to the ſword. And I will kindle a fire in the houſes of the gods of* Egypt, *and he ſhall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he ſhall array himſelf with the land of* Egypt, *as a ſhepherd putteth on his garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in peace. He ſhall alſo break the images of* Bethſhemeſh, *that is in the land of* Egypt, *and the houſes of the gods of the* Egyptians *ſhall he burn with fire.* Much more to the ſame purpoſe is to be found in this ſame prophet (21).

(M) Theſe are the words of the prophet (22), *Son of man, becauſe that* Tyrus *hath ſaid againſt* Jeruſalem, *Aha, ſhe is broken,* that was *the gates of the people . . . Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I* am *againſt thee,* O Tyrus . . . *Behold I will bring upon* Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon, *a king of kings, from the north . . . ſhall ſlay with the ſword thy daughters in the field, and he ſhall make a fort againſt thee, and caſt a mount againſt thee, and lift up the buckler againſt thee. And he ſhall ſet engines of war againſt thy walls, and with his axes he ſhall break down thy towers. By reaſon of the abundance of his horſes their duſt ſhall cover thee, thy walls ſhall ſhake at the noiſe of the horſemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he ſhall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horſes ſhall he tread down all thy ſtreets; he ſhall ſlay thy people by the ſword, and thy ſtrong gariſons ſhall go down to the ground. And they ſhall make a ſpoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandiſe;* [This ſeems to contradict what is ſaid of the removal to the iſland, and the emptineſs of the place when *Nebuchadrezzar* got poſſeſſion of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the deſtruction of the old town] *and they ſhall break down thy walls, and deſtroy thy pleaſant houſes; and they ſhall lay thy ſtones, and thy timber, and thy duſt, in the midſt of the water . . . . And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be* a place *to ſpread nets upon: thou ſhalt be built no more . . . Then all the princes of the ſea ſhall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments; they ſhall cloath themſelves with trembling, they ſhall ſit upon the ground . . . and be aſtoniſhed at thee;* and ſo on in this place, and in others (23) of this ſame prophet, to the ſame purpoſe.

(21) *xlii. xliv. xlvi. &c.* (22) *Ezek. xxvi.* 2—16. (23) *xxvii. xxviii.*

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his pains [h]. For the *Tyrians*, perceiving his obſtinacy againſt them, and ſenſible they muſt ſooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of removing to the iſland oppoſite to them, and not above half a mile or ſo from the ſhore; where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects, and left *Nebuchadnezzar* to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town, which he failed not to do [i]. However, during this ſiege, he from time to time, by detached parties, ſeems compleatly to have ſubjugated all the countries about; and this he certainly did, in purſuance of the ſeveral prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Thus during this ſiege, he ſent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judæa*, to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor *Gedaliah*: In conſequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, and which amounted to no more than 745 perſons, and thereby compleated the deſolation of the land.

WHAT *Nebuchadnezzar* may probably have done at *Tyre*, before he departed thence, we have declared already [k]. But to make amends for this diſappointment, it was promiſed by the prophet, that *Egypt* ſhould pay him for what he had ſuffered before *Tyre* [l]. *Egypt* was at this time as weak as *Tyre* was apparently ſtrong; for the country was at this time in great diſtraction, cauſed by a civil war then raging between *Apries* and *Amaſis* [m]. But concerning this his expedition againſt *Egypt* we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the prophecies of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*; whereby we underſtand, that *Egypt* ſuffered as much by him as any nation had till then done (N). And now it muſt

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Chriſt 572.

[h] See Vol. II. p. 345. [i] Ibid. p. 346. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. p 49. [m] Ibid. p. 50.

(N) This, beſides what we have cited from the prophets to prove it, is directly ſaid by *Jeremiah* (24), addreſſing himſelf to ſuch of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a ſure place of refuge in *Egypt*; *Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of Iſrael, If ye wholly ſet your faces to enter into* Egypt, *and go to ſojourn there, then it ſhall come to paſs,* that *the ſword, which ye feared, ſhall overtake you there in the land of* Egypt, *and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, ſhall follow cloſe after you, there in* Egypt, *and there ye ſhall die. So ſhall it be with all the men that ſet their faces to go into* Egypt, *to ſojourn there, they ſhall die by the ſword, by the famine, and by the peſtilence: and none of them ſhall remain, or eſcape from the*

(24) xlii.

evil

must have been also, that he conquered the *Libyans*, and *Ethiopians*, and other adjacent nations, according to the prophecies concerning him (O). As for *Egypt*, it is quite uncertain in what state, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he did not appoint *Amasis*, so famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy there [n]. The glory and prosperity of the reign of this *Egyptian* king, as represented by the *Egyptians* themselves [o], need not prevent us from concluding, he was no better than a substitute and tributary to the king of *Babylon*, and the rather, as the prophet foretels of them, that they should be confounded and desolate for 40 years afterwards [p], which is a space of time nearly equal to the reign of *Amasis* [q]; and his defection in the end may have been as good a reason as any formerly given for the rage, as it is represented, of *Cambyses* against him [r], when the *Persians* had destroyed the empire of *Babylon*.

But to desist from uncertainties of so very dubious a nature, *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to have carried his arms into the very heart of *Libya* and *Iberia*, and to have far exceeded even

[n] Ibid. p. 52. [o] Ibid. p. 53. [p] Ibid. p. 49. [q] Ibid. p. 59. [r] Ibid. p. 56.

evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, *As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the Inhabitants of* Jerusalem, *so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into* Egypt: *and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach, and ye shall see this place no more* (25).

(O, *Son of man* * *prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Howl ye, woe worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord* is *near, a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the heathen . . . Great pain shall be in* Ethiopia, *when the slain shall fall in* Egypt, *and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down.* Ethiopia, *and* Libya, *and* Lydia, *and all the mingled people, and* Chub, *and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword Thus saith the Lord, They also that uphold* Egypt *shall fall, and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of* Syene *shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord God. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries* that are *desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities* that are *wasted. And they shall know that I am the* LORD, *when I have set a fire in* Egypt, *and* when *all her helpers shall be destroyed. In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships, to make the careless* Ethiopians *afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, . . . for lo it cometh* (26).

(25) *Ibid.* 15——18. * *Ezek.* xxx. (26) *Ibid.* 2—9.

Hercules

Hercules himself *. Thus far we have seen him a warrior beyond all that had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and must retire with him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there, and seeing the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better than by a description thereof, which we have particularly reserved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched the temples of it with the spoils he had taken, and, in fine, did most of what is attributed to *Semiramis*, except the immediate foundation; and, indeed, as it is evidently under him, and almost under him only, as monarch of *Babylon*, that the country flourished, and lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the *Medes*, who upon his death seem to have been upon no very good terms with the *Babylonians*, so nothing is more natural than to conclude, that the city attained its splendor under him, and that what was done to it after him, was rather to preserve it from assaults of the enemy, than to set it off as the queen of the east.

TOWARDS the description of *Babylon*, and what *Nebuchadnezzar* did there, we have little or nothing to add to what has already been said for us; and therefore we shall have no more to do than to transcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author [r]. Babylon *described.*

Semiramis, as we have seen, by some [s], and *Belus* [u] by others, is said to have founded this city; but whether it was originally founded by *Belus* or *Pul*, or his son *Nabonassar* the first *Babylonian* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itself; the temple of *Belus*; *Nebuchadnezzar*'s palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works which for magnificence and expence, were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of *China*.

THE walls that surrounded the city were every way prodigious; for they were in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles [w]. These are the measures according to *Herodotus*, who was him- *The walls.*

* ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud. EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. p. 456. & BEROS apud JOSEPH. [r] PRIDEAUX in his connect. [s] See before, p. 165. [u] ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9 p. 457. QINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. [w] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 178.

ſelf at *Babylon*; and though there are thoſe who differ from him in theſe dimenſions, yet moſt, who agree in any meaſures of theſe walls, give us [x] the ſame, or nearly the ſame he does (P). Theſe walls formed an exact ſquare [y], each ſide of which was 120 ſtades, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen [z], a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city [a], and much more durable and ſtrong than lime. On the outſide of theſe walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it ſerved to make the bricks which built the walls [b], ſo that from the great dimenſions of the walls, thoſe of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each ſide of this ſquare were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of ſolid braſs: Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between thoſe corners and the gates next on each ſide, and each of theſe towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe parts, of the walls, where towers were needful for defence [c]. For ſome parts of them being upon a moraſs, and inacceſſible by an enemy, there the labour and coſt was ſpared, which, though it muſt have ſpoiled the ſymmetry of the whole, muſt be allowed to have ſavoured of good œconomy; though that

[x] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. Philost. l. 1. c. 18. [y] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [z] Idem ibid. c. 179. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. Strab. l. 16. p. 743. Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 69. Arrian. de expedit. Alex. l. 7. [a] See Vol. I. p. 319, note (I). [b] Herodot. ubi ſup. [c] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, as we have ſeen before (27), diminiſhes the circumference of theſe walls very conſiderably, and takes ſomewhat from the height of them, as in *Herodotus*, though he ſeems to add to the breadth of them, by ſaying, That ſix chariots might drive abreaſt thereon; while the former writes, That one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each ſide of the top of theſe walls, which, according to him, were but one ſtory high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this reſpect. It is obſerved (29), that thoſe, who give the height of theſe walls but at fifty cubits, ſpeak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who had cauſed them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have ſpoken of this city, would be both endleſs and fruitleſs.

(27) *P.* 165. *ubi ſupr. p.* 95. (28) *L.* 1. *c.* 179. (29) *Vid.* Prid.

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is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been ſo determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* muſt have been, to make the city complete both for ſtrength and beauty; and hence it ſhould ſeem, that we ſee a woman in after-ages compleating the walls of *Babylon*; which may have been no more than ſupplying the deficiency of towers in the parts ſo deſtitute of them, which may be better conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of her in particular. The whole number then of theſe towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been neceſſary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the 25 gates in each ſide of this ſquare there was a ſtrait ſtreet, extending to the correſponding gate in the oppoſite wall, whence the whole number of the ſtreets muſt have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them croſſing the other 25 exactly at right angles [d]. Beſides theſe whole ſtreets, we muſt reckon four half ſtreets, which were but rows of houſes facing the four inner ſides of the walls. Theſe four half ſtreets were properly the four ſides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad [e], the whole ſtreets being about 150 of the ſame. By this interſection of the 50 ſtreets, the city was divided into 676 ſquares, each of four furlongs and an half on each ſide, or two miles and a quarter in compaſs. Round theſe ſquares on every ſide towards the ſtreets ſtood the houſes, all of three or four ſtories in height, and beautified [f] with all manner of ornaments; and the ſpace within each of theſe ſquares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleaſure or convenience.

A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midſt of it, from north to ſouth (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length [g], or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who ſay, it was no leſs than five ſtades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad [h], a

[d] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. c. 180. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 67. [f] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. PHILOSTR. l. 1. [g] STRAB. ubi ſupr. p. 738. [h] See before, p. 166.

(Q) It ſeems rather to have been a branch of the *Euphrates* (30), than the main ſtream itſelf, that thus divided this city. In *Ptolemy*'s maps it is ſeated upon the *Naharmalcha*, or royal river.

(30) *Vide eund. ibid.*

S f difference

difference we ſhall never be able to decide (R); this bridge however is ſaid to have been built with wonderful art [i], to ſupply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. At the ends of this bridge were two palaces [k]; the old palace on the eaſt ſide, the new one on the weſt ſide of the river; the former of which took up [l] four of the ſquares above-mentioned, and the latter [m] nine of them. The temple of *Belus*, which ſtood next to the old palace, took up another of the ſame ſquares.

The whole city ſtood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil [n]; that part or half of it on the eaſt ſide of the river was the old city [o], and the other on the weſt was added by *Nebuchadnezzar* [p], both being included within the vaſt ſquare bounded by the walls aforeſaid. The form of the whole was ſeemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, which was alſo 480 furlongs; but though it was equal in dimenſions to this city, it was leſs with reſpect to its form, which was a parallelogram [q], whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact ſquare: It is ſuppoſed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had deſtroyed that old ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* empire, propoſed that this new one ſhould rather exceed it than not [r], and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants, that he tranſported ſuch numbers of captives from other countries hither [s]; though that is what may be diſputed, ſeeing he therein only followed the conſtant practice of the kings of *Aſſyria*, who muſt have re-

[i] Diodor Sicul. l. 2. p. 68. Herodot. l. 1. c. 186. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. Philostr. l. 1. c. 18. [k] Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. Herodot. ubi ſupr. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. Quint. Curt. ubi ſupr. Philost. ubi ſupr. See before, ubi ſupr. [l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 193. [o] Beros. ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. p. 65. [r] Vid. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo. [s] Vid. eund. ibid.

(R) By the former of the dimenſions of this bridge, it is plain, the city was not immediately upon the great river of *Euphrates*, but rather upon ſome artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main ſtream. By the latter indeed it may ſeem, that it ſtood upon the main ſtream itſelf; however, as they both agree ſo well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the truer length thereof, the latter being quite diſproportionate thereto; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of *Babylon* was not immediately upon the great river *Euphrates*. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged; but, as it is a point of ſuch obſcurity, we wave them.

curred

curred thereto, as the moſt certain means of aſſuring their conqueſts either to themſelves or their poſterity.

THUS far however appears; this city was never near inhabited, and, with reſpect to the very meridian of its glory, may be compared with the flower of the field, which flouriſhes to day, and to morrow is no more; for as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* viſibly intended to have made it; for *Cyrus* removing the ſeat of the empire ſoon after to *Shuſhan*, *Babylon* fell to decay, and never flouriſhed to the degree of any thing like what *Nebuchadnezzar* had certainly propoſed to himſelf. Thus far is allowed, no country could have been better able to ſupport ſo vaſt and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it ſhould have been compleated up to the firſt deſign (S).

But

(S) This it is thought never to have been; for "when *Alexander* "(31) came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, no more than 90 furlongs "of it was then built, which can no otherwiſe be underſtood than "of ſo much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as "much as the length, (which is the utmoſt that can be allowed) "it will follow, that no more than 8100 ſquare furlongs were "then built upon, but the whole ſpace within the walls contained 14400 ſquare furlongs, and therefore there muſt have been "6300 ſquare furlongs that were unbuilt, which, *Curtius* tells us, "were plowed and ſown. And beſides this, the houſes were not "contiguous, but all built with a void ſpace, on each ſide, between houſe and houſe. And the ſame hiſtorian tells us this "was done, becauſe this way of building ſeemed to them ſafeſt. "His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per "90 ſtadia habitatur, nec omnia continua ſunt; credo, quia tutius eſt "pluribus locis ſpargi.* i. e. *Neither was the whole city built upon, "for the ſpace of 90 furlongs it was inhabited, but the houſes were "not contiguous, becauſe they thought it ſafeſt to be diſperſed in many "places diſtant from each other.* Which words [*they thought it "ſafeſt*] are to be underſtood, not as if they did this for the better ſecuring their houſes from fire, as ſome interpret them, but "chiefly for the better preſerving of health; for hereby, in cities ſituated in ſuch hot countries, thoſe ſuffocations and other "inconveniences are avoided, which muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch as "there dwell in houſes cloſely built together. For which reaſon "*Delhi*, the capital of *India*, and ſeveral other cities in thoſe warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the uſage in thoſe places "being, that ſuch a ſtated ſpace of ground be left void between "every houſe and houſe that is built in them; and old *Rome* was

(31) *Vid. Curt. lib.*

"built

But neither did *Nebuchadnezzar* live long enough, or the empire itſelf ſubſiſt a time ſufficient to bring this to paſs.

The

" built after the ſame manner. So that, putting all this together,
" it will appear that *Babylon* was ſo large a city in ſcheme rather
" than reality: for according to this account, it muſt be by much
" the larger part that was never built, and therefore, in this reſpect,
" it muſt give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in
" circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we
" are told of. And the number of its infants, at the ſame
" time, which could not diſcern between their right hand and
" their left, which the ſcripture tells us, were 120,000 in the time
" of *Jonah*, doth ſufficiently prove it was fully inhabited."

Upon this we have to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is related by *Curtius*, at a time when the city muſt have ſuffered a very great decay; and when the houſes and private buildings in particular muſt have been deſerted and gone to ruin, and levelled with the ground, the ground that became void, amounting to a conſiderable ſpace, may have been converted to the uſes of tillage and paſture. For when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, it muſt have been little better than the ſkeleton of the old city; ſo that let what *Curtius* reports concerning it be ever ſo true, it proves no more, than that ſuch was the ſtate of *Babylon* when *Alexander* came there, not what it had been, and doubtleſs was, when the ſeat of the *Babylonian*, or latter *Aſſyrian* empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is aſſerted by *Curtius*, as to the diſtance left between houſe and houſe, and the example produced in *Delhi*, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that ſtraggling manner, it may be needleſs to animadvert thereon, when at the ſame time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 ſtreets, or 26, including the two half ſtreets, or rows, at the ends and at the ſides. A city built in this proportion muſt have been full airy enough, and by the proportions it muſt appear, that there were ſuch void ſpaces behind all the houſes, as muſt have anſwered all the purpoſes of preventing ſuffocations, and other inconveniencies the inhabitants may have been in danger of. And beſides, if *Delhi* and other cities in the eaſt, are built in the extenſive and incoherent manner above ſuggeſted, other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built, without this diſcontinuity, but as cloſe as poſſible, and with ſtreets ſo narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to paſs through them; as *Canton* in *China* (32), and other cities in the ſame country, and others.

(32) *See the* Dutch *Embaſſy*.

Laſtly,

THE next work in *Babylon*, attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, is the temple of *Belus* [t]. This temple or tower, as to its form and dimenſions, we have ſufficiently deſcribed already [u], where we have alſo declared our thoughts concerning the firſt foundation and completion of it [w]; but ſome particulars we muſt however add, to give a more diſtinct idea of *Temple of* Belus.

[t] BEROS, ubi ſupr. [u] See Vol. I. p. 321. note (K). [w] Ibid.

Laſtly, it is almoſt certain, that *Nineveh* was never ſo big as *Babylon*, notwithſtanding what is inferred from the 120,000 ſouls there, who could not diſtinguiſh their right hand from their left; which, as we have ſuggeſted formerly (33), may be as juſtly underſtood of a religious blindneſs, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expreſſion, which may be very aptly uſed on the occaſion when *Jonah* was to open their eyes, that they might ſee the dangers their ſins were like to bring upon them. *Nineveh* was in the time of *Jonah* in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of *Aſſyria*, diſtinguiſhed as ſuch (35), and therefore to ſuppoſe that city, in the days of *Jonah*, to have been more conſiderable than *Babylon* was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more juſt to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greateſt; for it is plain, by the hiſtory of all the *Aſſyrian* kings at *Nineveh*, that they never eſtabliſhed a ſettled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were for ever diverted by foreign wars; ſo that they lived rather upon the ſpoil, from time to time, as they made their incurſions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the ſeveral people they over-ran, who never reſted quietly, for any ſpace of time, under their yoke. *Eſar-haddon* was the moſt powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over *Egypt*, which none of his predeceſſors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aſpired at; but he dying ſoon after he had thus eſtabliſhed himſelf, and being as it ſeems, ſucceeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. *Nebuchadnezzar*, of all the *Aſſyrian* race, ſeems to have raiſed the family to the utmoſt it ever was. His great ſucceſſes, and the length of his reign, in compariſon of what was enjoyed by any *Aſſyrian* king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raiſed *Babylon* to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur, which had never been ſeen at *Nineveh*; and if thereto we add his paſſion to aggrandiſe and imbelliſh this city, which plainly eclipſed her ſiſter in *Aſſyria*, we cannot ſo much as doubt of it; though after all, we are very ready to think, *Babylon* never was ſo very enormous as repreſented.

(33) *See before p* 186, (W). (34) *Ibid.* (35) *Ibid.*

what

what it was. The aſcent to it was by ſteps on the outſide, by the ſlope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which ſhaped it, as it were, into eight diſtinct towers, as may be obſerved in the repreſentation we have copied of it. What the uppermoſt of theſe towers was ſet apart for, we have ſeen already †; but on the top of this there was, it ſeems, an obſervatory [x], by the means of which the *Babylonians* are pretended to have advanced themſelves to their great pretended knowledge in the ſidereal ſciences. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it is thought, this tower was all the temple of *Belus*, but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city [y], ſo he did by this [z], making great additions thereto, by vaſt edifices erected round it [a], in a ſquare of two furlongs on every ſide, and juſt a mile in circumference, which exceeded the ſquare at the temple of *Jeruſalem* by 1800 foot [b]. On the outſide of theſe buildings was a wall, which incloſed the whole; and in conſideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is ſuppoſed [c] that this wall was equal to the ſquare of the city wherein it ſtood, and ſo is concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were ſeveral gates leading into the temple, and all of ſolid braſs [d], which it is thought [e], may have been made out of the brazen ſea, and brazen pillars, and other veſſels and ornaments of the kind which *Nebuchadnezzar* had tranſported from *Jeruſalem*; for in this temple he is ſaid to have dedicated his ſpoils brought from that of *Jeruſalem* [f].

In this temple were ſeveral images or idols of maſſy gold, and one of them, as we have ſeen [g], 40 foot in height, the ſame, as ſuppoſed [h], with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* conſecrated in the plains of *Dura* [i]. This laſt is ſaid to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high; which, though it vaſtly exceeds the dimenſions of the former of 40, yet this laſt is thought to have been ſo extraordinary for ſize, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one [k], by ſuppoſing, that in the 90 foot the height of the pedeſtal is included, and that the 40 foot are for the height of the ſtatue without

† Ibid. p. 244. [x] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 98. [y] Beros. apud Joseph. ubi ſup. [z] Idem apud eund. ibid. [a] Herodot. ubi ſup. [b] Vid. Prid. Connect. Vol. I. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Herodot. ubi ſup. [e] Vid. Prid. ubi ſup. [f] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [g] See before p. 167. [h] Vid Prid. ubi ſup. [i] See before, p. 316. [k] Vid. Prid. ubi ſup.

the

the pedeſtal (T); and being ſaid to have weighed 1000 talents of *Babylon* [1], it is thence computed, that it was worth three

[1] See before, p. 167.

(T) With the pedeſtal or without, this golden coloſſus muſt be allowed to be a wonder, and eſpecially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this ſtatue, as a late learned author (36) has done; they may have been juſt, for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to ſuſpect, as well as that *Diodorus*, by the ſtatue he mentions (37), means that which *Nebuchadnezzar* raiſed in the plain of *Dura*. It ſhall ſuffice, that we take notice, that the ſame late learned author (38) imagines this ſtatue, vaſt as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of *Babylon*, and conſequently, that, according to the value of the *Babyloniſh* talent in *Pollux*'s *Onomaſticon*, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden ſtatue in *Diodorus* is placed in the temple of *Belus* (39), where *Herodotus* has alſo ſeemingly two golden ſtatues of ſolid gold, the one, which he repreſents as large, of *Jupiter* or *Belus* (40), in a fitting poſture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the ſame metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of *Babylon*; and another of 12 cubits high, all of ſolid gold, which if it weighed ſo much as 800 talents, muſt have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no more; and that to *Herodotus* (41) ſeems ſo much, that he cautiouſly reports it on the credit of the *Chaldæans* themſelves. Whatever was the difference in weight between theſe two ſtatues, it may thence appear that *Diodorus*, in allowing but 1000 talents for his ſtatue of 40 foot high, is egregiouſly miſtaken, and conſequently, that our author (42) was a little inattentive to this ſeeming abſurdity, except he concluded his ſtatue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick ſheet of gold; that indeed might alter the caſe, and he would have done well to have made this diſtinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of maſſy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not ſure, that *Herodotus*, by the height he gives of the one and the weight of the other, does not mean the ſame ſtatue; our reaſon for this, among others, is his omitting to name whom the laſt ſtatue repreſented, which being ſo remarkable a piece of furniture in this *Babylonian* temple, we wonder how ſo exact a writer ſhould have been guilty of the omiſſion; and this inclines us to think they were both *Jupiters*, and conſequently the ſame god, and perhaps the ſame image. If ſo, he may have thought it needleſs to repeat the name, which would have been quite neceſſary if they had been diſtinct deities; but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), ſo now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(36) *See* Prid. *ubi ſup.* p. 101. (37) *See before*, p. 167. (38) Prid. *ubi ſup.* (39) *See before, ubi ſup.* (40) *See before*, p. 244. (41) *l.* 1. *c* 183. (42) Prid. *ubi ſup.* (43) *Ibid.* p. 100. (44) *See before*, p. 244 (45) *Ibid.*

millions and an half of our money [m]. In a word, the whole weight of the ſtatues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is eſtimated at above [n] one and twenty millions of our money; and a ſum about equal to the ſame in treaſure, utenſils, and ornaments, not mentioned [o], is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one obſervation, that our author ſuppoſes this immenſe treaſure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that as he is moſt apparently miſtaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation; which, if it was curtailed conſiderably, might have been, together with other plunder of the ſort, a ſufficient indemnity to *Xerxes* for his *Grecian* expedition.

The two palaces.

Next to this temple [p], on the ſame eaſt ſide of the river, ſtood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in circumference. Exactly oppoſite to it, on the other ſide of the river [q], was the new palace built by *Nebuchadnezzar*: it was eight miles in circumference, and conſequently four times as big as the old one. Both theſe palaces we have already deſcribed according to ſuch accounts as we have remaining of them [r], but muſt add, that as vaſt as this palace muſt have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days [s].

The hanging gardens

But nothing in this city of *Babylon* has obtained a greater degree of admiration, than what we call the penſile or hanging gardens, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his wife *Amyitis* [t], who was a *Mede* [u], and deſirous to have ſomething of a proſpect that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as *Babylonia* was otherwiſe. They are ſaid to have contained a ſquare of four plethra [w], or 400 foot, on each ſide, and deſcribed to have conſiſted of terraſſes one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the aſcent from terraſs to terraſs being by ſteps ten foot wide. The whole pile conſiſted of ſubſtantial arches upon arches, and was ſtrengthened by a wall ſurrounding it on every ſide of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: Firſt, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of ſtones, 16 foot long and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courſes of brick, cloſely cemented together with plaſter; and over all theſe were thick ſheets of lead, and on theſe the

[m] Vid. Prid. ubi ſup p. 101. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Strab. l. 16. p. 731. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſup. Philostrat. ubi ſup. [r] See before, p. 166. [s] Beros. apud Joseph. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] See before, p. 216. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſup. p. 70.

earth

earth or mould of the garden. This floorage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, which was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrass, together with great variety of other vegetables pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terrasses was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terasses were supplied.

THE other works attributed to *Nebbchadnezzar* by *Berosus* [x] and *Megasthenes*, or *Abydenus* [y], were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said to have been sunk by *Semiramis* [z]. The chief of these canals was the *Nabarmalcha*, or *Basilicos Potamos* of the *Greeks* [a]; the lake was to abate the inundations of the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, just as the lake *Mœris* in *Egypt* was designed to correct the irregularities of the *Nile* [b]; their uses are exactly alike, *viz.* to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to rescue it from the dangers of inundation [c]. This lake, however, if we are to credit our historians, was vastly more in circumference than that in *Egypt*, it being on the one hand [d] said to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other [e], which is much less, 160, either of which gave it a square, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the *Egyptian* lake, which has been thought a work too stupendous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it seems to have more than made good in depth, which was in some places no less than 50 fathom [f], whereas the depth of this *Babylonian* lake is given but at 35 foot [g], or 75 at the utmost [h]; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a supposition, that the one measures only the surface of the sides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon them [i].

The banks, artificial canals, and lake.

THIS lake is said to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while *Nebuchadnezzar* built the banks to each side of the city of *Babylon* [k], and to have been to the westward of that place. These banks were built for the security, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly,

[x] Apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. [y] Apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. ubi sup. [z] See before, p. 167. [a] See Vol. I. p. 114. [b] Ibid. p. 426, & seq. [c] See PRID. ubi sup. p. 103, & Vol. I. p. 426, & seq. [d] HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 185. [e] MEGAST. apud EUSEB. ubi supr. [f] See Vol. I. p. 427. [g] HERODOT. ubi supr. [h] MEGAST. ubi supr. [i] Vid. PRID. ubi supr. p. 104. [k] Vid. ABYDEN. ubi supr. HERODOT. ubi supr. DIOD. ubi supr.

and were made all of brick and bitumen [l]. and extended on each ſide throughout the whole length of the city [m], and even farther according to ſome [n], who reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded [o], they muſt have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal diſtance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. Theſe banks were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the ſame thickneſs with thoſe that ſurrounded the city; and oppoſite to each ſtreet on each ſide he had a brazen gate in the ſaid wall [p], with ſtairs leading down from it to the river; theſe gates were open by day, and ſhut by night. *Beroſus*, *Megaſthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all theſe works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finiſhed what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this hiſtorian gives her of the whole [q]. If theſe works fell even much ſhort of what we have here ſeen them to have been, it muſt be granted, we have not ſaid too much of the *Babylonians* where we have repreſented them to have been ingenious, induſtrious, and laborious [r], and if *Nebuchadnezzar* did but attempt them, it muſt be allowed, that he deſerves the firſt place among thoſe who have endeavoured to ſignalize themſelves by ſuch ſtupendous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them towards a ſtate of perfection, nothing can be ſaid too much of him conſidered in this view.

We have now ſeen this firſt *Babylonian* monarch, properly ſo called, in all his majeſty, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to ſay of him will be of a different nature: for we ſhall ſee him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly underſtood, degraded beneath the meaneſt of the race of mankind, and ſeemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, ſwoln with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themſelves what they ought not.

Year of the Flood, 2429. Year before Chriſt

He had ſcarce returned from his late war of 16 or 17 years continuance, and flushed with the conqueſt of *Egypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *Libya*, and the reduction of all *Syria*, but reposing himſelf in his palace, he had a dream, which may be beſt de-

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[l] Abyden. apud Euseb. ubi ſupr. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [n] Beros. ubi ſupr. [o] Vid. Prid. ubi. ſupr. [p] Compare Beros. ubi ſupr. with Herodot. ubi ſupr. [q] Vid. Prid. ubi ſupr. p. 105. [r] See before, p. 276.

livered

THE CITY OF BABYLON

D: Pomarede e. Parigi

OF BABYLON

livered in his own words [r]; "I saw, and behold, a tree in Nebu-
"the midſt of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great. chadnez-
"The tree grew and was ſtrong, and the height thereof zar's
"reached unto heaven, and the ſight thereof to the end of *dream of*
"all the earth. The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit *the tree.*
"thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: The beaſts of
"the field had ſhadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven
"dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all fleſh was fed of it.
"I ſaw in the viſions of my head upon my bed, and behold,
"a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He
"cried aloud, and ſaid thus, Hew down the tree, and cut
"off his branches, ſhake off his leaves, and ſcatter his fruit;
"let the beaſts get away from under it, and the fowls from
"his branches. Nevertheleſs leave the ſtump of his roots in
"the earth, even with a band of iron and braſs, in the ten-
"der graſs of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of
"heaven, and let his portion *be* with the beaſts in the graſs
"of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and
"let a beaſt's heart be given unto him, and let ſeven times
"paſs over him. This matter *is* by the decree of the watch-
"ers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the
"intent, that the living may know, that the moſt High
"ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſo-
"ever he will, and ſetteth up over it the baſeſt of men [t]".

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wiſe- *The inter-*
men, aſtrologers, *Chaldæans*, and the like, and all to no *pretation of*
purpoſe, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, or *Belteſhazzar* [u]; *it.*
which, how he ſhould have neglected to do at firſt, after the proofs he had had of his ſuperiority and the omnipotence of his God, may be hard to account for, if we do not ſuppoſe him to have laboured under ſome ſort of diſtraction. To wave this, he is repreſented as revealing his dream to *Daniel*, in words to the effect above; and *Daniel* no ſooner heard it, than he *was aſtoniſhed for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him* [w]. At length, after he had recovered himſelf, and deprecated the evil omen, and excuſed himſelf to the king, who was very ſolicitous with him to tell him the truth without fear or diſguiſe, he told him, The tree he ſaw was meant of himſelf; that by the order of the watcher and the holy one concerning the tree, it was ſignified, that he ſhould be driven out from the ſociety of men, and become as a beaſt, and that, in fine, he ſhould ſo continue to be, till he had been brought to a due ſenſe of the ſupremacy and omnipotence

[r] Dan. iv. ver. 19. [t] ibid. [u] Ibid. ver. 9. [w] Ibid.

of

of God; that the ſtump of the tree which was to be left ſignified, that the kingdom ſhould nevertheleſs revert to him once more [x]. Such was *Daniel*'s interpretation, which he cloſed with an exhortation to him to abſtain from ſin, and to ſhew mercy to the poor, that ſo he might procure to himſelf a prolongation of peace and tranquility [y].

THIS extraordinary ſentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man whom he muſt entirely have relied on, ſeems to have made no laſting impreſſion upon him; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as ſome think [z] the fact may have been, on the uppermoſt of the terraſſes of his hanging garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, "Is not this "great *Babylon*, that I have built for the houſe of the king-"dom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my "majeſty [a]?" He had no ſooner vented himſelf in this inſolent manner, than there fell a voice from heaven, ſaying, "O "king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is ſpoken, The kingdom is "departed from thee [b]." And ſtraight he was driven from the ſociety of men, and dwelt with the beaſts of the field, and he ate graſs as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles *feathers*, and his nails like birds *claws* [c]. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is ſometimes taken in all the ſtrictneſs of it; it being ſuppoſed, that, loſing his ſenſes, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till ſeven times, or ſeven years, had paſſed over his head [d]; but concerning this metamorphoſis, and the duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinions.

His pride and metamorphoſis.

DURING

[x] Ibid. ver. 26. [y] Ibid. ver. 27. [z] PRID. ubi ſupr. p. 105.
[a] Dan. ubi ſupr. ver. 30. [b] Ibid. ver. 31. [c] Ibid. ver. 33.
[d] See PRID. ubi ſupr.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, "*Origen* "(46) believed the thing to be impoſſible, and turned it into alle-"gory. *Bodin* (47) thought, he was really changed into a bull, "and that he loſt even the ſoul of a man; while others (48) main-"tain, he was changed as to the body only, retaining his reaſon, "as *Apulcius* did while an aſs, and like the *Italians*, mentioned by

(46) *Apud* Hieron. *in Dan. iv.* (47) *Demonol. l.* 2. *c.* 6. (48) Maldon. *in Dan. ubi ſup.* & Tertull. *de Pœnit. c.* 12, 13.

"St.

DURING this his diſorder, it is ſaid, his ſon *Evil-merodach* adminiſtred the government for him[c]. and that he did it ſo ill, as to draw his father's moſt heavy diſpleaſure on him, when he came to underſtand what he had done; for when his ſeven *His death.*

[c] HIERON. in Eſai. xiv. 19.

" St. *Auſtin* (49), who having taſted of cheeſe, preſented to them " by certain magicians of the country, were immediately turned " into beaſts of burden, but at leſt recovered their firſt form and " condition of life. Some *Rabbins* have pretended, that the ſoul " of *Nebuchadnezzar* deſerted his body, and, for a time, gave " place to the ſoul of an ox, which degraded him into all the in- " clinations and ſenſations of that animal; while others (50, ad- " mit no more to have been the caſe than a vitiated imagination " in the prince, and a kind of faſcination in the eyes of his ſub- " jects, which made them fancy, as well as himſelf, that he was, " for certain, become an ox, though there was no ſuch thing. " The moſt received opinion is, that, by the power of God, *Ne-* " *buchadnezzar* fell into a black melancholy, and, under this op- " preſſion of mind, fancied himſelf an ox; as in a lycanthropy a " man perſuades himſelf he is a wolf, a dog, a cat; a change " which exiſts no where but in the diſtempered brain, nor to be diſ- " covered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the " imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and deſire to range " the country, and fly from men. That after ſome ſuch manner " it muſt have been, that this king became an ox, and was agitated " by all the affections and deſires of one. That his people, aſtoniſh- " ed at ſuch an alteration (51), bound him as a madman, but that, " eſcaping from them, he fled into the fields, and lived after the " manner of an ox. "

Our author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks nothing more than this laſt ſuppoſition is required to account for what in ſcripture is ſaid of this extraordinary event; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophets prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, ſo there are varieties as to the continuance of it. " Some with *Theodoret* " (53), maintain, that, as the *Perſians* divided their year into two " ſeaſons, winter and ſummer, the ſeven years of *Nebuchadnezzar* " muſt be reduced to three and a half *Dorotheus* (54) and the ſpuri- " ous *Epiphanius* (55) affirm, that God had actually condemned him

(49) *De Civit. Dei. l.* 18 *c.* 18. (50) Medin. *de reſt. in Deum fide, c.* 7. Vier. *de præſtig. Dæmon. l.* 1. *c.* 24. (51) Hieron. Theodoret. Maldon. Peireri. Cornel. Sanct. *in Dan.* Vales *de Sacr. Philoſoph. c.* 80 Bartholin. *de Morb. Bibl. &c.* (52) Calmet. *Dict of the Bible, Art.* Nebuchadnez. III. (53) *Ubi ſup.* (54) *In Synop.* (55). *De vit. & Mort Prophet.*

" to

Year of the Flood 2437. Year before Christ 562.

seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where *Jehoiakim*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continuned in the possession of his kingdom about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years.

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those [f] who tells us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words; "Behold, O *Babylonians*, I fore-
"tel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, or our
"forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may possibly avert.
"A *Persian* mule shall come, and by the assistance of your
"own gods shall load your necks with a most galling yoke;
"and this destruction shall befal you by the means of a *Mede*,
"in whom the *Assyrians* were wont greatly to glory them-
"selves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people,
"were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in

His prophecy.

[f] MEGASTH. ex ABYD. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

"to a seven years punishment, but was prevailed on by *Daniel* to
"shorten it into seven months: the *pseudo-Epiphanius* adding, that
"as *Daniel* ceased not to foretel the restoration of the king, and
"the great men continually disbelieved him, and derided what he
"said, he obtained of God that his time might be shortned for the
"sake of convincing them. Others maintain, he was changed
"but for 21 months, explaining these words of *Daniel*, *Donec septem tempora mutentur super eum*, as intended for seven times the
"space of three months; *tempus*, according to them, being a
"quarter of a year. *Peter Comestor* allows but seven months,
"which he proportions out in this manner; For the first 40 days
"he allows him to have been in a phrenzy, or mad; the 40 days
"following, he bewailed his offences; and the next 40 days, he
"gradually recovered from his infirmity. But that nevertheless,
"in compliance with what he had been exhorted by *Daniel*, he
"remained seven years in the exercise of repentance, abstaining
"from ought but herbs and pulse, to attone for his pride and fol-
"ly." But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commentators, that we need no interpreter but *Daniel* himself, who plainly means whole years.

(56) Calmet, *ubi sup.*

" the depths of the ſea; or that hurried away into ſome " lonely deſert, he might there remain a wanderer, never " to behold again the footſteps of mankind, and never to " ſee ought but birds and beaſts of prey. O grant unto me, " before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to ſhare a hap- " pier end;" thus ſaying, he was ſuddenly ſnatched from the ſight of men; the ſame exit *Semiramis* is ſaid to have made [g].

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Evil-merodach* [h], *Ilvoradam* [i], *Ebidan-merodach* [k], *Evil-maluruch* [l], and, as it is moſt likely, *Belſhazzar*. That he was this ſeemingly laſt king of *Babylon*, according to *Daniel*, we ſhall endeavour to make out before we cloſe up his reign. In the mean time, we muſt look back to what he ſeems to have done while regent for his father, when under diſtraction of mind, which, among other falſe ſteps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn on him his father's moſt heavy diſpleaſure, and which, if ſtrictly true, muſt have laid the foundation of that animoſity in the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which hurried on the diſſolution of the *Babylonian* empire. While his father was deprived of his ſenſes, this prince his ſon, who was upon the point of marrying the *Nitocris* [m] ſo celebrated by *Herodotus*, took it into his head to divert himſelf with a hunting-match, upon the borders of *Media*, where he underſtood there was great plenty of game, by reaſon of the pacific ſtate the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* had been in for ſome years. He went attended by a ſmall force, light-armed, conſiſting both of horſe and foot, and ſeemingly equipt for the chaſe only. Being arrived on the frontiers, he halted near ſome gariſon'd places, where he ſtaid all night, intending to enter upon his diverſion the next morning: But it happening, that certain troops appearing for the relief of thoſe in gariſon in theſe parts, he took a fancy that theſe men, added to thoſe he had brought with him, might form ſuch a body as might be able to make ſome notable impreſſion upon the *Medes*, which he judged would redound more to his honour, than the diverſion he at firſt propoſed. He obeyed this irregular impulſe, and the next morning, by break of day, he moved towards the neareſt places that belonged to the *Medes*, leaving his foot behind him to guard his own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horſe. Being advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made a halt, and encamped with the beſt of his troops about him, that ſo he

Year of the Flood, 2437. Year before Chriſt 562.

[g] See before, p. 174. [h] Jerem. lii. 31. [i] See before in the Canon, p. 279. [k] Ibid. in the eccleſiaſtical account. [l] MASTR. ubi ſupr. [m] Vid. USSER. Annal. ad A. M 3421.

might the better keep the garifons of the *Medes* in awe, and prevent their ſallies; the reſt he ſent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the *Medes*, underſtanding the violences *Evil-merodach*, the ſon of the *Aſſyrian*, was committing in his country, marched towards him with ſuch troops as he had uſually attending him, and ſuch as his ſon could raiſe upon ſo ſudden an emergency; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his aſſiſtance, and among theſe was *Cyrus*, now about 16 years of age, and who now firſt ſignalized himſelf in battle. The parties *Evil-merodach* had ſent out were firſt attacked by the *Medes*, who, at length falling upon his main body, routed and purſued him with a great ſlaughter, quite home to his own borders [n]. Such was the event of this raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, enterpriſe (*W*); and this action may not only have exaſperated his father in a particular manner againſt him, but may alſo have been the firſt cauſe of that enmity of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which ended in the ruin of *Babylon*, as we have already obſerved. And this ſpirit thus rouſed in the *Medes* may have been ſo dreaded, and the conſequences of it ſo naturally foreſeen by his father, the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to have cauſed him to impriſon this his ſon, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have ſeen above.

Evil-merodach. Year of the Flood, 2439. Year before Chriſt 560

THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was juſtly called, as his name is interpreted, *Fooliſh Merodach*, having adminiſtred very ill during his father's diſorder, was thrown into priſon upon his recovery: And in this confinement he contracted ſuch a kindneſs for the captive king of *Judah*, that, ſucceeding to the throne upon the death of his father, he took *Jehoiachin* out of priſon, and entertained him like a king ever afterwards *. Farther concerning him is uncertain, except that, indulging himſelf in ſloth and wickedneſs, he became intolerable to his ſubjects, and that, after a very ſhort reign, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſiſter's huſband *Nerigliſſar*; who, that he was a *Mede*, and particularly *Darius* the *Mede*, we ſhall endeavour to make out in his reign; and if ſo, his murder of *Evil-merodach* his brother-in-law, may be accounted for by the

[n] XENOPH. Κυρ. Παιδ. * 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jerem lii. 31. JOSEPHUS, &c.

(*W*) If it was really *Nitocris* this prince was now about to marry, and if ſhe was really a *Mede*, as it is moſt generally underſtood, it is impoſſible to account for theſe his hoſtilities upon that nation, and eſpecially at the time our author here ſeems to mean; but this is what may be conſidered hereafter.

averſion

averſion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen againſt this unwiſe prince, who had ſo behaved to them as we have ſeen.

Evil-merodach *moſt likely to have been* Belſhazzar.

WHAT we have material to add concerning this king is, that, by all circumſtances, he is more likely to have been the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel*, than any other king in *Ptolemy*'s canon. This we gather from the concurrence of ſcripture with prophane hiſtory. *Beroſus* [o] repreſents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belſhazzar* is in ſcripture [p] repreſented as the ſame. *Beroſus* [q] relates, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by ſome of his lords; the ſcripture [r] ſays *Belſhazzar* was murdered at a great feaſt he gave to 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by whom. They both ſay he was the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by the name of *Evil-merodach* [s], and ſcripture ſays the ſame of *Belſhazzar*, which is not ſaid of any other of the *Babyloniſh* kings. If to this it ſhould be objected, that both *Evil-merodach* and *Belſhazzar* are mentioned in ſcripture [t], as ſons of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that therefore they cannot be the ſame perſon; we anſwer, that they are not mentioned any where in ſcripture, either together, or in a courſe of ſucceſſion, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in ſcripture it is not unuſual to call the ſame prince by different names in different places. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf is in ſome places, and particularly in the prophets, called *Nebuchadrezzar*. Thus the king, who in one place is called *Ahaſuerus* [u], is in another called *Artaxerxes* [w]: and in one and the ſame chapter [x] is *Eſar-haddon*, the great *Aſſyrian*, called *Aſnapper*; and this authority is ſo much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of ſcripture indiſputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in ſcripture mention is made of the third year of *Belſhazzar*'s reign [y], whereas *Evil-merodach* is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years [z]; we anſwer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; ſo that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an inſtance of which we have in *Ptolemy*'s canon, where *Laboroſoarchod*, the ſucceſſor of *Nerigliſſar*, is left out, becauſe he did not reign a complete year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This ſhall ſuffice for this ſubject for the preſent; we may reſume it hereafter ſtill further to the reader's ſatisfaction.

[o] Ubi ſupr. [p] Dan. v. [q] Ubi ſupr. [r] Ubi ſupr.
[s] Jerem. lii. 31. [t] Ibid. & Dan. ubi ſupr. [u] Ezr. iv. 6.
[w] Ibid. ver. 7. [x] Ibid. ver. 10. [y] Dan. viii. [z] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr.

Nerigliſſar.

Year of the Flood, 2439. Year before Chriſt, 560.

Nerigliſſar, *Niriglisſoroor*, *Niricaſſolaſſurus* [a], or, as we think, *Darius* the *Mede*, who is repreſented as the chief of the conſpirators againſt *Evil-merodach* [b], uſurped the throne. Of him it is ſeemingly recorded, for he is not mentioned by name, that dreading the *Medes* who began to threaten *Babylon*, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances. The ſtory, as it is told [c], repreſents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, *Hyrcania*, and *Arabia*, and to have been buſied in a war with the *Bactrians*, when *Aſtyages* the *Mede* departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the *Medes* and the *Perſians*, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding, that if he could but reduce the *Medes*, the reſt would bow to him of courſe, diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Crœſus* king of *Lydia*, to *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, the *Indies*, and *Cilicia*, to inſtil jealouſies into the ſeveral princes of theſe countries, and to ſtir them up againſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as if they were about to make themſelves maſters of all, particularly inſiſting on the ſtrict union between them by the mutual ties of marriage. The ſucceſs of theſe ſeveral embaſſies was, that ſome yielded to his reaſons, and others [d] to his preſent largeſſes and future promiſes. Now, by what our author here ſays of this king, and particularly of his conqueſts, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant *Nabocolaſſar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, than any king of *Babylon* that ſucceeded him, and particularly as he makes him cotemporary with *Aſtyages* the *Mede*. As for the pretence of union between the *Perſians* and the *Medes*, the ſame was as ſtrongly cemented between the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was married to a *Mede* [e], and it is very likely, that *Nerigliſſar* was a *Mede*, by his being huſband to a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s [f]. In ſhort, the *Medes* and the *Babylonians* ſeem to have been as cloſely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

But we muſt allow our author [g] to be a little inaccurate, and eſpecially as it is made a doubt, whether it was a hiſtory he meant to write, or a romance. However, that it is built upon ſome ſort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here ſuppoſed to write concerning our *Nerigliſſar*; for as an uſurper it is but natural he ſhould have made ſuch ſtrong and earneſt applications to the nations round about, as he is ſaid to have done; a method of procedure which can never be re-

[a] See before, ibid. [b] Beros. ubi ſupr. [c] Κυρ. Παιδ. β.
[d] Ibid. [e] See before, p. 330. [f] See before, p. 338.
[g] Xenoph.

conciled

conciled with a conqueror in the full ſtream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author [h], at the ſame time, repreſented to have been. We muſt therefore tax him with a little inattentiveneſs to what he was writing. *Nerigliſſar*, though he may have been of the royal blood of the *Medes*, may have been dubious, whether or no they and the *Perſians* would ſuffer him to ſit in quiet poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* empire, and may have had ſufficient reaſons to dread they would not; and that in ſuch caſe he ſhould ſo beſtir himſelf in his own defence is no wonder.

LET this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king ſeized on the ſovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and it is not unlikely, but he may have actually ſtood in need of foreign aid. Thus when *Nabuchadonoſor* was threatened with an invaſion by the *Medes*, he iſſued out his commands to all nations to come in to his aſſiſtance [i], a conduct *Cteſias* [k] has aſcribed to his *Sardanapalus*; and which may ſerve to illuſtrate what we advance concerning the diſtreſs *Nerigliſſar* muſt have been in upon his uſurpation; but he does not command as they did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

The confederate army under him.

TO have done with this obſcurity, the army, which ranged itſelf under the *Babylonian* ſtandard, is ſaid to have conſiſted of a mixed multitude as follows. *Cræſus*, king of *Lydia*, came with 10,000 horſe, and upwards of 40,000 lightarmed foot; *Artamas* king of the greater *Phrygia* brought 40,000 foot, moſtly pike-men, and 8000 horſe; *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, led with him 6000 horſe, and 30,000 foot, moſtly armed with miſſive weapons; *Maragdas*, the *Arabian*, conducted 10,000 horſe, 100 chariots, and a great number of ſlingers *. Theſe were the confederates of *Nerigliſſar*, and ſuch the quotas they reſpectively furniſhed; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactneſs of them, they being given as upon hear-ſay only, and in a converſation between *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*.

AS for *Nerigliſſar* himſelf, this potent *Babylonian* and fortunate conqueror, as our author has repreſented him, the numbers he himſelf brought into the field ſeem to be very ſhort, conſidering him in that view; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horſe, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable [l]. Whether or no this confederate army received any further addition is not certain; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*,

[h] Idem. ibid. [i] See before, p. 207. [k] Ibid. p. 182.
* Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi ſupr. [l] Ibid.

and

and some others, seem to have receded from their first engagements. So that the case is pretty much alike between *Chyniladan* [m], the *Assyrian*, and this *Babylonian*, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that disappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the *Medes* and the *Persians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable re-inforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midst of these great and industrious preparations for war, ambassadors arrived from *India* to inquire into the grounds and causes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining with those who should appear to have the most justice on their side [n].

War between him and the Medes *and* Persians.

How this embassy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of *Nerigliſſar*; for *Cyrus* subdued the *Chaldeans* in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia* [o]. These *Chaldeans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Assyrians*, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper *Chaldeans*, and their mountains, were far away from any part of *Armenia* [p]. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography we cannot positively say; but to us it seems that he is. These *Chaldeans*, however, according to our author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker shield and two javelins, and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them [q].

Chaldeans *next to* Armenia.

Battle between the Babylonians *and the* Medes

The two armies now appeared in sight of each other, and the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, under *Nerigliſſar*, incamped and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and the *Persians* covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Assyrians*, leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle-array, and being exhorted by *Nerigliſſar* to behave as became them in the approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at stake, were attacked by the enemy, who shamefully routed them in the field, and pursued them with a prodigious

[m] See before, p. 207. [n] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi supr. [o] Ibid. [p] See before, p. 224. [q] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi supr.

slaughter

ſlaughter chaſe to their retrenchments; where thoſe within did not dare to ſhoot an arrow againſt the inſulting *Medes* and *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Cyrus*, and no ſooner underſtood that he intended to force their camp than they betook them to the moſt precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loſs, in the moſt woeful and ſenſible manner. This, when the confederate kings perceived, they haſtened with the choiceſt of their men that were left them, to repulſe the *Perſians*, and they ſucceeded in their endeavours, and *Cyrus* retreated and encamped at ſome diſtance. But *Nerigliſſar* lived to ſee no more of the war now kindled. He was ſlain in battle, his ſubjects were in the utmoſt conſternation, and *Cræſus* and his allies, quite at a loſs, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, reſolved to ſave themſelves as they could, and left their camp a prey to *Cyrus* and his *Perſians*[r].

Neriglif- far *moſt likely to have been* Darius *the* Mede.

SUCH was the unfortunate end of *Nerigliſſar*, who, that he was *Darius* the *Mede*, appears by theſe arguments. If, as king of *Babylon*, he is in the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Darius* the *Mede* can have been no other than *Nerigliſſar*. Secondly, *Darius* the *Mede* is ſaid to have commenced king of *Babylon* at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not ſuppoſe him to have been ſlain by *Cyrus* as above, may be thought to ſuit better with *Nerigliſſar*'s ſhort reign of four years, than *Nabonad*'s longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, as *Nabonad* did not end his days with his reign, *Darius* the *Mede* muſt, in this caſe, have been ſtill much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, *Nerigliſſar* is repreſented as a wiſe, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his ſucceſſors were, and juſt ſuch an one does *Darius* the *Mede* ſeem to have been. Fourthly, Though *Nerigliſſar* is not ſaid to have been a *Mede*, yet he very probably may have been ſo, and nothing is ſaid to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of *Babylon*, though he married the daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſiſter of *Evil-merodach*; and theſe marriages, as we have ſuggeſted above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, till *Evil-merodach* behaved ſo impoliticly as he is repreſented to have done, in breach of the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, *Nerigliſſar* is on all hands allowed to have ſucceeded *Evil-merodach*, whom he ſlew, and ſo *Darius* the *Mede* is ſaid to have ſlain *Belſhazzar*, and to have aſſumed his kingdom. And though the ſcripture expreſſion, in this

Year of the Flood, 2443. Year before Chriſt 556.

[r] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi ſupr.

caſe,

eaſe, does not always imply an immediate ſucceſſion, it may be fairly enough admitted in ſuch a ſenſe, in the circumſtance before us, till ſomething to deſtroy it be exhibited againſt it. Sixthly, That *Nerigliſſar* was a *Mede*, may be gathered from the inveteracy he ſeems to have born againſt *Evil-merodach*, whom we take to have been *Belſhazzar*; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from *Xenophon* has any truth in it. Seventhly, The ſcripture does not ſay, that *Darius* was king of the *Medes*, but only that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the *Babylonians*, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And laſtly, He may have been a *Mede*, and yet *Cyrus* may have made war upon him, and ſlain him in battle; for *Cyrus*, it is ſaid, made no ſcruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence *Darius* may not only have been a *Mede*, but may alſo have been very nearly related to *Cyrus*, and yet have periſhed in battle againſt him; for nothing is to ſtand in the way of thoſe who are fired by the waſteful ambition of conqueſt and univerſal monarchy. This is what we have thought neceſſary to ſay in this place.

Laboroſoarchod.

THIS laſt king was ſucceeeded by his ſon *Laboroſoarchod* [r], *Labaſſoaraſc* [‡], or *Chabaeſſoarach* [t]: ſome ſuppoſe him to have been the ſame with *Nabonadius*, or *Belſhazzar*, and to have been the laſt king of *Babylon*. But they contradict an hiſtorical fact very explicitly related; whereby we underſtand, that he came very young to the throne, and that, betraying a moſt vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murdered, as not even worthy to live, much leſs to reign, which he did no longer than nine months [u]; ſo that not having compleated a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

SOME of this king's evil doings are ſuppoſed * to have been recorded by *Xenophon* †, according to whom it may have been, that he committed ſuch cruelties on *Gadates* and *Gobryas*, two great *Babylonians*, as provoked them to the ſhare they are ſaid to have had in the ſubverſion of this empire. The ſon of the former of theſe he is ſaid to have ſlain for no better reaſon than hitting a beaſt, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himſelf had miſſed; and the latter he is ſaid to have caſtrated, only becauſe one of his concubines

[r] BEROSUS ubi ſupr. apud EUSEB. ubi ſupr. [‡] ABYDEN. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. * PRID. ubi ſupr. p. 113. † Ubi ſup. c. 1.

had

had commended him for an handſome perſonage *. By theſe moſt violent acts of tyranny it is ſuppoſed †, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded, over to the enemy. Such is this king ſuppoſed to have been, though there are other ſeeming reaſons why he ſhould have been particularly odious in the eyes of ſome of the *Babylonians*, and particularly of his ſucceſſor and his aſſociates.

Nabonadius, who had the chief hand in the murder of *Laboroſoarchod*, is ſaid to have been a *Babylonian* [w], ſo that what is ſaid above of the unworthineſs of his ſhort-lived predeceſſor, may have very little of truth or juſtice in it. His greateſt fault may have been, that he was the ſon of a ſtranger and an uſurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himſelf, he may eaſily have been deſtroyed, and reaſons may as eaſily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confeſſedly the ſon of *Evil-merodach*, and grandſon to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; one, who muſt have thought himſelf injured by an excluſion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of retrieving the luſtre of his family. Nor muſt we forget, that he muſt alſo have been the ſon of the famed *Nitocris*, who is ſaid even to have outſhone *Semiramis* herſelf; and who, if the thing were ſo, could not have reſted in a private ſtate, while the ſon of an uſurper poſſeſſed the throne in prejudice of her ſon; and thus was it the ſceptre came again into the hands of a prince of the old *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* race, of the male branch, which in him was to ceaſe from empire.

THIS king is alſo called *Nabonduis* [x], *Labynetus*, *Labynitus* [y], *Nabannidochus* [z], *Naboandel* [a], *Belſhazzar*, and *Darius* the *Mede* [b], and by other names, and rather ſtruggled for the empire than poſſeſſed it; for *Cyrus* was now in the career of his victories, and a profeſſed enemy to the kingdom of *Babylon*, and had ſome battles with this king, as ſhould ſeem, and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the particulars being no where to be met with, we muſt content ourſelves with the little we know of the matter, and which we ſhall relate hereafter. *Nabonadius* appears, however, to have been the moſt powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been ſuch, that *Cyrus* thought it prudent

Nabonadius.

Year of the Flood, 2444. Year before Chriſt 555.

* Ibid. † Prid. ubi ſupr. [w] ABYD. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. ubi ſupr. & BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi ſup. & Id. ubi ſup. [x] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [y] HERODOT. [z] MEGASTH. ubi ſup. [a] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. [b] See before in the eccleſiaſtic account, ubi ſup.

to ſtrengthen himſelf, the moſt he could, by the conqueſt of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he undertook to deſtroy this.

What ſort of a man *Nabonadius* was, is hard to ſay; but his mother, according to ſome [c], has all the glory of his reign; all the honour of preparing for the defence of the falling kingdom is aſcribed to her. Her name was *Nitocris* [d], and ſhe is ſuppoſed to have been a *Mede* by birth [e], and to have been wife to *Evil-merodach*, and being a woman of great ſagacity and reſolution, ſhe not only foreſaw the ſtorm that was gathering, but prepared for ſhelter againſt it, and particularly by fortifying the city itſelf of *Babylon*, ſo that it ſhould be proof againſt any enemy that might aſſault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and conſequently by her, that *Babylon* is ſaid to have been firſt ſurrounded with walls [f] next to the river; and it is pretty plain, as we have obſerved before, that ſhe compleated what *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun. Thus *Herodotus* repreſents her to have not only fortified the ſides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either ſide of the city, but to have ſunk the lake, and done other works aſcribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at *Babylon* [g]. This heroine, having done all that could be done to ſecure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her ſon *Nabonadius* wallowed, as ſhould ſeem, in ſloth and luxury, neglectful and careleſs of what threatened him, was commemorated by an extraordinary inſcription on a monument which had been prepared by herſelf, to the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inſcription, ſaid to have been over one of the moſt remarkable gates of the city, is alſo ſaid to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who, conſidering the gate was uſeleſs, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immenſe treaſure, broke it open; but inſtead of what he ſought, is ſaid to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inſcription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS,

Nitocris.

[c] Herodot. and his followers. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 185. [e] Vid. Usser. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi ſup. [f] Berosus apud Euseb. & Joseph. ubi ſup. Herodot. ubi ſup. [g] Herodot. ibid. c. 186.

AVARITIOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for *Nitocris** ; we muſt now return to her ſon, and ſee how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

As the circumſtances of the fall of *Nineveh* are involved in great obſcurity, thoſe of the fall of *Babylon* are in many reſpects no leſs ſo; for all we ſeem poſitively to know concerning it is, that it was deſtroyed by *Cyrus*; and all we can do is, firſt, to relate what profane authors write concerning this laſt king; and, ſecondly, to inquire whether or no he was the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel*.

IF we adhere to *Herodotus* [h], who calls him *Labynitus*, we muſt conclude him to have been ſtill a great king, who, as yet, had not been attempted by the *Medes* and the *Perſians*; but to have been, on the contrary, in ſuch high eſteem with the former, as to have been choſen their mediator with the *Lydians*; which apparently deſtroys what *Xenophon* repreſents of the war, which ſubſiſted without any intervention of ſettled peace, from the reign of *Nerigliſſar* to the laſt day of the *Babylonian* monarchy; and this circumſtance being conſidered, it has been thought, that however *Herodotus* may ſeem to give this king, who thus reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, for the laſt of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who alone, of all the kings at *Babylon*, ſeems to have had weight and authority enough to be inveſted with this mediatory office.

Herodotus's *account of the fall of* Babylon.

Herodotus has a *Labynetus* whom, in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labynitus* whom he calls empe-

* Idem ibid. c. 187. [h] Ibid. c. 188.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inſcription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the ſepulchre of *Bel* himſelf is ſaid to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glaſs veſſel almoſt full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inſcription on a ſmall pillar hard by, That the man who ſhould open it ſhould dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not fill up the veſſel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and ſad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius* by others being ſaid to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a peſtilence is reported to have iſſued thence, and to have deſtroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) *In* Ἀπόφθεγμαλα, *p.* 173. (58) *Vid.* Purch. *Pilg. part i. c.* 12. *p.* 65.

ror of *Assyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this *Labynitus*, according to him it was that *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*; so that, after all, it may have been some former *Labynetus*, king of *Babylon*, that reconciled the *Medes* and the *Lydians*; but having thus suggested all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's decision

THIS *Labynitus*, understanding that *Cyrus* was on his march to besiege the city of *Babylon*, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquished, the *Babylonians* betook them to their city, which being furnished with great stores of provision to hold out a very long siege, they made a jest of it, and lived within the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midst of a riotous festival, the *Persians*, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have described, scaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the *Babylonians* were surprised in the midst of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire [i].

The fall of Babylon *according to* Berosus, *and* Megasthenes.

BY other authors [k] we understand, that this last king did not retire in person to *Babylon*, but chose rather to go to *Borsippa*, where, being besieged by *Cyrus*, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant, as should seem, into *Carmania*, where he spent the remainder of his days. And thus was *Babylon* taken, and such was the fate of her last king, after a reign of 17 years, according to profane historians; nor is the same inconsistent with scripture so very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

The fall of Babylon *according to* Xenophon.

BUT as much weight as these authors may have, *Xenophon* varies from them, and tells us [l], that this king lost all the considerable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by *Cyrus*, notwithstanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*, over whom he constituted *Cræsus* his general, and sent him even to invade *Media*. But *Cræsus* being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, *Babylon* was left as it were to herself. The city and the little territory about it was all of the east that now held out against *Cyrus*, who at length drew near to besiege the *Babylonian* citizens. This last king then marched out to give him battle, but, being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city,

[i] Idem ibid. c. 191.
[k] BEROS. MAGASTH. ABYD. ubi sup.
[l] Κύρ. Παιδ. 5. ξ.

and

and blocked up by a close siege. The place was thought impregnable, on acount of its walls and the great number of people to defend them; not to mention a store of all necessaries to last them for 20 years. The siege continued two years; at the end of which the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a strong party was posted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. These parties were commanded by the *Babylonians*, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*; who, about midnight, observing the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a festival, were used to be shut they proceeded to the palace, and surprised, and slew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cause of this confusion, they rushed in and slew the king, as he was valiantly fighting with his sword in his hand *.

The fall of Babylon, as seemingly in Daniel.

IF he was really *Belshazzar*, he certainly came to this unfortunate end; for having made a feast for 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the vessels his fore-father had brought from the temple of *Jerusalem*, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any person then present; the king saw this, and was quite terrified; he trembled, and his knees smote one against the other [m]. He cried out for the astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the rest, and promised, that the man among them who should decypher the writing, and inform him of what it meant, should be cloathed in scarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom [n]. He addressed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is supposed to have been *Nitocris* [o], understanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of *Daniel*, who had been so esteemed by his father; but that he should have been unknown to *Belshazzar*, is what it may be to no purpose to inquire into. *Daniel* came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his insolent pride, and for profaning the holy vessels which had stood in the house of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN [p]. "This is the interpretation of the thing; "MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished "it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found

* Ibid. [m] Dan v. 1—6. [n] Dan. v. 7. [o] PRID. ubi sup. p. 122. [p] Dan. v. 25.

(Y) It is supposed the writing was in what we call now the *Samaritan* character, which being unknown to the *Chaldeans*, they could not read it (59).

(59) See Prid. *ubi sup. p.* 122.

wanting

Year of the Flood, 2461. Year before Christ 538.

"wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to "the *Medes* and *Persians* [q]." Notwithstanding the severity of this doom, *Belshazzar* performed to *Daniel* all the promises he had made to the man who should thus satisfy him; and in that night was *Belshazzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* slain: And *Darius* the *Mede* took the kingdom, being about 62 years old [r].

In the first year of the reign of *Belshazzar* it was, that *Daniel* [s] had the vision of the four beasts, which we may resume hereafter, and in the third of the same *Belshazzar* it was, that he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat [t]. In the reign of *Darius* the *Mede* it was, that the same *Daniel* was thrown into the lion's den [u]; but the particulars of these several occurrences we reserve for another time, seeing we are at a loss for the proper place of these two reigns.

Nabonadius *unlikely to have been* Belshazzar *or* Darius *the* Mede.

We are now to consider, whether or no this *Nabonadius* was either *Belshazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede*; in which we shall rather propose our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon so palpable an obscurity as is the whole history of *Babylon*, from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* died, to the day that *Cyrus* made himself master of this city. Sir *Isaac Newton* and Doctor *Prideaux* are quite clear, that he was *Belshazzar*, and support themselves by many considerable arguments, but not so very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the several opinions and varieties concerning this succession of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we shall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered, in proof that *Evil-merodach* must have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, and *Neriglissar* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same, if they be any kings exhibited in *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon; and to suppose they are not would be a seeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece ‡.

It is to be observed, that if any credit is to be given to prophane historians, *Nabonadius* cannot have been *Belshazzar*; for the former must have died in a strange land, while the latter was slain in his own palace. Again, *Belshazzar*'s ignorance of *Daniel* can never be reconciled with so long a reign as that of *Nabonadius*. The utmost we can gather that

[q] Ibid. ver. 28. [r] Ibid ver. 31. [s] Dan. vii. [t] Ibid. viii. [u] Ibid. vi.

‡ The authors however, upon a fuller discussion of this subject [x], believe *Nabonadius* to have been the *Belshazzar* of scripture, *Cyaxares* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same.

[x] *See the last note of the* 10*th chapter.*

Belshazzar

Belshazzar reigned at *Babylon* was not above three years; *Nabonadius* reigned seventeen.

THIS *Nabonadius* was certainly the last king of *Babylon*, and by *Ptolemy*'s canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of prophane authors, there was no king there between him and *Cyrus*; nor does the scripture itself, which makes *Darius* the *Mede*, to have preceded *Cyrus*, say, that he reigned after the last king of the *Babylonian* race, or that there was no king of *Babylon* between *Darius* the *Mede* and *Cyrus*.

Now that this last *Babylonian* cannot have been *Darius* the *Mede*, as is sometimes said [w], may be proved by prophane authors [x], who agree, that he was a *Babylonian*, nay, and of the royal race [*]; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince, that he was not *Darius* the *Mede*.

Nabonadius was certainly of the royal race [†]; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and especially if the celebrated *Nitocris* was married to *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the common opinion is. It is said, that all nations should serve *him and his son's son* [y]; *Nabonadius* may then have been this *son's son*. It is said, that God would cut off from *Babylon* the *son and the grandson* [z], and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as *Evil-merodach*; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if prophane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand, that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that *Evil-merodach*, the undoubted son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was murdered [a], and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to *Nerigliſſar*, and whose name was *Laborosoarchod*, was murdered likewise [b]. Supposing then *Nabonadius* to have been the grandson likewise of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Evil-merodach*, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then, that *all nations should serve* Nebuchadnezzar's *son and his son's son*, and that God *would cut off his son and his grandson*, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, *Belshazzar*, who to all appearance, was no other than *Evil-merodach*, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins, than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy;

[w] DU PIN Biblioth. Univers. des Histor. 296. [x] MEGASTH. BEROS. ABYD. ubi sup. [*] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. [†] Idem ibid. [y] See before, p. 312. [z] Isai. xiv. 22. [a] See before, p. 338. [b] Ibid. 344.

now

nor can it be consistent with the character we have of *Nitocris* to imagine, she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprize the city in the manner they did; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as *Prideaux* would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the time of a feast, while her great, and wise, and mighty men were in liquor, it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himself was slain at the same time. That it was taken at the time of a great festival, we have confirmed to us by an historian of the first credit, and nearest to the times [c], and that is sufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

Arguments deduced from Nebuchadnezzar's *prophecy.*

As we are not wholly to reject prophane authorities, but on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would observe, that from the prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar* [d], which he is supposed [e] to have owed to no less a man than *Daniel* himself, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elsewhere above suggested, concerning *Belshazzar* and *Darius* the *Mede*, is not very much out of the way. For he speaks of the destruction to befal to *Babylon* as just at hand, and, though he must have been then very old, what he might possibly be a witness to; and thus *Belshazzar*, who is in scripture expressly called his son, was murdered two or three years after his death. This destruction was to be brought on by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, were wont greatly to pride themselves; and what *Mede* can this have been so likely as *Nerigliſſar*, who seems by his name to have been even naturalized an *Assyrian*, and who had married *Nebuchadnezzar*'s own daughter [f]? The *Persian* mule is plainly *Cyrus*, who, by warring upon *Nerigliſſar* to dethrone him, first struck at the root of the *Babylonian* empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

Upon the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if *Darius* the *Mede* and *Belshazzar* are any of the kings of *Babylon* in the canon, and that they are not, cannot well be so much as supposed, they can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and *Nerigliſſar*. The *son and grandson* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, against whom it was denounced that they should be *cut off*, cannot well be allowed to have been any but *Evil-merodach* and *Laborosoarchod*; and *his son and his son's son*, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expressed, *should serve*, can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and this *Nabonadius*, in whose days the empire of *Babylon* came to an end, as had been foretold by the prophets . . . . *The*

[c] Herodot. ubi sup. [d] See before, p. 336. [e] Vid. Prid. ubi sup. p. 106. [f] See before, p. 343.

burden of Babylon, *which* Iſaiah *the ſon of* Amoz *did ſee . . . Howl ye; for the day of the Lord* is *at hand; it ſhall come as a deſtruction from the Almighty . . . . Behold I will ſtir up the* Medes *againſt them . . . And* Babylon, *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew* Sodom *and* Gomorrah. *It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither ſhall the* Arabian *pitch tent there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their folds there. But wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there. And the wild beaſts of the iſlands, ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in* their *pleaſant palaces* [g] *. . . . How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didſt weaken the nations! . . . I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, and cut off from* Babylon, *the name, and remnant, and ſon, and nephew* [*or*, as it ſhould be, *the grandſon* [h]] *. . . . I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction* [i] *. . . .* Babylon *is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground* [k] *. . .* Bel *boweth down,* Nebo *ſtoopeth . . . They ſtoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themſelves are gone into captivity* [l] *. . . The word that the Lord ſpake againſt* Babylon, and *againſt the land of the* Chaldeans, *by* Jeremiah *the prophet . . . Say* Babylon *is taken,* Bel *is confounded,* Merodach *is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces* [m] *. . . . Hear ye the counſel of the Lord, that he hath taken againſt* Babylon, *and his purpoſes, that he hath purpoſed againſt the land of the* Chaldeans [n] *. . . Behold I will raiſe up againſt* Babylon, *and againſt them that dwell in the midſt of them that riſe up againſt me, a deſtroying wind; and will ſend unto* Babylon *fanners, that ſhall fan her, and empty her land . . . Flee out of the midſt of* Babylon, *and deliver every man his ſoul: be not cut off in her iniquity . . .* Babylon *is ſuddenly fallen and deſtroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if ſo be ſhe may be healed. We would have healed* Babylon, *but ſhe is not healed: forſake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even unto the ſkies . . . Make bright the arrows: gather the ſhields: the Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the king of the* Medes: *for his device* is *againſt* Babylon *to deſtroy it . . . .*

[g] Iſai. xiii. [h] See PRID. ubi Sup. [i] Iſai. xiv. 12.—23. [k] Ibid. xxi. 9. [l] Ibid. xlvi. 1, 2. [m] Jerem. l. 1, 2. [n] Ibid. ver. 45.

Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations againſt her, call together againſt her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſhchenaz, *appoint a captain againſt her, cauſe the horſes to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare againſt her the nations with the kings of the* Medes . . . *The land ſhall tremble and ſorrow: for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be performed againſt* Babylon, *to make the land of* Babylon *a deſolation without an inhabitant . . . One poſt ſhall run to meet another, and one meſſenger to meet another, to ſhew the king of* Babylon *that his city is taken at one end* (Y) . . . *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *The daughter of* Babylon *is like a threſhing-floor, it is time to threſh her: yet a little while and the time of her harveſt ſhall come . . . And* Babylon *ſhall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing without an inhabitant . . . The ſea is come up upon* Babylon: *ſhe is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a deſolation, a dry land and a wilderneſs, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any ſon of man paſs thereby . . . The heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, ſhall ſing for* Babylon . . . . *And I will make drunk her princes, and her wiſe* men, *her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they ſhall ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not wake ſaith the king, whoſe name* is *the Lord of hoſts . . . The broad walls of* Babylon *ſhall be utterly broken, and her high gates ſhall be burnt with fire, and the people ſhall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they ſhall be weary* [o].

Such was *Babylon*, and ſuch her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, whether the firſt at *Nineveh*, or the ſecond at *Babylon*, was never thoroughly ſettled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any ſettled form; and that, if we except *Nebuchadnezzar*, no one of theſe monarchs, from *Pul* to *Nabonadius*, could ever boaſt any thing like the conqueſts attributed to *Semiramis*. *Eſarhaddon* may claim the next place after him for conqueſts and dominion, but his life ended by the time he had exalted himſelf over the weſt. The reſt of theſe princes were all unfortunate, one way or other: Some of them, with infinite la-

[o] Idem. li. 1——58.

(Y) Whether from hence it may be gathered that this laſt king was within the city or without it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the reader; and conſequently, whether or no the *Belſhazzar* of *Daniel* was this laſt king or not.

bour

A MAP of ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA according to this History

PART OF ASIA MINOR

ARMENIA

R. Aras

R. Euphrates

Mt. of Noah

R. Kor

R. Aras

R. Euphrates

Mt. Iphates

R. Horad Shai

R. Tigris

PART of MEDIA

Lake of Van

Lake of Khahi

Orontes Mt.

MESOPOTAMIA

Hierapolis

R. Euphrates

River

Calachene

Adiabene

Nineveh heretofore

Bir

Orfa or Edessa

Gauzanitis

Rasalain

Carra or Haran

R. Jaxora

Birtha

Lenyar

R. Khabur

Circesium

Thapsacus

Birtha or Tahobath Rahabat Malek

Khabur

Haran according to others

R. Lycus or little Zab

R. Caprus or great Zab

Gordyæi or Golden Mts.

Choatras

Apolloniatis

Sittacene

Chalonitis

Median

PART OF PERSIA

BABYLONIA

Ruins of Palmyra

R. of Said

R. of Tera

River paved with White Stone

Hit

R. of Hit

Sipphara

Felugia

Almalek or Nahamalcha

Babylon

R. Euphrates

R. Tigris

R. Cutha

R. Karha

R. Karun

PART OF SUSIANA

Susa

Mt. of Babylonia

CHALDEA proper

Teredon

Land under water

Aboli

PERSIA

PART OF THE DESART ARABIA

A. H. Sculp.

bour and hazard, attempted to subjugate the nations; but the flame still broke out somewhere or other against them; others of them, by a supine neglect, saw themselves in danger, from those their warlike predecessors had awed, and were some of them, in the end, subdued, and captivated, and destroyed by them. In fine, we see both the *Assyrian* and the *Babylonian* submitted to that fate, which must sooner or later dissolve all universal monarchies, which must have almost as many enemies as subjects.

CHAP. X.

The History of the MEDES.

SECT. I.

The Description of MEDIA.

THE country before us, once the seat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*, as is plain from scripture, where the *Medes* are constantly called *Madai* [2] (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Caspian* sea; on the south by *Persis*, *Susiana*, and *Assyria*; on the east by *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; and on the west by *Armenia Major*. It was in antient times divided into several provinces, namely *Name, situation, &c.*

[2] DAN. v. 28. ibid. vi. 8. 12. 15. ibid. viii. 20. ESTH. i. 3. 14. 18, 19. ibid. x. 2.

(A) Among prophane authors, some derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the son of *Medea* and *Jason*; others from a city here called *Media*, whence say they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena* (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was also called *Aria*; but to enquire into the origin of these various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitless task.

(1) *Strab. l.* 11. *p.* 526. (2) *Ortel. Thes. Geogr. ad vocem Media.* (3) *Ortel. ibid.*

Tropatene, *Charomithrene*, *Darites*, *Marciane*, *Amariace*, and *Syro-media*: All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene* [b].

Atropatene was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea, and is supposed to have been so called from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the last *Persian* monarch, withstood *Alexander the Great*, and, upon the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy, seized on this part of *Media*, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [c]. This was a cold, barren, and unhospitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmaneser* for the abode of many captive *Israelites* after the conquest of that kingdom.

Cities of note in this part of *Media* were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and situated, according to *Pliny*, in a spacious plain between *Ecbatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally distant from both. *Sanina*, seated between the *Arazes* and the *Cambyses*; *Fazina*, between the *Cambyses* and the *Cyrus*; and *Cyropolis*, between the *Cyrus* and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Cadusians* and *Caspians*, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the *Scythians*.

Media Magna was bounded by *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, the *Hyrcanian* sea, and *Atropatene*. The most remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Rageia*, *Arsacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media* and the seat both of the *Median* and *Persian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, the first that reigned in *Media*, after the inhabitants had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke [d]. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the antients, and minutely described by *Herodotus* [e]: they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building these walls, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, and had white battlements, the second black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal person of the king, were embellished above the others, the

[b] Strab. l. 11. p. 360. & p. 363. [c] Strab. l. 11. p. 523.
[d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 98. [e] Herodot. ubi supra.

one

one being done over with ſilver, and the other with gold [f]: This deſcription of *Herodotus* favours, we muſt own, ſomewhat of romance; but, nevertheleſs, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no-ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of *Judith* [g] we read, that the walls of this ſtately metropolis were ſeventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation ſixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and poliſhed ſtone, each ſtone being ſix cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the antients conſtantly called *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to diſtinguiſh it from another in *Syria* bearing the ſame name [h], where the unfortunate *Cambyſes* died, as we read in *Herodotus* [i] (B).

Laodicea,

f HERODOT. ibid. g JUDITH. c. i. 2, 3, 4. h HERODOT. l. 3. c. 64. DIODOR. l. 14. c. 23. PLIN. l. 6 c. 27. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 704. TACIT. l. 15. c. 31. &c. i HERODOT. l. 3.

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Seleucus*; an unaccountable overſight, ſince he muſt have read an account of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewiſe in *Demoſthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary reſidence of the *Perſian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and ſpeaks of mountains levelled, vallies raiſed, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and other aſtoniſhing works performed by his heroine, for the embelliſhment of the city and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was ſituate on a riſing ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve ſtades diſtance from mount *Orontes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jaſanius* on the ſouthern confines of *Media* and *Perſia*, where *Ammianus Marcellinus* is pleaſed to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have built a ſtately palace, which afterwards ſerved as a mauſoleum of the kings of *Media*; ſome of the beams, ſays this author, were of ſilver, and the reſt of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Aſia* were wont to paſs their ſummer; nay, there is a great diſagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that ſtately metropolis ſtood. The opinion of *Molet*, who tranſlated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, ſeems to Sir *John Chardin* the moſt probable, *viz.* that *Tauris* is the antient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Gebits*,

(4) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 14. (5) *Demoſth. Philip.* 4. *p.* 100 (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *c.* 12. (7) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* 23 *c.* 23. (8) *Chardin. voy. en Perſ. vol.* 1. *p.* 181.

Teixeira,

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, ſo called either from the mother of *Nicator*, or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted by *Strabo* [k] among the cities of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny* [*] near the confines of *Perſia*. *Apamea* is by *Strabo* ſometimes adjudged to *Media*, and ſometimes to *Parthia* [l]. *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea* is called by *Iſidorus* [m] the greateſt city of *Media*; it was repaired by *Nicator*, who called it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it retains the former. In proceſs of time it became the ſeat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arſacia* or *Arſace*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Iſidorus*, viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazaca*, *Margaſis*, &c. but theſe were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore called by *Strabo* [n] *Greek* cities. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Carduchians*, *Marandæans*, *Gelians*, *Syromedians*, *Margaſians*, &c.

Mountains and rivers. THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [o], *Choatra*, parting *Media* from *Aſſyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyean* mountains on the confines of *Aſſyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrus*, dividing it from the ſame *Aſſyria* on the eaſt, a mountain, if *Polybius* [p] is to be credited, one hundred ſtades high. *Paracboatra*, placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Perſia*, and by *Strabo* [q] on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. Theſe are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be ſaid as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the

[k] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. [*] l. 6. c. 26. [l] STRAB. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. [m] ISIDOR. p. 361. [n] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. [o] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [p] POLYB. l. v. c. 44. [q] STRAB. ubi ſupra.

Texeira, *Andrea della valle*, &c. *Joſephus* aſſures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was entire in his time; but at preſent not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be ſeen either at *Tauris* or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there, the materials, as our traveller judiciouſly obſerves (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in antient times were never uſed in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy*'s *Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes* near the river *Straton*.

(9) *Joſeph. Antiquitat. l.* 10. (10) *Chardin ubi ſupra.*

Orontes,

Orontes, the *Jaſonius*, and the *Coronus* are in the ſtricteſt ſenſe mountains of *Media*, as ariſing in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Cambyſes*. But theſe rivers, as they are repreſented to diſembogue themſelves into the moſt ſouthern part of the *Caſpian*, muſt by their poſition have belonged to the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Mazanderan*, as they are now called, and conſequently could not belong to *Media proper*, as it is deſcribed to us by the antients.

WE cannot help taking notice here of a conſiderable miſtake, which many of the antients have been guilty of, with reſpect to the ſituation of the *Caſpian Streights*, called by the *Latins Portæ Caſpiæ*, *Clauſtra Caſpia*, and *Pylæ Caſpiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Iſidorus Characenus*, and *Dionyſius Periegetes* [r] place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eaſtern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this ſituation, carries them quite croſs the country, and after having been ſome time at a loſs how to diſpoſe of ſo heavy a load, drops it at laſt on the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the moſt weſtern borders of *Media* [s]. *Suetonius* [t] and *Tacitus* [u] confound them with the *Iberian ſtreights*, which are a narrow paſſage through the mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caſpian* mountains and the *Caſpian* ſea, confounding them with what the preſent inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow paſſage out of *Tartary* into *Perſia*.

Soil. THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caſpian* mountains and the ſea, are very cold and barren; the preſent inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the ſnow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year [w]. But the ſouthern parts are productive of all ſorts of grain and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*, probably the antient *Ecbatan*, is called the garden of *Perſia*. There are here large plains, among which that of *Nyſa* is famous for the numerous ſtuds of horſes that were kept in it for the uſe of the *Perſian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the antients. Where this

[r] STRAB. l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. 3. ISIDOR. Characenus. p. 6. DIONYS. Perieget. verſu. 1039. [s] PLIN. l. 6. c. 15. [t] SUETON. c. 19. [u] TACIT. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 6. [w] CHARDIN. voy. en Perſ. vol. I. p. 524.

plain

plain of *Nyſa* was ſituated, is no eaſy matter to determine (C).

Climate. The climate is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the ſea is exceeding cold, and the earth ſwampy, and full of marſhes, where innumerable ſwarms of venemous inſects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours riſing from the *Caſpian* ſea, render that part very unhoſpitable. The provinces that are more remote from the ſea enjoy a very wholeſome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent ſtorms, eſpecially in the ſpring and autumn [x]. Beſides the cattle and game of all ſorts, which the *Mediterranean* provinces abound with, ſome of them have been for

[x] Chardin. ubi ſupra.

(C) The antients place the *Nyſean* plain in the eaſtermoſt parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now ſuppoſed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has ſeen this fertile paſture; but if he did, we muſt place it quite differently from what the antients ſeem to inſinuate it ought to be, and ſeveral degrees nearer us. His words are, "We continued on our way (from *Tauris* towards *Perſia*) upon the moſt beautiful and fertile plains covered with villages. Theſe plains afford the moſt excellent paſture of all *Media*, and, I dare ſay, of the whole world, and the beſt horſes of the country were there at graſs.—I aſked a young nobleman in company with us, *If there were any other plains in* Media *ſo fine and ſo extenſive?* He told me, *He had ſeen ſome as fine about* Derbent, *but none more extenſive*; ſo that 'tis reaſonable enough to believe, that theſe plains are the *Hippobaton* of the antients, and where they ſay the kings of *Media* had a ſtud of fifty thouſand horſes, and that here it is alſo, we muſt look for the *Nyſean* plain ſo famous for the horſes of that name. *Stephanus* the geographer ſays, that *Nyſa* was in the country of the *Medes*. I told this ſame nobleman ſome particulars which hiſtorians relate concerning theſe horſes, namely *Phavorinus*, who ſays, all the *Nyſean* horſes were light duns; he anſwered, that *he had never read or heard any thing of the kind*. I afterwards enquired of ſeveral gentlemen of learning, but could never underſtand, that there was any place, either in *Perſia* or *Media*, that produced horſes of that colour (11)".

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that theſe parts of *Media* were greatly infeſted by ſcorpions, and that while the king of *Perſia* was on his progreſs into *Media*, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of theſe venemous inſects.

(11) *Chardin. ubi ſupra, p.* 185. (12) *Ælian. de Animal. l.* 15. *c.* 26.

many

many ages remarkable on account of the various ſorts of excellent wines they produce, eſpecially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than ſixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquiſite flavour, are to be taſted at this day [y]. From its productions in the preſent ſtate we may judge, what it muſt have been in better times.

The Caſpian ſea.

WE cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without ſome obſervations on the *Caſpian* ſea, which is the northern boundary of *Media*. This large body of waters was by the antients called indifferently the *Caſpian* and the *Hyrcanian* ſea, from the *Caſpians* and *Hyrcanians* whoſe ſhores it waſhed [z]. However, *Pliny* [a] makes ſome difference between theſe two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caſpian* coaſts it bears the former denomination, and on thoſe of *Hyrcania* the latter. The antient, and likewiſe the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true ſituation, extent, coaſts, and bays of this ſea, before the diſcoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been ſaid by others is only to be relied on, ſo far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew, that the *Caſpian* was ſurrounded on all ſides by land, without any communication with other ſeas or viſible efflux; whence ſome thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a ſea. However, *Strabo* [b], *Pliny* [c], *Pomponius Mela* [d], and *Arrian* [e] wrote, that it was joined either to the *Indian* or northern ocean; but we are well aſſured by experience, that they were miſtaken. They were perhaps led into this error by ſuch as had made their obſervations when the *Wolga* had overflown its banks, at which time it appears more like a ſea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us [f], the whole country to the extent of ſixty miles: This they might eaſily have miſtaken for a ſtreight joining the *Caſpian* to the ocean. *Ptolemy*, though here in the right, was greatly miſtaken as to its extent from eaſt to weſt, for which he allows twen-

[y] CHARDIN. vol. I. p. 185. [z] STRAB. l. xi. p. 83. DIODOR. l. 7. c. 75. [a] PLIN. l. 6. c. 13, & 16. [b] STRAB. l. x. p. 83. [c] PLIN. l. 6. c. 13. [d] POMPON. MEL. l 3. c. 5. [e] ARRIAN. l. 7. p. 477. [f] Le Bruyn voy. par. la. Moſcov. Tom. 3. p. 465.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who, by orders of the late *Czar*, formed a very exact chart of the *Caſpian* from obſervations made by him on the ſpot in 1720, 1721, 1722. Theſe obſervations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were by the *Czar*'s orders communicated to the royal academy of ſciences at *Paris*.

ty three degrees and a half; whereas it does not exceed, where wideſt, three degrees forty two minutes, and, where narroweſt, one degree twenty two minutes. He likewiſe places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. Theſe miſtakes were obſerved, and in ſome degree redreſſed, by *Abu'lfeda*, an *Arabian* prince and able geographer, who in 1320, diſcovered the true ſituation of the *Caſpian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Abu'lfeda*'s obſervations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinſon*; but the true dimenſions of this ſea were not aſcertained till the late obſervations, by which we are aſſured, that it lies between the thirty ſeventh and forty eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty two minutes in its greateſt longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is repreſented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of other antient geographers.

The *Perſians* call this ſea *Kulſum*, or the ſea of *Aſtracan*; the *Ruſſians* the ſea of *Gualenſkoi*; the *Georgians Sowa*; the *Armenians Soof*. It receives the river *Wolga*, which itſelf is like a ſea, and near two hundred others into its boſom, and yet is never increaſed or diminiſhed, nor obſerved to ebb or flow. This conſtant plenitude has given riſe to many ſpeculations, and ſome have imagined, that it muſt neceſſarily have ſome ſubterraneous communication either with the *Black* ſea, though a hundred leagues diſtant, or with the *Perſian* gulf, which is near two hundred leagues diſtant from it. Father *Avril*, a modern traveller, ſeems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, *viz.* that over againſt the province of *Xilan* in *Perſia* there are two immenſe whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noiſe ſuck in and ſwallow whatever comes near them, and conſequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are obſerved floating on the water by thoſe who inhabit the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the *Perſian* gulf, and on the other hand the coaſts of the *Caſpian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, there muſt be ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe between theſe two ſeas. This obſervation, if true, is a ſtrong proof of ſome ſecret communication between theſe two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through ſubterraneous fiſſures from the one to the other. But ſince the opinion, aſſerting a communication between the *Caſpian* and

and other ſeas, has been taken up chiefly on this conſideration, that as ſo many and ſo large rivers diſembogue themſelves into it, and are conſtantly pouring in their waters, in proceſs of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unleſs there were ſubterraneous fiſſures and meatuſes, through which it might evacuate its ſuperfluous waters into the *Ocean*; as the opinion, I ſay, of the *Caſpian*'s being joined, either immediately, or by means of ſome other ſea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to conſider how the *Caſpian* or any other ſea comes to loſe ſo much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this ſea is ſalt as the waters of

(F) There are two hypotheſes among philoſophers; one is, that the waters of the ſea are conveyed by ſubterraneous conduits to the ſprings of rivers, and that in draining through the fiſſures they loſe their ſaltneſs: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its ſurface. The former is now rejected by moſt, it being next to impoſſible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depreſſed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their ſprings, which are moſtly on high mountains. But in the latter hypotheſis we have no occaſion to explain this, nor to prevent the increaſe of the ſeas, by ſupplying the ſprings with their waters.

THE quantity of vapours drawn up from the ſea was tried by Dr. *Halley*, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, ſalted to the ſame degree as common ſea-water, and heated to the ſame degree of the air in our hotteſt ſummers, exhales the thickneſs of a ſixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the ſuperficies of the whole ocean, or a part of it, be known, it may alſo be known, how much water ariſes from it in vapours every day, ſuppoſing the water to be equally hot with the air in ſummer. According to what has been laid down, a ſuperficies of ten ſquare inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one ſquare foot, half a pint; a ſquare, whoſe ſides are four feet, one gallon; a ſquare mile 6914 tuns; and one degree ſquare (conſiſting, as we may ſuppoſe, of 69 *Engliſh* miles) 33 millions of tuns. The ſame author ſuppoſes the *Mediterranean* to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by thoſe where it is narrower, ſo that its whole ſuperficies may be accounted 160 ſquare degrees; and conſequently the whole *Mediterranean* muſt loſe in vapours, according to the fore-ſtated proportion, in a ſummer's day, at leaſt 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of

(13) *Philoſ. Tranſact* No. 189. *p.* 366.

of other ſeas, notwithſtanding the opinion of the antients to the contrary ; its freſhneſs in ſome parts near the ſhore is owing to the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other ſeas, nor without various ſorts of fiſh, as *Olearius*, an eye-witneſs, aſſures us, and thereby diſproves the opinion of the antients, who believed it to be of a blackiſh colour, and to have but one

water is dried off the ſurface by the winds cannot poſſibly be reduced to any rule ; but we may venture to ſay, that it ſometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the ſun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the ſea, the above-mentioned writer obſerves, that the *Mediterranean*, for inſtance, receives theſe nine conſiderable rivers, the *Iberus*, the *Rhone*, the *Tiber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Neiſter*, the *Boryſthenes*, the *Tanais*, and the *Nile*, all the reſt being of no great note. Each of theſe rivers he ſuppoſes to be ten times greater than the *Thames*, not that any of them is near ſo great, but to comprehend with them all the ſmall rivulets that fall into the ſame ſea.

He likewiſe ſuppoſes the river *Thames* at *Kingſton-bridge*, where the tide ſeldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards, and in depth three ; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water, a hundred yards, be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred ſquare yards by forty eight miles, or 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 203128 18 tuns, that are carried every day into the ſea.

Now, if each of the aforeſaid rivers yields ten times as much water as the *Thames*, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the ſea above 203 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1828 millions of tuns in a day.

However, this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raiſed in vapours out of the *Mediterranean* in twelve hours time. Hence it appears, that the *Mediterranean*, the *Caſpian*, or any other ſea, is ſo far from increaſing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a ſhort time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unleſs the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

Scaliger and others were of opinion, that the *Caſpian* is joined by ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe with the *Euxine*, but he alledges no reaſon to prove his opinion ; however, this may be urged for it, that the *Euxine* ſea, as Mr. *Dugdale* obſerves (14), is continually diſgorging a large quantity of water through the *Boſphorus*, and ſome think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it ; wherefore it may, for ought we know, be ſupplied from the *Caſpian*.

(14) *Dugdale's compleat ſyſtem of Gen. Geography*, *p.* 290.

kind

kind of fish, and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this section with observing, that the ignorance of the antients with relation to this sea, or lake, as some are pleased to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the *Persian* empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better success surveyed those remote regions.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the MEDES.

WE have already derived the *Medes* [g] from *Madai*, the third son of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the level with the most antient nations (G). In process of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled

Their original.

[g] Vid. supr. p. 355.

(G) Some will have *Madai* to have been the progenitor of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Medes*, grounding their opinion upon the two following reasons: 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in scripture till the later ages. 2. That this situation removes *Madai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But to the first it may be answered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion: to the second, that, according to our hypothesis, the plantations of the sons of *Japhet* were contiguous; for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros* or *Aras*, to which, as we have elsewhere observed (15), the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided* (16), relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his posterity, the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. A modern writer (17) produces several authorities to shew, that there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* regions in the borders of *Pæonia*; but this can only prove the *Macedonians* to be a later colony of *Madai*. To say that the *Macedonians* are the offspring of *Madai*, because the word *Macedonia* is compounded of

(15) *Vol I p.* 370. (16) *Gen. x.* 5. (17) *See Mede's works.*

Madai

tled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, which gave riſe to the various tribes into which that people was antiently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Perſians* [h], and *Herodotus* tells us, that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians*. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the antient interpreters, who by *Madai* in ſcripture conſtantly underſtand the *Medes* [i].

Government.

THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they ſeem to have had kings of their own in the earlieſt times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of *Abraham* invaded the ſouthern coaſts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaſpes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were conquered by the *Aſſyrians*; and *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus* king of the *Medes* was with his ſeven ſons defeated and taken priſoner by *Ninus*, in the very beginning of the *Aſſyrian* empire [k]. But his accounts of thoſe early times are no ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from ſcripture and from the authority of the moſt judicious among the antient and modern chronologers, that the *Aſſyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*; whereas *Cteſias* and his copiſt *Diodorus* have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Aſſyrian* kings from *Belus* and his feigned ſon *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. According to the ſucceſſion of *Aſſyrian* kings, as ſtated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas *Herodotus* tells us, that it laſted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were firſt brought under the *Aſſyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate ſucceſſor *Tiglath-pileſer*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they ſhook

[h] CEDREN. p. 18. [i] Vide HIERONYM. in cap. 13. Eſaiæ, & in quæſtion. Hebraic. [k] DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. c. 5.

Madai and *Cettim*, is relying too much, as every one muſt allow, on the authority of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of thoſe who derive the *Tartars* from an antient tribe among the *Medes* called *Tapuri*, which they change into *Taturi*, and that into *Tartari* (18).

(H) In the time of the judges of *Iſrael*, *Meſopotamia* was under

(18) *Vide Reinecc. hiſt. jul. par. ſecund. p.* 2.

it's

ſhook off the *Aſſyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which laſted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite abſolute, and controled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal reſpect with the gods themſelves, the cuſtom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in *Perſia*, having firſt taken riſe among the *Medes* [l].

Manners and cuſtoms.

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their hiſtory; but in proceſs of time became one of the moſt effeminate nations of *Aſia*, eſpecially after they were reduced by *Cyrus*. In war they uſed the ſame armour as the *Perſians*, whom they are ſaid to have taught the art of war, eſpecially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewiſe to have been the firſt that introduced luxury into *Perſia*, which at laſt occaſioned the downfal of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* [m]. *Polygamy* was ſo far from being diſreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at leaſt ſeven wives, and thoſe women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five huſbands [n]. In war they poiſoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naphta*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Perſia*, and *Aſſyria*. The arrow being ſteeped in it, and ſhot from a ſlack bow (for a ſwift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the fleſh with ſuch violence, that water rather encreaſed than extinguiſhed the malignant flame; duſt alone could put a ſtop to it, and in ſome degree allay the unſpeakable pain it occaſioned. They are likewiſe ſaid to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they uſed to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations,

[l] ÆLIAN. var. hiſtor. l. x. p. 525. [m] STRABO, l. xi. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 7. [n] STRABO, l. xi. p. 526.

its own king (19); the king of *Zobah* reigned on both ſides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philiſtia*, *Zidon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes, and ſo were thoſe of *Haran*, or *Carrhæ*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Meſopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As theſe petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, ſo was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who ſubdued moſt of the above-mentioned nations. *Media* may have been ſubdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of ſhort continuance, it being the cuſtom in thoſe early times for every father to divide his territories amongſt his ſons.

(19) *Judg. iii.* 8. (20) 2 *Samuel viii. and x.*

when

when at the point of death, looking upon it as diſhonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground [o].

Some writers charge the *Medes* with being the firſt authors of making eunuchs [p]; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Perſians*, and even name the place where it firſt took riſe [q] (I). The cuſtom of confirming alliances with the

[o] Bardesan. apud Euſeb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 8. [p] Athenæus l. 12. [q] Stephan. de urbib.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this cuſtom was firſt introduced in a city of *Perſia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* word *Spado*, ſignifying an eunuch. But both he and thoſe who charge the *Medes* with introducing ſuch an unnatural practice are certainly miſtaken, ſince we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, long before ſuch a piece of wanton luxury can be ſuppoſed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Perſians*. *Joſephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchodonoſor* commanded the moſt comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs; and *Jerom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to be the firſt contriver of eunuchiſm (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tell us:

Perſarum ritu male pubeſcentibus annis
Subripuere viros; exſectaque viſcera ferro
In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,
Circumſcripta mora, properantes differat annos (24).

And *Claudian*,

Seu Perſica ferro
Luxuries vetuit naſci lanuginis umbram (25):

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eaſtern princes, and were antiently employed in the moſt momentous affairs; all the places of greateſt truſt being filled by men, if men we may call them, of their ſpecies. To them the *Perſian* kings committed, not only the guard of their own perſons (26), but likewiſe the education of their children, it being a cuſtom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as ſoon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whoſe tuition he remained, till he attained the ſeventh year of his age (27).

(21) *Joſeph. antiquit. l. x. c.* 16. (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* 14. (24) *Petron. Arb. ſatyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l.* 1. (26) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* 7. (27) *Plato in Alcibiad.* 1.

blood

blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eaſtern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes* [r]. When they were to ſtrike alliances they uſed to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, ſtarting to the extremities, was by a ſlight cut diſcharged. This they mutually ſucked, and a league thus confirmed was eſteemed moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemnized with the blood of the parties [s].

THE laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Perſians*: wherefore, we ſhall defer what may be ſaid of them, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Perſians* from the oriental writers. We ſhall only obſerve here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverſe a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable [t]. A modern writer tells us, that thoſe only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their ſtrength or ſtature [u]. But that there was no ſuch law is plain from the regular ſucceſſion of father and ſon, without regard to any perſonal quality whatſoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Aſſyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the ſtate of *Media* in thoſe early times. *Laws, religion, &c.*

THEY paid their kings the greateſt reſpect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to ſpit or laugh in their preſence [w]. They honoured their ſovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which ſtyle was afterwards adopted by the *Perſian* monarchs and their proud ſucceſſors the *Parthians*, whoſe king, even in the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, retained that title, writing himſelf in a letter to that prince, *Sapor king of kings, allied to the ſtars, brother to the ſun and moon*, &c,[x]. When they appeared in public, which ſeldom happened, they were always attended by muſic, and numerous guards conſiſting of the prime nobility, their wives, children and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

AS to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the uſe of the inhabitants themſelves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themſelves

[r] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 74. [s] TACIT. annal. 12. [t] Dan. vi. 8. [u] ALEXAND. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 23. [w] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 99. [x] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. 17.

to trade, is what we find no where recorded: neither do we find any mention made by the antients of their arts or ſciences. During the ſhort time of their monarchy, they ſeem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exerciſes, namely to the arts of managing a horſe and handling the bow, in which they ſurpaſſed all other nations, the *Median* horſe being no leſs celebrated by the antients, than were in after-ages the *Perſian* foot [y]. Thus much we have thought neceſſary to ſay apart of the *Medes* and their country: what elſe may be added thereto we defer to the ſections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the Medes *to the tranſlation of their empire to the* Persians.

CTESIAS and his followers have darkened the chronology of the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Medes*, with ſuch enormous anachroniſms, that 'tis no eaſy matter to aſcertain the riſe or fall of thoſe potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearneſs and perſpicuity ſo perplexed a ſubject will allow, we ſhall diſtinguiſh in the chronology of the *Medes* three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras; namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been ſubdued by the *Aſſyrians*, the riſe of their kingdom after ſome years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, roſe on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. The firſt king of the *Aſſyrians*, who brought the *Medes* under ſubjection, was either *Pul*, according to us the founder of the *Aſſyrian* empire [z], or his immediate ſucceſſor *Tiglath-pileſer*. For this prince having, at the prayers of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, made war upon *Rezin* king of *Damaſcus*, and reduced that city, tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Kir* in *Media* [a]. Whence it is plain, that the *Medes* were then ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*; and conſequently, that they muſt have been ſubdued either in the reign of *Pul*, or ſoon after the acceſſion of *Tiglath-pileſer* to the crown; for the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was already grown great, and *the God of* Iſrael *ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Pul *king of* Aſſyria, *and the ſpirit of* Tiglath-pilne-

[y] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 7. [z] See before, p. 186. note (W). [a] 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5. 9.

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ſer *king of* Aſſyria [b] to make war. *Pul* makes his firſt appearance in ſcripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Iſrael*, in the year of the flood 2228, before *Chriſt* 771. *Tiglath-pileſer*, who is ſuppoſed to have been his ſon, ſucceeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before *Chriſt* 740. That there was no *Aſſyrian* empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain, both from ſcripture (K) and from the particular hiſtories of each kingdom, ſo that the *Medes* could not be ſubdued by

[b] 1 Chron. v. 26.

(K) None of the prophets, who preceded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Iſrael* afterwards ſuffered from the *Aſſyrians*, ever name that nation, but only ſpeak of a people that is to be raiſed up againſt *Iſrael*. Thus *Jonah*, who propheſied about ſixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Nineveh*, but no where that of *Aſſyria*. The city of *Nineveh* had ſome time before ſhaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own (28); but his territories were of no great extent, as is plain from the ſaid prophecies; neither was he called king of *Aſſyria*, but only of *Nineveh*. *Amos* propheſied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conqueſts, and foretold, that God would raiſe up a nation that ſhould humble the houſe of *Iſrael*, at that time elated with their ſucceſs againſt *Damaſcus* and *Hamath*; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hoſea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zechariah*, which were written after the *Aſſyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occaſions. Therefore, as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who propheſied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Aſſyrians*, and thoſe who flouriſhed after his reign, frequently do, it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the *Aſſyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raiſed up againſt *Iſrael*; and by conſequence roſe in the days of *Pul*, who is the firſt upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatening *Syria* and *Iſrael* with captivity. Beſides, we know from ſcripture, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Seſac* and *Memnon* were great conquerors, and ſubdued *Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Bactria*, &c. but in their hiſtories no mention is made of any oppoſition made to them by an *Aſſyrian* empire then ſtanding. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Memnon* kings of *Egypt* and *Perſia*, but knew nothing of an *Aſſyrian* empire (29). Whence it is manifeſt, that the *Aſſyrian* empire, which *Cteſias* makes as antient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the above-mentioned nations.

(28) *Jonah* iii. 6, 7. (29) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol. of ancient kingdoms*, *p.* 265. *& ſeq.* (30) 2 *Kings* xvii. iii. 6, 7. (31) *Tobit*, *c.* 1.

them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of *Pul* or *Tiglath-pileſer* they continued in ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before *Chriſt* 713, while *Hezekiah* was king of *Judah* (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or of the ſudden ſlaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and ſhaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms againſt the power of the *Aſſyrians*, which was now in its decline. Theſe are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his cuſtom [c]; and they muſt have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before *Chriſt* 710. The *Medes*, having thus reſcued their country from the *Aſſyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us [d], which gave *Eſar-haddon*, or *Aſſarhadon*, who ſucceeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under ſubjection. How long the anarchy may have laſted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty three which *Dejoces*, their firſt king, is ſaid to have reigned. It cannot have laſted above twenty or thirty years; for *Phraortes*, who ſucceeded *Dejoces*, and reigned, according to *Herodotus* [e], twenty two years, was ſlain by *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the twelfth year of his reign. *Nabuchodonoſor* came to the crown in the year of the flood 2351, before *Chriſt* 648; ſo that *Phraortes* was killed eighty ſix years after the *Medes* had revolted from the *Aſſyrians*; from which number, if we ſubtract the fifty three of *Dejoces* and twenty two of *Phraortes*, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [f], had ſome time exerciſed the office of judge before he was cho-

[c] Tobit i. 15. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 71. [e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [f] Ubi ſupra.

(L) That in the time of *Shalmaneſer* they were ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*, is plain from ſcripture, where that prince is ſaid to have tranſplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halah* and *Habor*, and to the cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thiſbe*, in the tribe of *Nephthali*, with *Anna* his wife, and *Tobias* his ſon, into *Aſſyria*; but the reſt of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31), which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Shalmaneſer* ſubject to the king of *Aſſyria*.

(30) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. (31) *Tobit*, c. 1. vi. 10.

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ſen king, is evidently too long, and we may ſafely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces* to the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, which happened in the ſecond year of the reign of *Jehoiakim* (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before *Chriſt* 609, *Media* may be properly ſtiled a kingdom. From the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, we may date the riſe of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having ſhared the *Aſſyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced moſt of the neighbouring nations, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Their empire laſted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon* [g] tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to ſcripture. *Babylon* was taken ſeventy three years after the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius the Mede* reigned over that city, ſo that the empire of the *Medes* laſted ſeventy five years, at the period of which the *Perſian* empire took riſe in *Cyrus*. That *Darius the Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unqueſtionable; for he is ſaid in ſcripture [h], to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In his reign the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Perſians* [i], as the *Perſians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors are always ſet before the *Medes* [k].

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the *Medes*, we ſhall exhibit the ſeries of their kings according to ſeveral authors.

[g] XENOPH. cyrop. l. 8, ubi ſupra & v. 28. viii. 20. x. 1, 20, & xi. 2.

[h] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15.

[i] Dan. x. 1, 20, & xi. 2.

[k] ESTH. i. 3. 14, 18, 19.

(M) In the reign of *Joſiah*, when *Zephaniah* propheſied, *Nineveh* and the kingdom of *Aſſyria* were ſtanding, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after *Pharoah Necho* led his army to the *Euphrates* againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, and on his march ſlew *Joſiah* (33); whence it is manifeſt, that the laſt king of *Aſſyria* was ſtill alive. But in the third and fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, the ſucceſſor of *Joſiah*, we find *Aſſuerus* king of the *Medes* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, leading their armies againſt the king of *Egypt*, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the *Aſſyrians*. Whence we may conclude, that *Nineveh* was already reduced, and the conqueſt of *Aſſyria* compleated. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the deſtruction of *Nineveh* and fall of the *Aſſyrian* empire, in the ſecond year of *Jehoiakim*.

(32) *Zeph.* i. 1, *and* ii. 13. (33) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20.

A Tabl,

A Table of the Kings of the MEDES, *according to* Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, *and* Syncellus.

Acc. to *Herodot.*		Acc. to *Diod.*		Acc. to *Euseb.*		Acc. to *Syncel.*	
* * * * *		1 *Arbaces*	28	1 *Arbaces*	28	1 *Arbaces*	28
* * * * *		2 *Mandauces*	50	2 *Sosarmus*	30	2 *Mandauces*	20
* * * * *		3 *Sosarmus*	30	3 *Medidus*	40	3 *Sosarmus*	30
* * * * *		4 *Articas*	50	4 *Cardiceas*	13	4 *Artycas*	30
* * * * *		5 *Arbacines*	22	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
* * * * *		6 *Ateus*	40	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
* * * * *		7 *Artynes*	22	5 *Dejoces*	54	5 *Dieces*	54
1 *Dejoces*	53	8 *Antibarnes*	40	6 *Phraortes*	24	6 *Aphraartes*	51
2 *Phraortes*	22	9 *Astibares*	**	7 *Cyaxares*	32	7 *Cyaxares*	32
3 *Cyaxares*	40	10 *Apandas* or		8 *Astyas*	38	8 *Astyages* or *Darius*	38
4 *Astyages*	35	*Astyages*	* =				
Total	150		282		259		283

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Ctesias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that *Herodotus* is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. *Ctesias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*, whose names are different from those mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the last whom he calls *Astyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight first amount to 282 years, and those of the two last are omitted; but if they be supplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Justin*'s account, who supposes the kings of *Media* to have reigned 350 years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Ctesias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king *Arbaces*, and besides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, tho' they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to enquire into them, especially, as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grosly mistaken (N).

SECT.

(N) *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus*, with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the MEDES.

WE ſhall begin with what we may call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, being extracted from *Cteſias*, his tranſcriber *Diodorus*, and their followers. According to theſe, the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of

Medes. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not laſt 900 years. The *Perſian* empire continued 230 years, from the firſt year of the fifty fifth Olympiad to the ſecond of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* laſted according to *Herodotus*, the ſum will be but 900 years. Theſe are the ſentiments of the moſt judicious among the prophane hiſtorians, concerning the duration of the empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*. But, on the other ſide, *Cephaleon*, *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Caſtor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Juſtin*, with *Velleius Paterculus*, have followed *Cteſias* in his catalogue of the *Aſſyrian* kings. Among chriſtian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus* have inſerted in their catalogues the kings of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Cteſias*; though, in order to adjuſt their chronologies, they have ſometimes abridged, and ſometimes increaſed, their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it muſt have done according to *Cteſias*, if we ſupply the reigns of the two laſt kings in his catalogue from *Euſebius* or *Syncellus*, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that after the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was deſtroyed by *Arbaces*, there were no *Aſſyrian* kings either at *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were ſole maſters of *Aſia*. But this ſuppoſition is evidently repugnant both to ſacred and prophane hiſtory. If we conſult the ſcripture, we ſhall find, that the *Aſſyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended deſtruction of *Nineveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flouriſhed in the reigns of *Azariah* king of *Judah* and *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*, was ſent to preach repentance to *Nineveh*, about eighty years after the ſuppoſed reign of *Arbaces*, and *Nineveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was ſo populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the uſe of reaſon (36).

(34) *Dionyſ. Halicar. l.* 1. *Hiſt. Rom.* (35) *Appian. in præfat.*
(36) *Jonah.* iii. 3. & iv. 11.

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of the *Assyrian* monarchy. For, when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who, being worsted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children [1]. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Assyrian* empire, and remained subject to the successors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of *Semiramis* and minority of her son *Ninyas*; for she is said to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called *Bagistan*, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had on one side craggy rocks seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on

1 Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1.

Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbish but eighty years before, grow to such a pitch of grandeur in so short a time? For, according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its splendor. Those who follow *Ctesias* have been forced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and destroyed, *viz.* in the time of king *Jehosaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after in the reign of *Josiah*. But the scripture, *Josephus*, and all prophane writers, allow only one desolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polybistor* does not much differ from him. *Ctesias* and his followers refer it to the reign of *Arbaces* three hundred years earlier. That the latter are mistaken is manifest from holy writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of *Ctesias* and the authors that follow him. The *Assyrian* empire must have raised itself again, *Nineveh* must have been rebuilt, and have past from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the space of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh* and the *Assyrian* empire, we find in scripture a series of *Assyrian* kings and a potent empire not subject to the *Medes*. Besides, if we compare the destruction of *Nineveh* described by *Ctesias* with that we read in scripture and *Polybistor*, they will plainly appear to be the same. *Ctesias* says, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himself, his concubines, and treasures; *Polybistro* writes the same of *Sarac*. *Ctesias* tells us, that the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians* destroyed *Nineveh*; and the same is confirmed by *Polybistor* and the sacred penmen. *Ctesias* writes, that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amounts to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the *Assyrian* empire, and one desolation of *Nineveh*.

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the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to *Chaon* a city of *Media*, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she formed another pleasant garden with stately edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chaon* she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and on her march levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in spite of nature opened a plain and easy way to *Ecbatan*, which to our author's time was called *Semiramis's road* [m]. These extraordinary works, as they were lasting monuments of her conquests, not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the space of near 1400 years (O), when *Arbaces* governor of *Media* and *Belesis* governor of *Babylon* put an end to the *Assyrian* empire in the manner we have related in the history of *Assyria* [n].

Arbaces, the first king of the *Medes* after their revolt, is represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-spirited *Babylonian Belesis*; who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immense treasures, that were concealed in the ashes and ruins of the *Assyrian* palace, as we have elsewhere related at length [o]. He is said to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have reigned twenty eight years. Arbaces.

He was succeeded by his son *Mandauces*, who reigned fifty years, but did nothing worthy of notice, being himself as he is represented, a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite, after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign. Mandauces.

Sosarmus appears next, by some called *Medidus*; he reigned thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record. Sosarmus.

Artias, by some called *Artycas*, by others *Cardiccas*, reigned next. From his name some, who indulge conjectures, Artias.

[m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1, [n] See before, p. 182. & seq.
[o] See before, p. 284.

(O) These stories are of a piece with what the same author relates elsewhere, *viz.* that the army of *Ninus* consisted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that she disposed in the shape of elephants the hides of three hundred thousand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by *Ctesias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* or *Arta* in the compoſition of his name denoting *greatneſs*, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Perſian Artaxerxes*. All we can ſay is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long ſince buried in oblivion. There is a great diſagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, ſome allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and ſome only thirteen.

Arbianes. After him came *Arbianes*, in whoſe reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Caduſians*, who, at the inſtigation of one *Parſodes*, riſing up in arms, ſhook off the yoke which they had for ſome time groaned under. *Parſodes* was by birth a *Perſian*, but the chief favourite and prime miniſter of *Arbianes* king of the *Medes*, whom he ſerved with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a ſentence pronounced againſt him by that prince, he fled with three thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to the *Caduſians*, where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianes*, but ſtirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Caduſians*, being thus encouraged to ſtand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parſodes*, as the moſt proper perſon on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field *Arbianes* died after a reign of twenty years. If this *Parſodes* be the *Parſondas* mentioned by *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, we have already related what induced him to revolt [p].

Artæus. *Artæus* came to the crown, while the *Caduſians* were making vaſt preparations to invade his kingdom, and underſtanding that *Parſodes* was advancing towards the frontiers the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the inſolence of the rebels. And accordingly having raiſed an army of 800,000 men marched out with this mighty hoſt, and engaged the rebels; but was moſt ſhamefully routed and forced to ſave himſelf by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the *Caduſians* proclaimed *Parſodes* their king, who accepting the crown inſpired his new ſubjects with that irreconcileable hatred which he had conceived againſt the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is ſaid to have ſolemnly conjured the *Caduſians*, even on his death bed, to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly aboliſhed, loading at the ſame time with curſes and imprecations ſuch of his ſucceſſors, as ever ſhould upon any terms whatſoever be reconciled with them. In purſuance of this,

[p] See before, p. 285, & ſeq.

as we may call it, his laſt will, the *Caduſians* watched all opportunities of harraſſing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what miſchief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the *Perſians* [q].

AFTER *Artæus* reigned *Artynes* twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*, in whoſe reign the *Parthians* revolting put themſelves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which ſeparates *India* from *Scythia*. This occaſioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by queen *Zanara*, a heroine of great proweſs. That princeſs is no leſs celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, reſcued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her ſubjects, and inured them to military diſcipline and the toils of war. After ſhe had for many years harraſſed the *Medes*, a peace was at laſt concluded between her and *Artynes* on the following conditions; that the *Parthians* ſhould ſubmit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they poſſeſſed at the beginning of the war [r] (P). Artynes. Artibarnas.

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may ſafely call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, theſe kings, or moſt of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination, of *Cteſias*, which was very fertile in the production of monſters. We now come to the genuine hiſtory of *Media*, as it has been tranſmitted to us by authors of a quite different character. *The genuine hiſtory of the* Medes.

THE *Medes*, having thrown off the *Aſſyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived ſome time without a king, but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their own country, whoſe name was *Dejoces*. He is repreſented as a

[q] DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. [r] DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own ſex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wiſdom; ſhe built many cities, made conſiderable conqueſts, and raiſed the obſcure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her ſubjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vaſt dimenſions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid ſhe was repreſented by a golden coloſſus, and adored by her ſubjects as a goddeſs (37).

(37) Diodor. *Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.*

subtle crafty man, and aiming at absolute power, and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner. The *Medes* were at that time divided into several districts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who, seeing all kind of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. The *Medes* of the same district, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge; and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences, resorted from all parts to him in order to obtain justice; till at last no one would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. At last the numbers of those, who applied to him for redress, increasing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administring justice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reasonable, that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedness prevailing to such a degree, that it was not safe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general assembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion those who were in the interest of *Dejoces* observed, that if a stop was not put to the growth of the disorders that had already overspread the whole land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They advised therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could rescue their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person whom they should prefer to the crown, when *Dejoces* was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne[f].

The Medes resolve to create a king.

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and being vested with supreme power he threw off the mask, and commenced ty-

Dejoces absolute.

[f] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 95.

rant;

rant; though the rigour he practiſed may perhaps have been abſolutely neceſſary to bring the nation, after ſome years of anarchy, into any order or diſcipline. Year of the Flood, 2300. Year before Chriſt 699.

THE firſt thing he did after his promotion was to command his new ſubjects to build him a palace ſuitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the ſafety of his perſon. He was obeyed, and on the ground which he choſe a ſtrong and ſtately fabric was erected for his ordinary reſidence. At the ſame time he was allowed to chooſe for his guard out of the whole nation ſuch as he thought moſt proper for that truſt. Thus ſettled on the throne, he united the ſeveral diſtricts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a ſtrong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this alſo his ſubjects ſubmitted, and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built, purſuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in proceſs of time became very famous in thoſe parts (Q).

Dejoces, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be obſerved by all his ſubjects of what rank ſoever. That no one ſhould be admitted to his preſence, but tranſact all things by his ſervants and miniſters; that none ſhould be allowed even to ſee him, that were not immediately of his houſhold; and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or ſpit in his preſence ſhould be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the reſpect which is due to a ſovereign. Theſe laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil deſign againſt his perſon, not doubting but thoſe, who were debarred from ſeeing him, would be eaſily induced to think him of a ſuperior nature to themſelves. Though he kept himſelf thus concealed from the eyes of the

(Q), *Ecbatan* in ſcripture (38) is called *Achmetha*; by *Cteſias* and *Stephanus*, *Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith* it is ſaid to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*; but whether *Arphaxad* and *Dejoces* be but two names of one and the ſame perſon is what we ſhall examine hereafter. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will perhaps have *Arbaces*, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with *Tiglath-pileſer*, to be the founder of it. *Joſephus* (40) acquaints us, that the decree of *Cyrus*, about rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was found at *Ecbatan*, which plainly proves it to be the ſame with the *Achmetha* of ſcripture, where according to *Ezra* (41) the ſaid decree was lodged.

(38) *Ezra*, vi. 2. (39) *Connect. of the old and new teſtament*, p. 26. (40) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 4. (41) *Ezra*, *ubi ſupra*.

people,

people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

Dejoces was so intirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the *Medes* fifty three years [t].

Phraortes. Year of the Flood, 2353. Year before Christ 646.

He was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Persia*, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the *Medes* [u]. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of *Persia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his son and successor *Cyaxares* (†). However, he subdued

[t] Herodot. l. 1. c. 96. 201. [u] Herodot. l. 1. c. 102.

† It seems plain from scripture, that the *Persians* were not subdued by the *Medes*, till after the taking of *Nineveh*, by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, God threatened by his prophet (42), that *he would take all the families of the north and* Nebuchadnezzar *the king of* Babylon, *and bring them against* Judæa, *and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolation, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and those of *Edom*, and *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where it is to be observed, that, in numbring the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the *Assyrians* who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, as distinct from those of the *Medes*, whence we may conclude, that the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the same prophet foretold the approaching conquest of *Persia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, says he, *I will break the bow of* Elam —— *upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven*—

(42) *Jerem.* xxv.

and

dued ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the upper *Aſia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good ſucceſs that attended his army, at length he invaded *Aſſyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the *Medes*, had withdrawn their obedience from the *Aſſyrians*. *Nabuchodonoſor*, or *Chyniladan*, at that time king of *Aſſyria*, raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe the conqueror, ſummoning the whole force of his wide-ſpreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the eaſt to his aſſiſtance. His ambaſſadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the ſummons. However, *Nabuchodonoſor* took the field with what forces he had, and he, joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and purſuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him priſoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered *Media*, took many ſtrong holds without oppoſition, and puſhing on his conqueſts ſtormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Fluſhed beyond meaſure by this, perhaps more than expected, ſucceſs, he returned to *Nineveh*, where he feaſted and revelled with thoſe who had attended him in this expedition, for the ſpace of 120 days [w]. *Phraortes* reigned twenty two years, and was ſlain near the beginning of the reign of *Joſiah*; for this war was made after *Phœnice*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt* had been conquered by *Aſſarhadon*, and when the *Jews* were new-

[w] JUDITH. i. 16. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 102.

and there ſhall be no nation whither the outcaſts of Elam *ſhall not come—I will ſet my throne in* Elam, *and will deſtroy from thence the king and the princes, ſaith the Lord. But it ſhall come to paſs in the latter days,* that is in the reign of *Cyrus*) *that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *ſaith the Lord* (43).

From theſe words of the prophet it is manifeſt, that in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay after the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, the *Perſians* had kings of their own, and conſequently could not be ſubdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (44).

(43) *Jer.* xlix. 35, &c. (44) *See Sir Iſaac Newton Chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p.* 318. *& ſeq.*

Ly

ly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of *Judith* [x] (Q). *

Cyaxares I. Year of the Flood, 2375. Year before Chriſt 624.

Upon the death of *Phraortes* his ſon *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed ſuch a man was, then more than ever, wanting to ſave the nation from impending ſlavery, moſt part of the kingdom being already poſſeſſed by the *Aſſyrians*. Having ſettled himſelf well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good diſcipline (R), he ſoon recovered what the *Aſſyrians* had taken after their victory in the plains of *Ragau*. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the deſtruction of *Nineveh*. And accordingly, having aſſembled all his forces, he marched out with a deſign to treat that city, as *Nabuchodonoſor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*.

[x] Judith. iv. 3.

(Q) As *Arphaxad* is ſaid, in the firſt book of *Judith* (45), to have been killed by *Nabuchodonoſor*, and likewiſe to have built *Ecbatan*, moſt writers will have *Dejoces*, the founder of *Ecbatan*, and not *Phraortes*, to have carried on this unſucceſsful war, and loſt his life in the mountains of *Ragau* (46). The paſſage in *Judith*, that *Arphaxad built a very ſtrong city and called it Ecbatan*, has led them aſtray, and made them conclude, that *Arphaxad* muſt be *Dejoces* who was certainly the founder of that city. But the *Greek* text of *Judith*, which the vulgate tranſlates *ædificavit*, *built*, ſays only, that *Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatan*, Ἐπῳκοδόμησε ἐπὶ Ἐκβατάνοις. And what can be more natural, than that the ſon ſhould finiſh ſo great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

* The authors in the hiſtory of *Aſſyria* [a], place the death of *Arphaxad*, who is the *Phraortes* here mentioned, in the year of the Flood, 2363, before Chriſt, 636. It is ſaid above that *he was ſlain near the beginning of the reign of* Joſiah, Sir *Iſaac Newton* [b] ſays in his 5th or 6th year. Now *Joſiah* began to reign in the year of the Flood 2358, before Chriſt, 641 [c]; whence it is evident the death of *Phraortes* muſt have happened about the year of the Flood 2363, before Chriſt, 636, as fixed by the authors before, tho' here placed in the year of the Flood, 2375, before Chriſt, 624.

(R) He was the firſt, according to *Herodotus* (47), that marſhalled the people of *Aſia* into diſtinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horſe, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiſcuouſly. But this we can hardly believe, when we conſider, that the nations of this part of *Aſia* were engaged in continual wars, and conſequently muſt have been more experienced in the military art.

(45) *Judith*. i. 1. (46) *See Uſſher's Annal. at the year of the world* 3347. [a] *See before, p.* 208. [b] *In his chronology, p.* 290, *of the* 4° *Edition.* [c] *See before, p.* 99. (47) *Herodot. l.* 1. *c.* 103.

The

The *Assyrians* meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into *Nineveh*. *Cyaxares*, pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city; but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom[y].

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes* the son of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrsus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Asia*, as *Strabo* informs us [z], and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no sooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the siege of *Nineveh*, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged, and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occasion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of *Upper Asia* (S).

From

[y] HERODOT. ubi supra. [z] STRAB. l. 1. prope initium.

(S) *Eusebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Nineveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus* and all the prophane historians, without exception, unanimously agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was besieging *Nineveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have chosen to follow them, rather than *Eusebius*, whose authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out by the *Scythians*, invaded and laid waste part of *Asia*, and that the *Scythians*, not satisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far distant countries, and in this pursuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia*. As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were all of the same race and nation, which *Goropius Becanus* learnedly proves in his *Amazonica*, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulsion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing else but the sending of a colony into *Asia*, with an army of *Scythians* to assist them in acquiring new settlements, and establishing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were but one people, yet they were distinguished in name according to their different tribes, professions, and perhaps dialects. Such another

From thence they extended their conquests into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* king of that country,

expedition the same people undertook some ages after, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewise assisted, as *Plutarch* informs us (48), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, besides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing down all before them, and finally designing to settle in *Italy*, divided into several bodies to facilitate their passage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity obliged these poor nations to infest their neighbours and expose themselves to such dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in sustenance, and shut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overgrown numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage, that they might the sooner get rid of them, others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these, mentioned by *Herodotus*, took the way of the *Euxine* sea, which they had on their left, as mount *Caucasus* on their right. They passed through *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and arriving in *Paphlagonia* fortified the promontory, whereon *Sinope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left under a strong guard such as were unfit for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the *Iris* and the *Halys* they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the history of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly along the shore of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* on their left passed between that sea and the *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have said. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares*, *Tremellius* and *Junius* refer that prophecy of *Nahum*; *He* (that is *Cyaxares* besieging *Nineveh*) *shall recount his worthies*; *they shall stumble in their walk* (that is in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whose coming at this time into *Asia* may well be so termed, since it was rather a passing through than any settlement; for in the short space of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and lost *Media*, *Assyria*, and all the upper *Asia*): *they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence*

(48) *Plutarch. in Mario.*

shall

country, meeting them in perſon, prevailed upon the barbarians, what by intreaties, what by preſents, to proceed no farther, and thereby ſaved his country from the heavy oppreſſion which his neighbours groaned under [a]. In this expedition the *Scythians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of *Bethſheam*, in the territories of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on this ſide *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Aſia*; whence it was called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* [b]. On their return from *Egypt*, as they paſſed through the land of the *Philiſtines*, ſome of the ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, which was believed the moſt antient in the world dedicated to that goddeſs. To avenge this attempt the goddeſs is ſaid to have inflicted on thoſe that were concerned in the ſacrilege, and their poſterity, the hemorrhoids; which ſhews, that the *Philiſtines* ſtill preſerved the memory of what they had formerly ſuffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it ſeems, on this diſtemper, as a puniſhment from heaven attending ſuch ſacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the *Scythians* with this crime, took care not to omit in their hiſtories the puniſhment which their anceſtors had ſuffered for one of the ſame nature [c].

THE *Scythians* were for the ſpace of twenty eight years maſters of the *Upper Aſia*, namely the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* finding it impracticable to get rid of his troubleſome gueſts by open force, reſolved to try what might be effected by ſtratagem. And accordingly invited the greateſt part of them to a general feaſt which was given in every family. Each landlord made his gueſts drunk, and in that condition were the *Scythians* maſſacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The *Medes* then repoſſeſſed

[a] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20. [b] SYNCELL. p. 214. [c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 105.

ſhall be prepared, that is, they ſhall haſten to *Nineveh*, as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* beſieging it (49).

(T) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who eſcaped this bloody feaſt, raiſed any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. Which ſeems the more ſtrange, as we know from *Herodotus* himſelf (50), that the army returning out of *Media* was very ſtrong and numerous, and met with greater oppoſition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to be-

49) *Nahum*. *ii*. 5. (50) *Herodot*. *l*. 3. *c*. 1.

poſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their antient boundary weſtward *.

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppreſſion of the *Scythians*, found himſelf ſoon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occaſion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* [d]. Upon a ſedition which happened among the *Scythian nomades*, a party of them made their eſcape into *Media*, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but entruſted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to inſtruct in the uſe of the bow and the *Scythian* language. Theſe ſtrangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accuſtomed to return with ſome game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares*, whom they uſed daily to preſent with ſome veniſon, treated them with moſt opprobrious language; this they reſented, and agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dreſs his fleſh like veniſon, and ſerve it up to *Cyaxares* and his gueſts. They executed what they propoſed, and then flying to *Sardis* implored the protection of *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to demand the *Scythians*, but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of five years enſued between the two nations with various ſucceſs (U). The battle fought in the fixth

* Herodot. l. 1. c. 106. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 73, 74.

lieve, that the ſtratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with leſs bloodſhed than is commonly ſuppoſed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he may have brought the others to reaſonable terms. It is not improbable, that, in the ſpace of twenty eight years, many had ſettled themſelves ſo well, that they were willing to live in ſubjection to *Cyaxares*, provided they might peaceably enjoy what they poſſeſſed; many, who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of *Aſia*, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other countries. We read in ſcripture, that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar*; which may well be underſtood of theſe northern nations ſettling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain, that after this expulſion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them carried the day; which may be aſcribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occaſion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other

fixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* (W). The *Medes* and *Lydians*, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeſeen event, which they looked upon as a ſign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and ſoon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon* and *Syenneſis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was ſtrengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Aſtyages*, the eldeſt ſon of *Cyaxares*. Of which marriage

other refuſing to deliver up ſuch as had put themſelves under his protection. But to us, we muſt own, it does not at all ſeem probable. that the *Scythians* ſhould have ſheltered themſelves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, conſidering how odious the *Scythian* name muſt at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reaſons to diſtruſt him for the treachery he had ſhewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were ſuch as had eſcaped the maſſacre in *Media*, and not a new colony; which ſeems moſt likely, for that univerſal ſlaughter being freſh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other *Scythians* would have come to ſettle in the very country where it had been lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipſe fell out while *Cyaxares* the father of *Aſtyages* and *Alyattes* the father of *Cræſus* were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus* in his aſtronomical hiſtory. *Pliny* likewiſe (51), in ſpeaking of eclipſes, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Mileſian* was the firſt that foretold an eclipſe of the ſun; and adds, that the eclipſe foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty eighth olympiad in the reign of *Alyattes* (and not of *Aſtyages* as we find in ſome modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (52) places this battle and the eclipſe of the ſun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from *Endemus* whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time aſſigned both by him and *Pliny* does not ſuit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his ſucceſſor *Aſtyages*. *The ſun and moon tables* of *Ptolemy*, which are the ſame with thoſe of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipſe on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the fourth day of the *Egyptian* month *Pacon* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar), on a ſunday three hours, thirty five minutes before noon. But according to Sir *Iſaac Newton* it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonaſſar* 163, forty ſeven years before the taking of *Babylon* (53), and 585 before *Chriſt*.

(51) *Plin. l.* 1. *c.* 12. (52) *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l* 1.
(52) *Sir Iſaac Newt. Chron. of antient kingd. amend. p.* 316.

was

was born the enſuing year *Cyaxares*, who in the book of *Daniel* is called *Darius the Mede* [c].

Cyaxares's firſt care, as ſoon as he was diſengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to reſume the ſiege of *Nineveh*, which the irruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raiſe. Having with this view entered into a ſtrait alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter *Amyite* (X), he returned in conjunction with the *Babylonians* before *Nineveh*, took the place, ſlew *Sarac* the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground *. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* empire laid in aſhes, purſuant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before ‡. *Wo to the bloody city*,

[c] Daniel v. 31. * Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(X) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Aſtyages* and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Aſtyages* could not at that time have a daughter marriageable, and *Nebuchadnezzar* had he married her, muſt have been at the time of his death at leaſt eighty five years old, and *Aſtyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit* the deſtruction of *Nineveh* is aſcribed to *Abaſuerus* king of *Media* and *Nabuchodonoſor* king of *Babylon*. This *Abaſuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſhews, was called *Achſuerus*, *Aſſuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres* or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* ſignifying *a prince* in the *Median* language (54). By *Nabuchodonoſor* is meant *Nebuchadnezzar* the great, both theſe names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopolaſſar* the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* was called by both theſe names, is plain from the books of the *Rabbies*, and from *Joſephus*. *R. Juchaſin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* (55); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the firſt, and the ſon *Nebuchadnezzar* the ſecond (56). *Joſephus* in ſpeaking of *Nabopolaſſar* ſometimes calls him *Nabuchodonoſor* (57) and ſometimes *Nabulaſſar* (58), which is a contraction of *Nabopallaſſar*. It is certain, that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other antient writings, ſacred or prophane, relating to thoſe times, unleſs we allow the name of *Nabuchodonoſor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*

‡ Sir *Iſaac Newton* tells us, [a] "we cannot err above a year or "two, if we refer the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, and fall of the *Aſ*-"*ſyrian* empire to the ſecond year of *Jehoiakim*," that is to the year of the Flood 2390, before Chriſt 609, as placed by the au-

(54) *Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupra, p.* 309. (55) *Juchaſ. fol.* 136. (56) *David Ganz. at the year of the world* 3285. (57) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11 (58) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* 1. [a] *In his chronology, p.* 292.

it

it is all full of lies and robbery; he that daſheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob *and to* Iſrael. *I hear already the noiſe of the whip, and the noiſe of the rattling of the wheels, and of the pranſing horſes and of the jumping chariots. The horſeman lifteth up both the bright ſword and the glittering ſpear. The ſhield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in ſcarlet. They ſhall ſeem like torches, they ſhall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his preſence: who can ſtand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger? Behold I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts: I will ſtrip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waſte.* Nineveh *is deſtroyed; ſhe is overthrown; ſhe is deſolate. The gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the palace ſhall be diſſolved. And* Huzzab *ſhall be led away captive; ſhe ſhall be brought up, and her maids ſhall lead her, as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breaſts. I ſee a multitude of ſlain, and a great number of carcaſes; and there is no end of their corpſes: they ſtumble upon their corpſes. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions? where the lion,* even *the old lion, walked, and the lions whelp, and none made* them *afraid:* where *the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes, and filled*

thors, in this volume (b); we muſt therefore, in this caſe, ſuppoſe *Nineveh* to have been deſtroyed in the 28th year of the reign of *Cyaxares* (who, as has been before obſerved, began his reign in the year before Chriſt 636) which, however contrary to the hiſtory, as above related from *Herodotus*, agrees nearly with the hypotheſis of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who (c) places the deſtruction of *Nineveh* before the beginning of the *Lydian* war, and from whom the Chronology of the authors ſeems chiefly to be taken. What has been obſerved of the Eclipſe (d), which happened at the time of the engagement, between *Cyaxares* and the *Lydians*, *Viz.* that it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonaſſar*, 163, before Chriſt 585, will be found no objection when it is conſidered that Sir *Iſaac* places the beginning of the war with *Alyattes* in the year before Chriſt 590, twenty years after the expulſion of the *Scythians*, and 19 years after the deſtruction of *Nineveh* (e).

(b) *See before*, p. 373. (c) *Ubi ſupr.* p. 315. (d) *See before*, p. 389. *note* (W). (e) *Ubi ſup.* p. 38, 39.

his

his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin[f]*? The Lord shall destroy* Assur. *He shall depopulate the city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild-beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately and so exalted, which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures*[g] (Y).

THIS victory with the destruction of *Nineveh* the *Jews* ascribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*; *Tobit*, *Polyhistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias* to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Nineveh*, the two conquerors prosecuting their victory led the confederate army against *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*, who had some time before routed the king of *Assyria* and taken *Carchemish*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the *Assyrians*[h]; for what had once belonged to them, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest (Z).

After

[f] NAHUM iii. 1. ii. 1, 2. & seq. [g] ZEPHAN. ii. 13. 15.
[h] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. EUPOL. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 35.

(Y) On the ruins of the old *Nineveh* another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Mosul* (60), and situated on the west side of the *Tigris*, where was antiently only a part of the suburbs of old *Nineveh*; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river. The circuit of *Nineveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (61), 480 furlongs, that is, sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by *Jonah* (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is, in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place says, that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as *Strabo* says, much bigger than *Babylon*. We have already fixed the æra of its destruction

(Z) From this time the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins, that is, from the end of the

(60) *Thevenot. Part.* 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. *p.* 50. (61) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *p.* 65. (62) *Jonah.* iii. 3. (63) *Strabo l.* 16. *p.* 737.

third

After this victory they ſeized on the important place of *Carchemiſh*, reduced all *Cœle-ſyria* and *Phœnice*, and then with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horſe, invaded and laid waſte *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at laſt beſieged *Jeruſalem*, and took king *Jehoiakim* priſoner [i]. Enriched with the ſpoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* purſuing his conqueſts in the weſt, and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Aſſyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he ſubdued with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of *Perſis* (A) and *Suſiana*, accompliſhed the conqueſt of the *Aſſyrian* empire.

THE prophet *Ezekiel* [k] enumerates the chief nations that were ſubdued and ſlaughtered by the two conquerors, *Cyax-*

[i] 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Daniel i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. [k] Ezek. xxxii.

third year of *Jehoiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnerſhip of the empire, is according to the *Jews* (64) the firſt year of his reign. But according to the *Babylonian* computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both theſe computations are found in ſcripture, we thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much in order to reconcile them. We muſt further obſerve, that as the *Chaldæan* aſtronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonaſſar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*; ſo the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moſes*, beginning with the month *Niſan*; inſomuch, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the firſt of the month *Niſan*, thoſe few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his ſecond year (65).

(A) While the *Aſſyrians* reigned at *Nineveh*, *Perſia* was divided into ſeveral kingdoms. Amongſt others there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flouriſhed in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manaſſeh*, *Joſiah*, and *Jehoiakim*, kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (66). This kingdom ſeems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the king of *Touran* or *Scythia*, beyond the river *Oxus*, with various ſucceſs, and at length to have been ſubdued by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; which confirms what we have ſaid before, *viz.* that the *Perſians* were not ſubdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(64) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (65) *Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupra.* p. 296
(66) *Jerem.* xxv. 25 *and* xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii. 24.

ares and *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Aſhur is there and all her company*, viz. in *Hades*, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, *his graves are about him : all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living. There is* Elam *and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which are gone down uncircumciſed into the nether parts of the earth, which cauſed their terror in the land af the living : yet have they born their ſhame with them that go down into the pit.---There is* Meſhech, Tubal, *and all her multitude* (viz. the *Scythians*) ; *her graves are round about him : all of them uncircumciſed, ſlain by the ſword, though they cauſed their terror in the land of the living.---There is* Edom, *her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by* them that were *ſlain by the ſword.---There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which with their terror are gone down with the ſlain.* By the princes of the north are meant ſuch as were on the north of *Judæa*, namely the princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxares* waged in reducing thoſe provinces after the deſtruction of *Nineveh*.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, and ſhared the new acquiſitions with his *Babylonian* ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign [l], and was ſucceeded by his ſon

Aſtyages. Year of the Flood, 2415. Year before Chriſt 584.

Aſtyages, who in ſcripture is called *Ahaſuerus* [m]. This prince had by *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* II. called in ſcripture *Darius the Mede*, and who was ſixty two years old at the taking of *Babylon* [n], The ſame year that *Cyaxares* was born, *Aſtyages* gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyſes* a *Perſian*; from which marriage ſprang *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, and the reſtorer of the *Jews* to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and conſequently was in the ſixty firſt year of his age when *Babylon* was taken. Whether his father *Cambyſes* was king of *Perſia*, as *Xenophon* [o] would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in *Herodotus* [p], is what we ſhall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Aſtyages* was very long, having laſted thirty five years [*], yet we find no particulars of it recorded in hiſtory, except his

[l] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [m] Dan. ix. 1. [n] Dan. v. 30, 31.
[o] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [p] Herodot. l. 1. [*] Herodot. l. 1. c 130

repulſing

repulſing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach* the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length elſewhere [q]. The victory which he gained on this occaſion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but ſixteen years of age, ſignalized himſelf in a very particular manner [r], purſuing the *Babylonian* with great ſlaughter quite home to his own borders. This raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animoſity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended at laſt in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite* the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or, as others will have it, of *Aſtyages*, but by ſome other wife, it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war againſt each other had they been ſo nearly related. It is ſtill more improbable, that *Evil-merodach* ſhould undertake ſuch hoſtilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

Aſtyages, after a reign of thirty five years was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cyaxares* uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was ſcarce warm on his throne, when he found himſelf engaged in a bloody war with *Nerigliſſar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach* and uſurped the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great ſlaughter on both ſides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the uſurper *Nerigliſſar*, of his ſon *Laboroſoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius*, the ſon of *Evil-merodach* and grandſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which laſted twenty years, was entirely managed by *Cyrus*, we ſhall defer the relating of theſe important events, till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, we ſhall reſerve to the hiſtory of that empire.

Cyaxares II. *Year of the Flood*, 2450. *Before Chriſt*, 549.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is ſaid in ſcripture to have *taken the kingdom*, after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belſhazzar* [s]. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnerſhip with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, ſo far did he carry his complaiſance, that he let him enjoy the firſt rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs being veſted in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the ſu-

[q] See before, p. 337, & ſeq. [r] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. 1. [s] Dan. v. 31.

preme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in *Ptolemy*'s canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*, but immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there as the next ſucceſſor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* after the death of *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him *Labynetus*, the laſt *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon* [t] and ſcripture: the former tells us, that after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom: and we read in ſcripture, that *Babylon* was deſtroyed by the *Medes* [u]; *by the kings of the* Medes, *the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof, and all the lands of his dominion* [x]; that the kingdom of *Babylon* was *numbered, and finiſhed, and broken, and given to the* Medes and *Perſians* [y]; firſt to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not obſerving the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Perſians* [z]. In his reign the *Medes*, as we have obſerved elſewhere, are conſtantly placed before the *Perſians* [a]; as the *Perſians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors, are placed before the *Medes* [b]; which ſhews, that, according to ſcripture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the laſt *Babyloniſh* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him [c], or *Darius* the *Mede*, as he is ſtiled by *Daniel*. The ſcripture aſcribes the deſtruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof *Hierom* alledges three reaſons [d]; 1. becauſe *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Perſians*; and laſtly, becauſe the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, which we may eaſily account for. The *Perſians*, deſirous to magnify and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conqueſt, and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations. Beſides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the ſiege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then abſent, and the confederate army under his conduct ſtormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two years, before the fame

[t] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8 [u] Iſa. xiii. 17. 19. [x] Jer. li. 11, 28. [y] Dan. v. 26, 28. [z] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [a] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15, 28. viii. 20. [b] Eſt. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20. [c] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 19. [d] Comment. in Dan. v.

of

of this great conqueſt was ſpread abroad in diſtant countries, *Cyrus* was in the entire poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed ſuch extraordinary feats. But *Joſephus* [e], who was better informed, tells us, *that* Darius *with his ally* Cyrus *deſtroyed the kingdom of* Babylon. The ſame author adds, that this *Darius* was the ſon of *Aſtyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we aſk the *Greeks* the name of *Aſtyages*'s ſon, *Xenophon* [f] will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preſerved in the *Darics* or *Staters Darici*, thoſe famous pieces of gold, which for ſeveral ages were preferred by the eaſtern nations to any other coin: for we are told [g], that theſe were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the firſt king of the *Medes* and *Perſians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more antient than the father of *Xerxes*, is any where ſaid to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the ſcripture calls *Darius the Mede*.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* in concert with *Cyrus* ſettled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces [h], which were governed by thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war. Over theſe governors were appointed three preſidents, who were conſtantly to reſide at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the ſeveral provinces, diſpatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; ſo that theſe three principal miniſters had the ſuperintendency over, and the chief adminiſtration of, the moſt weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of theſe *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deſerved, not only on account of his great wiſdom, but likewiſe of his age and conſummate experience; for he had now ſerved the kings of *Babylon* full ſixty five years in the quality of prime miniſter. As this employment advanced him to be the next perſon to the king, it raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the other courtiers, who conſpiring againſt him would have compaſſed his ruin, had he not been miraculouſly preſerved by that providence, which is ever watching over the ſafety of the juſt. As the only thing they could lay hold of to diſgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's diſpleaſure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to iſſue out a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to put up any petition whatſoever to God

[e] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [f] XENOPH. ubi ſupra. [g] SUIDAS in Δαρεικός, HARPOCR. in Δαρεικός, Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ. p. 741, 742. [h] Dan. vi. 1.

or man, except to the king, for the ſpace of thirty days, upon pain of being caſt into the lions den. Now, as *Daniel* was ſaying his uſual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jeruſalem*, he was ſurprized, accuſed, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculouſly delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the deſtruction of its authors, and greatly raiſed, as we may well imagine, *Daniel*'s reputation, both with *Darius* and *Cyrus* [t]. This probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for after having ſettled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furniſhed the gariſons with ſuch troops as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, which he brought under ſubjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conqueſts as far as the *Red* ſea and the confines of *Æthiopia*. In the mean time *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* caſt into the lions den. The *Darics* were, perhaps, coined much about the ſame time out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But in the reign of *Cyrus* we ſhall give a more diſtinct account of ſeveral particulars relating to his two predeceſſors *Cyaxares* and *Aſtyages*. We have hitherto ſuppoſed the former to be *Daniel*'s *Darius the Mede*, and *Nabonadius* his *Belſhazzar*; but as both theſe points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we diſmiſs the hiſtory of *Media* we muſt beg leave to offer ſomething in our notes in defence of this our ſuppoſition, after having acquainted the reader with the ſentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to ſupport them (C).

CHAP.

[t] Dan. vi. 4, 5, 6, & ſeq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (67), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little allay, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and ſilver now ſtands with us, to have been worth twenty five ſhillings.

(C) As the whole hiſtory of *Babylon*, from the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus*, is overcaſt, we may ſay, with an impenetrable miſt, writers are ſtrangely puzzled to find out *Daniel*'s *Belſhazzar* among the laſt kings that reigned there, and equally at a loſs concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom ſucceeded by *Cyrus*. To proceed with all the perſpicuity we can in ſo perplexed a ſubject, we ſhall firſt produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the laſt kings of *Babylon*; 2. What is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is

(67) *De ponder. & menſur. antiq. p.* 171.

confirmed

confirmed by the concurrence of all the prophane hiſtorians; and laſtly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to ſupport them.

The prophet *Daniel*, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the viſions he had in the firſt and 3d year of *Belſhazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68) *Belſhazzar* having made a great feaſt, commanded the veſſels of gold and ſilver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jeruſalem*. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the ſame hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-againſt the candleſtick on the plaiſter of the wall of the king's palace. The king who ſaw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wiſe-men and ſooth-ſayers to be ſent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately ſent for at the ſuggeſtion of the queen, who on the alarm which that prodigy had occaſioned, entered the banquetting room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in ſuch matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for prophaning the holy veſſels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words, are *Mene Mene, Tekel Upharſin*, which he thus interprets; *Mene*, God has numbered thy kingdom and finiſhed it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. The prophet adds, that in that night *Belſhazzar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, was ſlain, and that *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about threeſcore and two years old.

The ſame prophet informs us next (69), what order *Darius* eſtabliſhed in the realm, and relates the viſions which he had in the firſt year of *Darius*, and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifeſt, that *Daniel* ſpeaks here of three kings ſucceeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belſhazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The laſt is well known; but the queſtion is, who the two others were: a queſtion which we muſt endeavour to ſolve, in order to reconcile *Daniel* and the prophane hiſtorians.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a reign of forty three years, (or forty five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was ſucceeded by his ſon *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two complete years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Nerigliſſar*. *Nerigliſſar* ruled four years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Laboroſoarchod*, who was murdered after a ſhort reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned ſeventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifeſt, that *Belſhazzar* was one of the four laſt kings of *Babylon*, and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſince in ſcripture he is often called his ſon; but authors are ſtrangely puz-

(68) *Dan. c. v.* (69) *Dan. c. vi.*

zled

zled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel's* prophecies.

Sir *John Marsham* takes *Belshazzar* to be *Evil-Merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belshazzar*, and *Belshazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that *Evil merodach* and *Belshazzar* must be one and the same person. *Berosus* (70) represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* in scripture bears the same character. *Berosus* tells us, that *Evil merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing these proofs may seem and consonant to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belshazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, *and in that night* Belshazzar, *king of the* Chaldeans, *was slain, and* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom*. From these words it is plain, that immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the *kingdom was given to the* Medes *and* Persians (72). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was succeeded according to *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, (73) and Sir *John Marsham* himself, by *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir *John Marsham*, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose *Neriglissar* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, and the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him; a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of *Darius the Mede*. To what we have alleged out of *Daniel* against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (74) that *all nations should serve him*, (*Nebuchadnezzar*) *and his son, and his son's son*. If the kingdom was transferred from his son to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as Sir *John Marsham* would have it, it is manifest, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What that author urges in defence of his opinion, *viz.* that *Belshazzar* was, according to scripture, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is very true, not in a literal, but more extensive, sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor father; and that this is the style of the scripture, no body, who is conversant in the holy books, can be ignorant of.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Neriglissar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son, named *Laborosoarchod* according to *Berosus*, or *Labassoarasc*, as *Megasthenes* is

(70) *Berof apud Joseph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (71) *Berosus ibid* (72) *Dan* v. 28, 30, 31. (73) *Berosus & Megasthen. ubi supra, & apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.* 9. (74) *Jer.* xxvii. 7.

pleased.

pleaſed to call him (75). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a moſt vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own ſubjects after he had reigned only nine months (76). And this is the reaſon, why he is omitted in *Ptolemy*'s canon, where the whole year is reckoned to the king that begins it, how ſoon ſoever he dies after If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was ſaid to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the ſaid month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the caſe of *Laboroſoarchod*.

But to return to our ſubject; *Joſeph Scaliger* (77) will have *Laboroſoarchod* to be *Daniel*'s *Belſhazzar*, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, *viz.* that he was the laſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s race; that he was killed by conſpirators, and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labynitus*, who was, according to *Megaſthenes* (78), a ſtranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumſtance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen adviſed *Belſhazzar* to conſult *Daniel*; this queen, ſays he, could not be the king's wife, for his wives and concubines were at the feaſt; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which ſuits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter, who was regent. If we object againſt this hypotheſis, that *Laboroſoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belſhazzar* reigned ſome years; his anſwer is, that the ſcripture aſcribes to *Laboroſoarchod* or *Belſhazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Nerigliſſar* or *Niricaſſolaſſar*, as he is there called, becauſe *Nerigliſſar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the firſt and third year of *Belſhazzar* in *Daniel* (79), though *Laboroſoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two inſurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it ſuppoſes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, a ſuppoſition which we ſhall plainly prove from holy writ to be falſe; 2. That it falſifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promiſing the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his ſon, and his ſon's ſon; whereas *Laboroſoarchod* was his daughter's ſon. This difficulty *Scaliger* ſeems not to have been aware of, ſince he takes no notice of it in ſolving the objections that may be brought againſt his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Nerigliſſar*, nor *Laboroſoarchod* were *Daniel*'s *Belſhazzar*, it follows, that *Nabonadius* was the king who in ſcripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we conſider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the laſt of the *Babylonian* kings, and therefore muſt be the ſame, who in ſcripture is called *Belſhazzar*; for immediately after the death of *Bel-*

(75) *Beroſus apud Joſeph. contra Appion l.* 1. *Megaſthen ubi ſupra.* (76) *Beroſus ubi ſupra.* (77) *Scaliger in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. ſelect. de emendat. tempor. l.* 6. *c. de Regib. Babylon.* (78) *Megaſth. ubi ſupra.* (79) *Dan.* vii 1. viii. 1.

ſhazzar the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians* (80). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is by *Daniel* often called his ſon, and in the *Chronicles* (81) it is ſaid, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children or offspring reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Perſia*; 3, That the nations of the eaſt were to ſerve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (82); he muſt therefore have been ſucceeded by a ſon and a ſon's ſon in the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his ſon, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but *Belſhazzar* could be his ſon's ſon. For *Nerigliſſar* was only his daughter's huſband, and *Laboroſoarchod* his daughter's ſon. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the laſt king of *Babylon* was ſon to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain, that by *Evil-merodach* alone ſhe could have a ſon, who was ſon's ſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion ſeems to us the leaſt perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the moſt agreeable to what we read both in ſcripture and in the prophane hiſtorians; and therefore we have, upon ſecond thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir *John Marſham*, which we were inclined to embrace in our hiſtory of *Babylon*.

Authors are no leſs divided in their opinions touching *Daniel*'s *Darius* the *Median*, than they are about his *Belſhazzar*. Sir *John Marſham* (83), as we have hinted above, ſtands up for *Nerigliſſar*, and will have the *Medo-Perſian* empire to have begun in him. He ſuppoſes *Nerigliſſar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he married the ſiſter of *Evil-merodach*, whoſe mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this ſuppoſition, or rather conjecture; but ſhould be glad to know how, even in this ſuppoſition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was upon the death of *Belſhazzar*, that is according to him of *Evil-merodach*, divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. It is not more certain that *Belſhazzar* was killed, than that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly inſinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians.—*In that night was* Belſhazzar *the king of the* Chaldeans *ſlain. And* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom* (84). Beſides, it is very plain from the whole ſixth chapter of *Daniel*, that *Darius* the *Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he uſurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whoſe laws he trod under foot and annulled. And this, if we ſuppoſe him to be *Nerigliſſar*, was his caſe; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own ſubjects, who naturally muſt have hated him, without any farther provocation, as a ſtranger, as an uſurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To this

(80) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (81) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 20. (82) *Jer.* c. xxvii. 7. (83) *Can. Cron. Secul.* 18. (84) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.

we

we may add, that if the *Medo-Perſian* empire began in *Nerigliſſar*, *Cyrus* did not deſtroy the *Babylonian* but the *Medo-Perſian* empire, which no author ever aſſerted. But the ſtrongeſt proof, in our opinion, that can be produced againſt this ſyſtem, and that alſo of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is ſaid to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (85), which muſt be underſtood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never ſo extenſive but of the *Perſian* empire. The latter on the conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hiſtaſpes* had ſeven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of *Eſther* it conſiſted of 127 provinces. If this was the diviſion of the *Perſian* empire in her time, the former muſt neceſſarily have been of the ſame empire. For if the *Perſian* empire from *India* to *Æthiopia* contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the ſeventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Perſian* empire, which cannot be ſaid either of *Nerigliſſar* or *Nabonadius*.

Scaliger (86) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel*'s *Darius*, adding, that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no ways related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the ſame *Babylonian* lords who put *Laboroſoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel*, ſaying, that he *took the kingdom*, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invaſion. That he was a *Mede* he pretends to evince from a prophecy, which *Megaſthenes* (87) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that *a great calamity was to fall on them, which neither* Belus, *nor queen* Beltis *could avert*; *that a* Perſian *mule ſhould bring the* Babylonians *under ſubjection, being aſſiſted by a* Mede. The *Perſian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the iſſue of a *Perſian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who aſſiſted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we aſk *Scaliger* how *Nabonadius* can be ſaid to have aſſiſted *Cyrus* in deſtroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, ſince he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquiſhed and killed; his anſwer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the deſtruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and ſlain, and that in this ſenſe (if in this there be any ſenſe) he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no anſwer, it is ſufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Iſaac Voſſius* well obſerves (88), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to ſupport this wild opinion are *unworthy of* Scaliger. As to his other proof, viz. that *Darius took the kingdom*; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be ſaid to have ſtormed the town or won it by dint of arms; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. The city being thus

(85) *Dan.* vi. 1. (86) *Scal. de emendat. tem. l.* 6. (87) *Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang l.* 9. (88) *Iſaac. Voſſ. Chronol. Sac p.* 144.

reduced by the troops of *Darius* and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius*, without any farther oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords after murdering their king ſhould place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the diviſion of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Perſians* foretold by *Daniel* be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, ſhould be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Perſians*. This diviſion muſt have been made after the empire was deſtroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this ſyſtem contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel*, touching the diviſion of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewiſe of *Jeremiah*, where it is ſaid, that *all nations ſhould ſerve him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s ſon's ſon? Since *Scaliger* could not anſwer this queſtion, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in diſplaying and ſolving, in the beſt manner he could, ſeveral difficulties that others might have ſtarted againſt his aſſertion. He commonly adopts the ſentiments of *Beroſus*; but here he even forſakes him; for *Beroſus* tells us (89), that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he ſeems afterwards concerned for having thus ſlighted the authority of ſuch an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with ſcripture, where he is ever ſtiled *Darius the Median?* He has a ſalve for this ſore too: the word *Median* or *Mede* is not, ſays he, the national name, *as the whole tribe of chronologers and interpreters, ſimple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the ſurname of* Darius. But it is very unlucky for *Joſephus* that *Daniel* ſhould begin his 9th chapter thus: *In the firſt year of* Darius *the ſon of* Ahaſuerus *of the ſeed of the* Medes, *which was made king over the realm of the* Chaldeans. He was therefore by nation a *Mede*, and the ſon of a king of *Media*. But our writer ſeems to have been more converſant in the mangled fragments of *Beroſus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may, on that very account, richly deſerve the compliments which in an ironical manner he beſtows on ſuch as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we muſt forgive him; ſcorn and contradiction were the eſſential ingredients of his character; and had he not in moſt things been ſingular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, nor the ſon of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected againſt the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for *Darius* the *Mede* elſewhere. They ſuppoſe, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Perſia* before *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus*, who was alſo, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Perſia*. This conjecture is ſupported by a paſſage out of *Æſchylus* (90), where that poet ſeemingly ſuppoſes the firſt king of *Perſia* there mentioned to have been a *Mede*, who with a

(89) *Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (90) *Æſch. Perſ. v.* 761.

powerful

powerful army took *Suſa*. Next to him he places his ſon, whom he does not name, and in the third place *Cyrus*, whom he calls a happy prince. This *Darius* who took *Suſa* and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius* the *Mede*, ſon of *Ahaſuerus*. This opinion is liable to one ſtrong objection, namely, that *Darius* the grandfather of *Cyrus* could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himſelf being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of *Perſia* ſixty one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon*'s account, maintain *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages* and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius* the *Mede*. He ſucceeded *Aſtyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyſes* in that of *Perſia*. Theſe two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of *Babylon* and took the city. *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*, and at his death *Cyrus* became maſter of the whole empire. This hypotheſis is entirely agreeable to ſcripture, and free from thoſe inſurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by thoſe who reject it. Their only exception to this ſyſtem is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Beroſus*, nor *Megaſthenes* knew of any ſuch king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares* II. nay, *Herodotus* tells us in expreſs words, that *Aſtyages* was ſucceeded by his grandſon *Cyrus*. This immediate ſucceſſion of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, &c. but theſe, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no new weight to the ſcale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give *Aſtyages* no other ſucceſſor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (91) does, and likewiſe *Joſephus* (93), forſaking herein *Beroſus*, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not claſh with ſcripture. *Xenophon* calls the ſucceſſor of *Aſtyages Cyaxares*, and *Joſephus* gives him the name of *Darius*, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being in that enterprize aſſiſted by his nephew *Cyrus* (93), which is conſonant both to ſcripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we ſuppoſe, that *Aſtyages* had no other ſucceſſor but *Cyrus*, we muſt allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the ſticklers for *Herodotus* tell us, before the ſiege of *Nineveh*, that is ſeventy three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He muſt have been at that time at leaſt thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourſelves to believe, that *Aſtyages* lived to ſo great an age, we ſhould willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great reſpect for that venerable, and by ſome much injured, hiſtorian. His ſyſtem is no ways repugnant to ſcripture, where nothing is ſaid of *Darius* the *Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Aſtyages* himſelf as to his ſon.

(91) *Xenoph. Cyropæd.* l. 1. c. 10. (92) *Joſeph. Antiq.* l. 10. c. 13. (93) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.*

A modern writer (94), so prepossessed in favour of *Herodotus*, as not to call in question any thing that author asserts, endeavours to support his system with a passage from the 13th chap. v. 65th of *Daniel*, where it is said, *And king* Astyages *was gathered to his fathers, and* Cyrus *of* Persia *received the kingdom.* His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the standard in the church of *Rome*; but in our bibles these words are to be found in the apocryphal *history of* Bel *and the* Dragon v. 1. However, we need not lay any stress upon this, seeing the same writer, who started the difficulty, has been so kind as to suggest us an answer to it. For a few lines after he launches out into great commendations of father *Tournemine*, calling him a critic of great penetration, the most learned and honest man that ever was bred in his society; and these encomiums he bestows on that very honest Jesuit for discovering, that the names of *Cyaxares*, *Astyages*, and *Abasuerus* were common to all the kings of *Media* (95). 'Tis very surprising that he should appropriate the name of *Astyages* to the grandfather of *Cyrus*, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in *Media*. If F. *Tournemine*'s discovery be true, as perhaps it may, we should be glad to know, why the son of *Astyages* might not have bore that name as well as his father; and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned passage refers to the father and not to the son? This writer makes a conscience of forsaking *Herodotus* in the number of his kings, and at the same time does not scruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their respective reigns; for he makes *Cyaxares* reign sixty four years, whereas *Herodotus* allows him only a reign of forty: wherein he is no less at variance with himself, after laying such stress on the authority of *Herodotus*, than he is with that antient historian. Thus much we have thought necessary to say on a subject, which has occasioned endless disputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have trespassed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compass of one note what has supplied matter for whole volumes.

(94) *See Lenglet. Methode pour etudier l'hist. Tom.* 1. *p.* 322.
(95) *See F. Tournemine dissertat.* 10. *ad calcem Menochii.*

CHAP.

PERSIA SIVE SHAHISTAN

SCYTHIÆ PARS

Bosporani
Caucasus Mons
PONTI EUXINI PARS
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
MARE CASPIUM
Albani
Nerij
Dioscuria
Cyta
Matia
Gepara
Cumana
Phasis
Harmozica
Trigus
Trapezus
Paphlagonia
PONTUS
Moschici Montes
Gallogræcia
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA MAJOR
ATROPATIA
Ariaspa
Vera
PHRYGIA
Sophene
Lycaonia
Taurus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Nymphocoria
Armosata
Taurus M.
Amida
Nisibis
ADIABENE
Arbela
MEDIA MAGNA
Gabena
Ecbatana
Rogae
Tibae
Arsacia
Cibinæ
Rhaga
Rapkane
PARTHIA seu PARTHIENE
PARAETACENE
Hecatompylos
Susa
Ctesiphon
CILICIA
CYPRUS I.
Amanus Mons
Thapsacus
Libanus M.
Palmyra
Nicephorium
Sura
Singara
Nisibis
Ichnæ
Nearda
Seleucia
Asphaltites Lacus
Cœlesyria
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Susa
Aspa
Vxii
Samaria
Trachonitis
Ammon
Moab
Iudæa
Idumæa
Petra
Bethsaida
ARABIA PETRÆA
Saraceni
Nabatæi
Midianitis
Hippos mons
Ihamlydeni
Hippos vicus
Talma
Magosmus
Cophar
Zahram regio
Maconaba
Carman regia
Badeo regio
Sabe
Thunifera regio
Sabatha
Saphar
Putni
Muza emporium
Gœlis emporium
Sanina
Homeritæ
Mathorum
Characeni
Thilutha
Gerrha
Thapsacus
Pasargadæ
Gabiæ
Nipsitæ
Chadda
Carmana metropolis
Harmozia sive Armoza
Ichthyophagi
Sabis
Alexandria
Pasira
Regama
Nagara
Murcha metropolis
Ascitæ
Cryptus portus
Cyropolis Exct.
Alexandria ult.
Alexandria
SOGDIANA
Iaxartes R.
Marginia
MARGIANA
Bazaria
Maracanda
GABAZA
Alexandria
Polytimetus R.
Oxus R.
Bactra sive Bazira
Sarnis
BACTRIANA
Bactræ
Tapuri
Mardi
Barcani
Alexandria
Ariscana
Nicæa
Susa
ARIA
Peucelaotis
Peucela
Massaca
Bezini
Ora
Ecbolomi
Caspiræ Pylæ
Cophes Flu.
Imaus Mons
Gangis Mons
Ariaspæ
Taxila Flu.
Hydaspes Flu.
PORI REGNUM
Bucephala
Jexidres Flu.
Oxydracæ
Sydracæ sive Hydraotis Flu.
Hesidri
Mysorobi sive Hydraotis Flu.
Hungary
Hypasis sive Hyphasis Flu.
Arine
Alexandri
Bubacene
DRANGIANA
Ariaspe
Euergetæ
Prophthasia
ARACHOSIA
Arabotus
Brachmanes
Alexandria
Brannoboa Flu.
Palibothra
Sabracæ
Sogdorum regio
Musicani
Presti
Musarna
Oscana
Omiza
Parsis metropolis
Urbs Brastorum
Arabitæ
Sasicana
Sabi regnum
Sabaræ
Gangaridæ
Padæi
Colpitæ
Perisara
Aganagora
GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
Barygaza emporium
Supara
Simylla emporium
Patala
Scopelum
Hippocura regio
Calligeris
Nitriæ
Mazuris emporium
Mariana
Vertex Taprobanæ
Lestarum regio
Tacola
SINUS GANGETICUS
CHERSONESUS AUREA
SINUS PERSICUS
SINUS ARABICUS
ARABIA FELIX
Arabia emporium
PERSIA
CARMANIA DESERTA
CARMANIA GEDROSIA
MARE ERYTHRAEUM
OCEANUS INDICUS

J: B:

CHAP. XI.

The History of PERSIA

SECT. I.

The Description of PERSIA.

Its ſeveral names.

THIS country, like many others, has in different ages been called by different names, and tho' to ſome the ſettling of theſe may ſeem a dry and uſeleſs taſk, yet, inaſmuch as the ſubſequent hiſtory will be much enlightened thereby, we ſhall give the reader as diſtinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The moſt antient name of *Perſia* is that by which it is called by *Moſes* [a], viz. *Elam*, or, as ſome write it, *Ælam*, from *Elam* the ſon of *Shem*, the father of its firſt inhabitants. [b] *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*, and in very antient times the people [c] of this country are ſaid to have called themſelves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artea*. In the books of [d] *Daniel*, [e] *Eſdras*, &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Perſian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, whereby the proper *Perſia* is called at this time. It has been alſo called [f] *Achæmenia* and *Arſacia* from its antient kings. In [g] *Oriental* writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shahiſtân*, that is *the dominions of the Shâh*. It is true, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, *Achæmenia* and *Iran* are not general names of *Perſia*, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently uſed in authors to ſignify that country which we call *Perſia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this liſt of names (A).

THE

[a] GENES. x. 22. xiv. 1. JEREM. xxv. 25. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. [b] Pol. cap. 17. [c] HYDE Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 413. [d] vi. 28. [e] 1 ESDR. vii. 4. [f] HORAT. lib. iii. Od. 1. OVID de Arte, lib 1. v. 226. [g] HYDE ubi ſupr. Voyages du CHARDIN, tom. III. p. 2, 3.

(A) The beſt commentators agree, that the *Elamites*, who were the anceſtors of the *Perſians*, were deſcended from *Elam* the ſon of

of

Extent. THE extent of *Persia* has been in different ages as various as its names, *Ptolemy* [h] bounds it thus: on the north it hath *Media*,

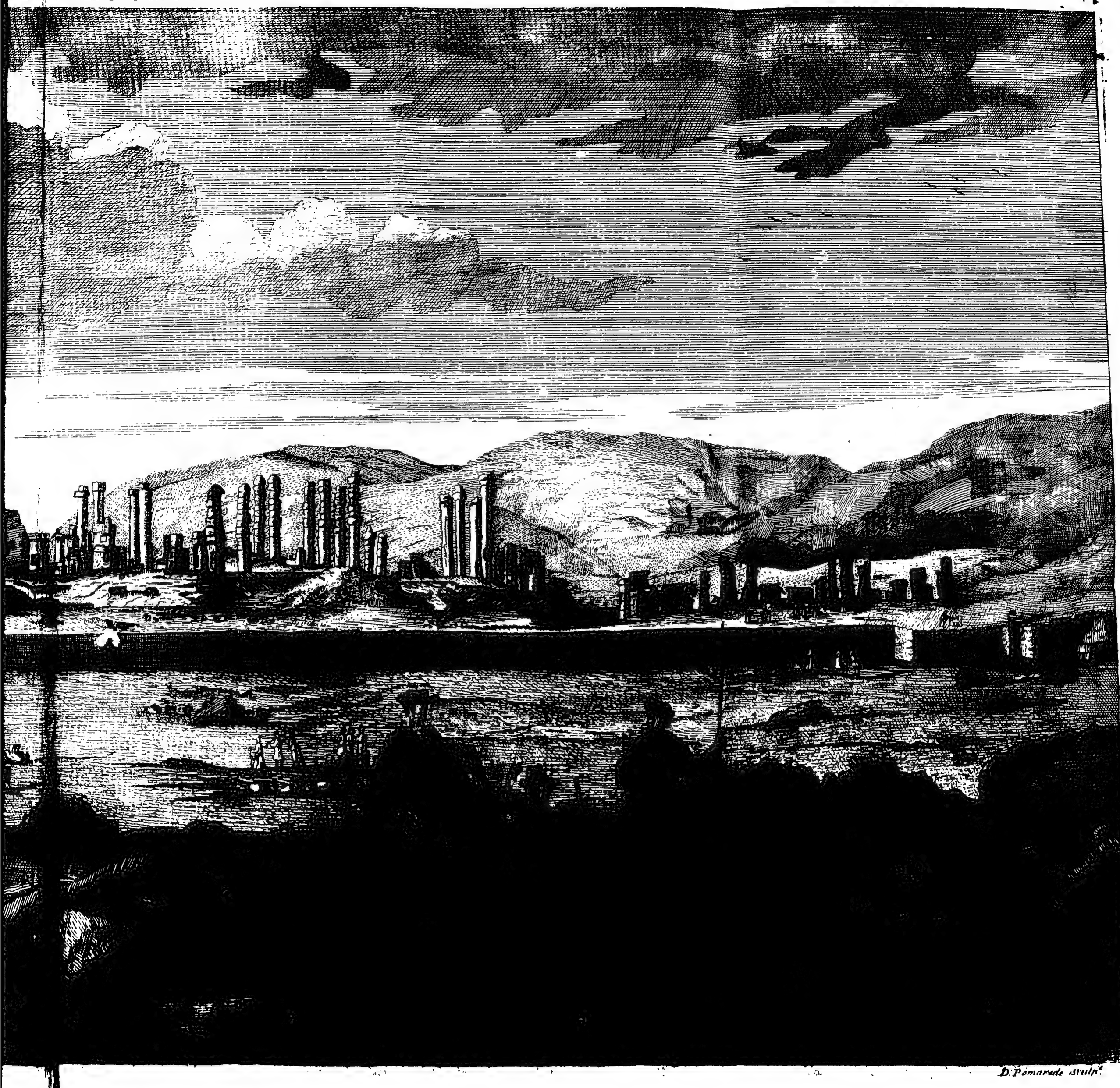
[h] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4

of *Shem*, and thus much has been asserted and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in our first volume (1). It is likewise allowed, that the most antient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Persia* when they speak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus, not to detain the reader with unnecessary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah*, after denouncing many judgments against this country, adds these words: *But it shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, saith *Jehovah* (2). He is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the *Persians* by *Cyrus*, who subdued the *Babylonians*, as these had before subdued the *Persians*, and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word פרס *Paras*, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or signification, some are for deriving it from the *Arabic* word *Phâris* which signifies *a horse*. Some *Persian* historians say that *Phars* is a proper name, and that the person so called was the son of *Arsham*, i. e. *Arphaxad* the son of *Shem*; others make this *Phars* the son of *Japhet*, &c. Some again, who seem to be nearest the truth, say that he was the son of *Elam* the son of *Shem* (4). It is evident, however, that the *Greek* word *Persis* and the *Latin* word *Persia* are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Perseus*. The name *Artæi* is thought to be derived from the *Persian* word *Ard* or *Art*, which signifies *strong*, *brave*, *magnanimous*, intimating that the people of this country were such in their dispositions (5). *Achæmenia*, as (6) *Stephanus Byzantius* informs us, was only a part of *Persia* (7), *Strabo* says nearly the same thing, yet sometimes it is used to signify *Persia* in general, as particularly by (8) *Herodotus*, who makes *Cambyses* in an oration call his people *Achæmenidæ*. In the *Armenian* language *Persia*, as I have said, is stiled, *Shabistân*, i. e. *the country of the Shâh* (9). The *Arabians* gave the name of *Agemestaan* to *Persia*, because in their language *Agem* signifies *stranger* or rather *Barbarian*, which, with great modesty, they impose on every other nation but themselves. Hence the distinction of *Arak-arab* and *Arak-agem*, which signifies as much as the *Towns of the Arabs*, and the *Towns of the Barbarians*. The *Persians* themselves call their country generally *Iran*, and *Iran*, for this reason; they say, that under the reign of king *Effrasiab* their empire contained all the countries between the *Caspian* sea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into

(1) p. 360. (2) *Jeremiah* xlix. 39. (3) *Poli. Synop. Critic. Lowth on Jerem.* xlix. 39. (4) *Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. c.* xxxv. *p.* 418, 419. (5) *Ibid. p.* 413. (6) *Apud Hyde ubi supr.* (7) *lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (8) *Clio, p.* 195. (9) *Hyde, p.* 413.

A View of the Ruins of PER

PERSEPOLIS



D. Pomarede Sculp.

Media, on the eaſt *Carmania*, on the weſt *Suſiana*, on the ſouth the *Perſian* gulph, but this relates to *Perſia* as a province. We conſider it in another light, and therefore, to ſpeak as clearly and diſtinctly as we may, let us firſt aſſign the boundaries of the *Perſian* empire as they ſtood antiently, when it extended fartheſt, let us next ſettle the boundaries of the modern *Perſian* empire, and thirdly, let us review the ſeveral provinces mentioned by antient writers, and, as we go on, take ſome account of the condition they are now in. *Boundaries*

As to the antient empire of the *Perſians* it reached in length, from the *Helleſpont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 2800 *Engliſh* miles, in breadth, from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulph, about 2000 miles [i].

THE [k] modern *Perſia*, that is the dominions of the *Perſian* crown, extends in length, from the mouth of the river *Araxes* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river *Oxus* to the *Perſian* gulph, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the *north* by the *Caſpian* ſea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucaſus*; on the *eaſt* by the river *Indus* and the dominions of the great *Mogul*, as he is commonly called; on the *ſouth* by the *Perſian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean, and on the *weſt* by the dominions of the grand *Signior* (B).

IN

[i] CLUVER. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13. [k] CLUVER. ubi ſup.

two parts, calling that on the other ſide of the river *Oxus Touran*, and this *Iran*, i. e. *on the other ſide of the river*, and *on this ſide of the river*, whence in the antient *Perſian* hiſtories *Key Iran* and *Key Touran* ſignifyed *the king of Perſia and the king of Tartary*; at this day the *Perſian* monarch is ſtiled *Padcha Iran*, and the grand vizier of *Perſia*, *Iran Medary*, *i. e. the pole of Perſia* (10).

(B) The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that "*Perſia* is the "greateſt empire in the world, if we conſider it according to the "geographical deſcriptions of the *Perſians*; for they repreſent its "antient boundaries to have been the four following great ſeas "*viz.* the *Black-ſea*, the *Red-ſea*, the *Caſpian-ſea*, and the *Perſian* "gulph, and alſo theſe ſix rivers, almoſt as well known as ſeas, "*Euphrates*, *Araxes*, *Tigris*, *Phaſus*, *Oxus*, and *Indus*. It is indeed "impoſſible to mark preciſely the limits of this vaſt kingdom; for "it is not with it as with the dominions of ſome petty ſovereigns, "where a rivulet or a pillar marks the frontier. *Perſia* has on every "ſide a ſpace of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited, "though the ſoil is in ſome places the beſt in the world; the *Per-* "*ſians* look on it as a mark of true grandeur; the leaving ſuch de- "ſerts between great empires, hinders, ſay they, all diſputes a-

[10] *Chardin voy. Vol. III. p.* 3.

Gedrosia. In our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was antiently divided, we shall begin with *Gedrosia*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other writers [l]. It is bounded on the west by *Carmania*, on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*, on the east by *Guzarat* a province of *India*, on the south by the *Indian* ocean; it is called at present *Makran*, of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parsiræ*, *Musarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*; its principal cities were *Pasis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*, *Ptolemy* places here a celebrated *Emporium* called *the haven of women*. The principal modern cities are [m] *Firhk*, *Chalak*, and the Port of *Guadal* (C).

Carmania

[l] See note (C). [m] Voyages de Tavernier, liv. iv. ch. 1.

" bout limits, and they serve like walls to separate one kingdom
" from another. The seas and rivers before mentioned are far
" from being the boundaries of *Persia* at this day, yet the latest
" *Persian* writers describe always their empire within these limits;
" for they insist, that of right all the countries between them be-
" long to them, and that they want only such another brave king
" as *Abbas the great* to restore them to the possession of their antient
" territory. *Persia*, in the state I saw it, taking it from *Georgia*,
" i. e. from the 45th deg. of latitude to the 25th, and from the
" river *Indus* to the mountains of *Ararat*, that is from the 77th to
" the 112th degree of longitude, contains in length about 550
" *Persian* leagues which make 750 *French* leagues, and in breadth
" about 400 (11)". We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this country; and since it must be allowed, that his long stay therein, his great parts, and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for such a work, if we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

(C) As it would have swelled this chapter to an excessive bulk, if we had in the text been very particular as to the respective provinces of *Persia*, so to avoid obscurity on the other hand, we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province in these notes, as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent, and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

Tho' *Gedrosia* be constantly so called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and some manuscripts of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (14) read *Cedrosia*. The extent of this province

(11) *Chardin. Voy. Tom.* iii. *p.* 2. (12) *lib.* xviii. *c.* 6. (13) *In verb.* Κεδρωσία. (14) *In Edit. Valesii, p.* 369.

cannot

Carmania, divided into *Carmania the deſert*, and *Carmania proper*. [n] *Carmania* the deſert is bounded on the north by *Parthia*, on the weſt by *Perſis*, on the eaſt by *Drangiana*, on the ſouth by *Carmania proper*. [o] *Carmania proper* hath on the ſouth the *Indian* ocean, on the weſt *Perſis* and the gulph of *Perſia*, on the eaſt *Gedroſia*, and on the north *Carmania* the *deſert*; it contains the modern provinces of *Khirman* and *Ormus*, it was inhabited by the *Iſatichæ*, *Zuthi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Camelobooſei*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudianæ*, *Ares*, *Characeæ Paſargadæ*, *Armozæi*; its antient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, ſtill a conſiderable place, and famous for the ſcymetars made there, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, *Armuza* or *Armuzum*, on the ſhore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the iſland of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note beſides are *Khirman*, [p] *Bermazir*, *Kubeſtek*, and *Iaſquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory ſhooting into the *Perſian* gulph (D). Carmania.

Drangiana

[n] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 6. [o] lib. vi. c. 8. [p] TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

cannot eaſily be aſſigned, becauſe though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well ſettled, yet how to fix theſe at this diſtance of time is a queſtion not readily reſolved. Mount *Beetius*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them ſprings the celebrated river *Arbis* or *Arabis*, which after a ſhort courſe runs into the *Indian* ocean. At the mouth of this river ſtood the Γυναικῶν λιμήν of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned alſo by *Arrian* in his *Indian* hiſtory; who tells us, that this place was ſo called, becauſe originally it was governed by women (16). The ſoil of this province was ſandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, ſo that *Alexander*'s army ſuffered exceſſively here, notwithſtanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with ſpices in profuſion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two iſlands dependent on this province, *Aſtea*, and *Codane* (18); *Arrian*, ſpeaking of the voyage of *Nearchus*, tells us he obſerved ſeveral others (19).

(D) Though other authors ſpeak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interpoſes the deſcription of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania the deſert* and *Carmania proper*. As to the firſt, it is very truly what (20) *Ptolemy* calls it, having in it ſcarce a town or a village, its ſoil an unhoſpitable ſand; its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner deſtitute of water (21). *Carmania proper* is a better country, having in it ſeveral rivers, particularly the *Andamis*

(15) *lib.* vi. *c.* 21. (16) *c.* xxii. (17) *Strabo.* (18) *Ubi ſupra.* (19) *Hiſt. Indic. p.* 366. (20) *lib.* vi. *c.* 6. (21) *lib.* vi. *c.* 8.

Drangiana. [q] *Drangiana*, bounded on the ſouth by *Gedroſia*, on the eaſt by *Arachoſia*, on the north by *Aria*, on the weſt by *Carmania the deſert*, derived its name, as ſome ſay, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Perſians Sigiſtan*; it was antiently peopled by the *Darandæ* and the *Batrii*.

[q] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xix.

mentioned by (22) *Pliny* and (23) *Ptolemy*, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that theſe mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people antiently, however, lived in no very deſirable condition, if the deſcription given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true, The *Carmanians*, ſaid he, have neither fruits, "nor raiment, nor houſe, nor cattle, but cover themſelves with "ſkins of fiſh, and feeding on them for the moſt part, the bodies "as well as heads of theſe people are covered with hair (24)". It may be, *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the ſea coaſt, and called from their manner of living *Icthyophagi*, mentioned both by (25) *Strabo* and (26) *Arrian*, and who are ſaid not only to have fed on fiſh but to have erected huts with their bones. (27) *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing ſheep which bear the fineſt wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new graſs from *January* to *May* their fleece falls off of itſelf, and leaves the ſheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarſe breaks, and the fine only remains. The *Gaurs* have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which conſiſts chiefly in girdles much eſteemed through the eaſt, and in a ſort of ſerges, which are as ſoft and almoſt as fine as ſilk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, iſland of *Ormus*, in compaſs about 20 miles, ſtony and full of rocks, barren and deſtitute of all neceſſaries except ſalt, of which there is ſuch plenty and ſo hard, that it is ſaid houſes are built thereof. The ſoil is compoſed of a white ſand, formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except ſuch as after rains was preſerved in ciſterns) it had none, ſo that even in its moſt flouriſhing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they uſed, from the continent; the air in ſummer exceſſively ſultry, ſo that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At preſent there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its antient kingdom, and of the ſeveral revolutions which happened therein, we ſhall not fail to treat in its proper place.

(22) *Hb.* vi. *c.* 23. (23) *Ubi ſupra.* (24) *De ſitu orbis. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (25) *lib.* xv. (26) *Hiſt. Ind. c.* 29. (27) *lib.* xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p.* 307. (29) *Mandelſlo's Travels in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p.* 118. *Tavern. in the ſame Vol. p.* 347.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy reckons ten conſiderable cities in this province, the moſt famous of them were *Ariaſpe* and *Prophthaſia*, the towns now of note are [r] *Siſtan*, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the antient city laſt mentioned, *Chalak*, and *Kets*. [s] Some writers ſpeak of a certain valley in this province called *Mulebet*, improved by a prince called *Aladin* into a paradiſe, though for very bad purpoſes (E).

Arachoſia, bounded on the weſt by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamiſus*, on the eaſt by the river *Indus*, on the ſouth by *Gedroſia*; its modern name is not well ſettled, inhabited of old by the *Arimaſpi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, Arachoſia.

[r] TAVERN. voy. ubi ſupr. [s] See note (E).

(E) *Strabo* (30), *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangianæ*; *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagous*, runs through this country, and from thence ſome have fancied that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in antient or modern times, but chiefly at preſent from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Ruſtan*, the celebrated hero of *oriental* romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet*, or paradiſe of *Sultan Aladin*, mentioned above; its hiſtory runs thus: A petty prince of this name cauſed this valley to be adorned in the moſt elegant manner he could contrive, furniſhing it eſpecially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich ſherbets, and delicate proviſions: he then ſhut up its entrance with a ſtrong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it ſeems he was but a kind of free-booter, he choſe out ſome ſtrong, able, young man, and having firſt got him to drink to ſuch a degree as to loſe his ſenſes, he cauſed him while in that condition to be removed into this paradiſe of his, where having ſuffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled aſleep in the ſame manner, and ſo ſent home to his own houſe, then, under promiſe of ſending him for ever to dwell in that *Paradiſe*, the joys of which he had taſted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the moſt barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(30) *Lib.* xv. *p.* 497. (31) *Lib.* vi *c* 19. (32) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (33) *Lib.* xvii. (34) *Paul. venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrim. B.* iv. *ch.* 6. *p.* 317.

we

we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachotus* built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Gophes*; *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great*, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called *Cabul* [t]; *Arbara* supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* called *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note we know of none (F).

Paropamisus,

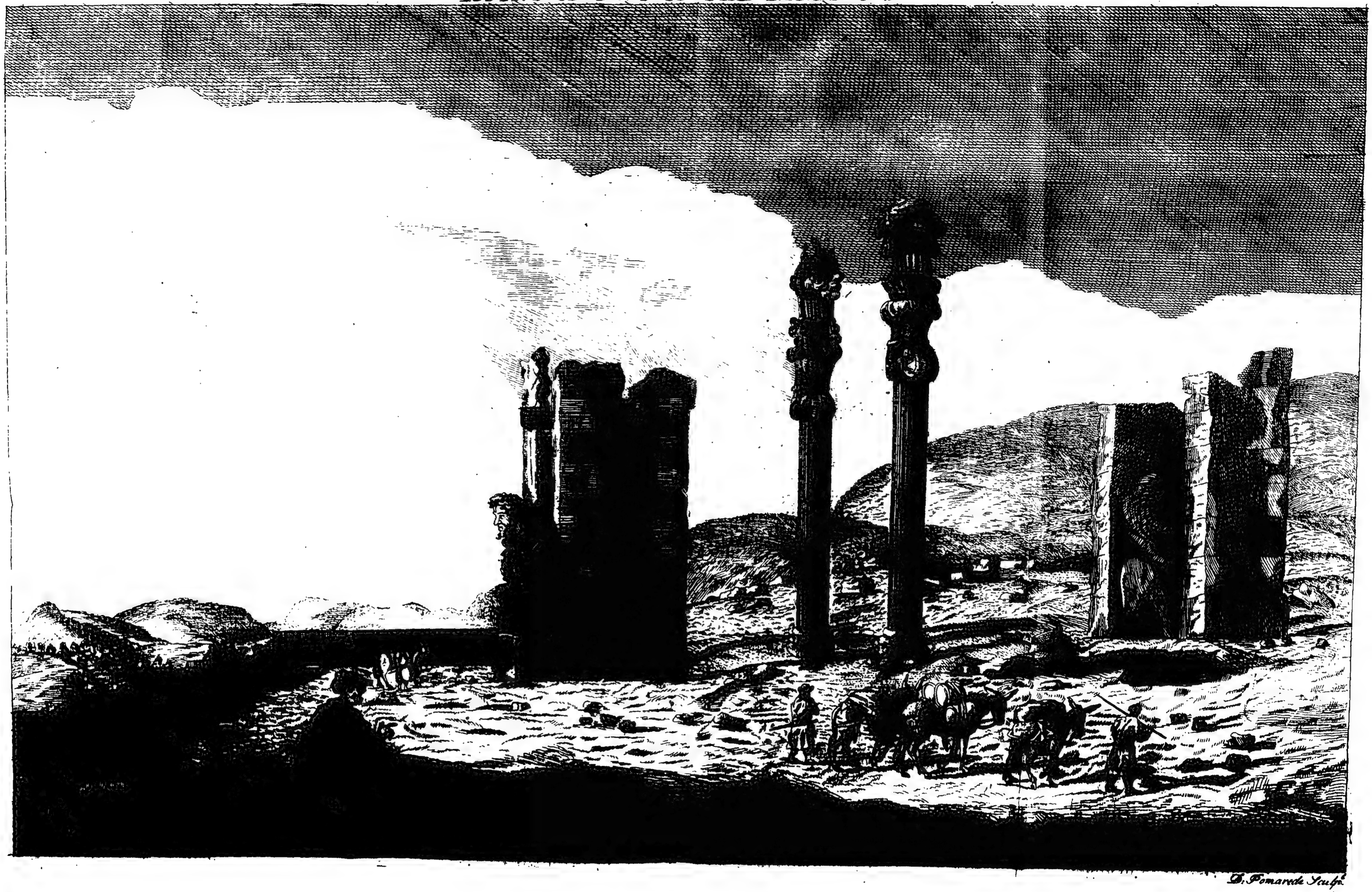
[t] See note (F).

(F) It is on the authority of Monsr. *Tavernier* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the antient *Arachosia*; however, since some writers are positive, that the antient city of *Arachotus* or rather *Arachotos*, for it is a *Greek* appellation, was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as useful, and must of necessity be more entertaining to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. "*Caboul* is a large city, the metropolis of "the province of *Caboulistan*, or *Caboul*, and hath two castles well "fortified, and because several kings have held their courts there, "and many princes successively have had it for their portion, "there are a great many palaces in it; it lies in 33 deg. of north "latitude. The mountains about it produce plenty of *Mirobalans*, which from thence the eastern people call *Cabuly*, several "sorts of drugs, and some spices, which with the iron mines in "them yield a great profit to the inhabitants. In this town they "maintain a great trade with *Tartary*, the country of the *Usbecks*, "and the *Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone sell yearly in this town above "sixty thousand horses, and the *Persians* bring hither great numbers of sheep and other cattle, by which means they are much "enriched. Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho' "the country about it is but cold and barren, unless in some places "which are sheltered by the mountains, being rendered little the "more fruitful by the two rivers that water it, and have their source "in the mountains. From this province especially come the large "canes of which they make halberts and lances; and they have many "grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and "province are most of them heathens, and therefore in all towns "and villages are many pagods. They reckon the months by the "moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feast called *Houly*, "which lasts two days, at the full moon in *February*. At this

(35) *l.* iv. *c.* 1, *p.* 412. (36) *Heylin's cosmography*, *B.* III. *p.* 34.

"feast

RUINS OF TWO OF THE PORTICO'S



B. Pomarede Sculp.

Paropamisus, bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north by *Bactria*, on the east by the dominions of the *Mogul*, on the south by *Arachosia*. It is called by the moderns [u] *Sableſtan*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candahar*; its antient inhabitants were the *Bolitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Parietæ* and *Parsii*; its chief cities *Ortospanum* and *Naulibis*; modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Beckſabat*, *Asbe*, w *Buſt*, ſtrengthened with one of the fineſt caſtles in *Perſia*, and adorned with various beautiful *Karawanſeras* (G). Paropamiſus.

u. TAVERN. Voy. ubi ſupr. w TAVERN. Voy. Tom. I. I. iii. p. 394.

" feaſt they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have " prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they ſpend the " reſt of the time in dancing by companies in the ſtreets, to the " ſound of trumpets, viſiting their friends, and eating together " every tribe by itſelf. The *Great Mogul*'s revenue from this " country is 4 or 5 millions yearly (37)". Yet after all it is far from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the antient province of *Arachoſia*, ſince *Caboulistan* lies beyond *Candahar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *Mogul*'s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally *Parapamiſus*, ſometimes *Parapamiſis*, and again *Paropamiſis* (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamiſus*, which is a part of *Taurus*, but was falſely ſtiled *Caucaſus*, to flatter *Alexander the Great*, that it might be ſaid of him that he had paſſed that famous ridge of mountains; a ſtrange vanity! and ſcarce to be credited, if it were not ſupported by the authority of writers of the higheſt credit (39). The ſoil of this country in general is not over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overſhadowing the valleys ſo as to render them cool and pleaſant. We have obſerved above, that the kingdom of *Candahar* is included within the antient province of *Paropamiſus*; this little realm hath for its capital a city of the ſame name, which is looked upon to be the beſt fortified place in all this part of *Aſia*; as the caravans paſſed conſtantly through it in going to, or coming from, *India*, it is conſequently a place rich and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample deſcription of it, at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the hiſtory of its princes and of the various fortunes it has ſuſtained, we ſhall give the reader a diſtinct view of them, when we have deduced the *Perſian* hiſtory as low as to the erecting of this little kingdom.

(37) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. Vol. II. p.* 355. (38) *Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Vol II. c.* 23. *p.* 719. (39) *Strab. lib.* xi. *p.* 348. *Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib.* v. *c.* 3.

* *Bactriana*,

Bactria. [x] *Bactriana*, or *Bactria*, now called *Choraſſan*, antiently inhabited by the *Salatarae*, *Zariaſpæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, *Thocaræ*, a powerful people, and ſeveral other nations of leſs note; it was in the firſt ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too, in later times it boaſted a thouſand cities, the chief of theſe were *Bactra* and *Ebuſmi*, both royal cities as *Ptolemy* tells us, *Maracanda* and *Charracharta*; its modern cities of note are alſo numerous, but we ſhall not mention them here, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider this country more particularly.

Margiana. *Margiana*, bounded on the weſt by *Hyrcania*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the ſouth by *Aria*, and on the weſt by *Bactria*; now called *Eſtarabad*; it is divided from *Tartary* by the river *Oxus*, called by the modern *Perſians* [y] *Ruth-khané-kurkan*, inhabited antiently by the *Derbicæ*, the *Maſſagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Dahæ*, and the *Tapurni*. [z] Among its cities of note we may reckon *Alexandria*, one of the ſix cities of that name in *Perſia*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, and after that *Seleucia*, *Nigæa*, or rather *Nyſæa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*; as to modern places of note, *Eſtarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkau*, deſerve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

Hyrcania. [a] *Hyrcania*, bounded on the north by the *Caſpian* ſea, called ſometimes *Mare Hyrcanum* from its waſhing the ſhore of this province, on the weſt by *Media*, on the ſouth by *Parthia*, and on the eaſt by *Margiana*; called now *Mazandran*, and including likewiſe the province of *Kylan*. The old inhabitants of this country were the *Maxeræ*, *Aſtabeni*, and

[x] Ptol. l. vi. c. xi. [y] Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1. [z] Cluv. ubi ſupr. [a] Ptol. l. vi. c. 9.

(H) Many antient authors agree in commending the ſituation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleaſant rivers, amongſt the reſt with the noble river *Oxus*, ſo famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewiſe celebrated for its fertility in vines of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, that two men can ſcarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing cluſters, ſome of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was ſo much pleaſed with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even incloſed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margue*, with a wall 1500 ſtadia in circuit (40). *Eſtarabad* its preſent capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(40) *Strab. lib.* xi *p.* 516. (41) *Tavern. Vol. I. p.* 397.

Chrindi;

Chrindi; its antient capital was called *Hyrcania* as well as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it is still called *Hyrcan*. *Tambrace*, a very strong place at the time *Arsaces* began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are [b] *Ferh-abad*, a port seated on a navigable arm of the *Caspian* sea, a fine city much frequented by *Russian* merchants, as being not above a fortnight's sail from *Astracan*; *Giru*, *Telarapeset*, *Ciarman*, and *Estref*, are also places of note in this country (I).

[c] *Aria*,

[b] Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S Travels in HARRIS'S collect. Vol. I p. 434.

(I) Antient writers agree in representing *Hyrcania* as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb (42). As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holstein*'s ambassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*. "It must be confessed by all those who have travelled in "these parts, that the province of *Kilan* is a terrestrial paradise, "abounding in silk, oil, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, "pomegranets, and all sorts of other fruits; the vines (which "spread themselves with their branches up the trees) being very "excellent here, being as big in compass as a man in the waist. "The *Caspian* sea, as well as the rivers belonging to this province, "afford to the inhabitants prodigious quantities of fish, as their "pasture grounds furnish them with great store of cattle, and their "forests with venison and wild fowl, which makes me admire, "how *John de Laet*, who follows the footsteps of *Johannes de Per-* "*sia*, could assert with so much confidence, that *Messanderan* (part "of the province of *Kilan*) lies under so cold a climate, that the "fruits there seldom come to full maturity, when it is confessed by "all that have any right knowledge of those parts, that, among "all the provinces of that vast empire, there is none that challenge "prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that of *Mes-* "*sanderan*, which beyond all dispute produces the best fruits of all "*Persia*. *Schach Abas* was so well convinced of this point, that

(42) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii.

Aria. [c] *Aria*, bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*, on the weſt by *Parthia* and *Carmania the deſert*, on the ſouth by *Drangiana*, on the eaſt by *Parapamiſus*, now comprehended under the province of *Choraſan*; it was antiently inhabited by the *Niſæi*, *Aſtaveni*, *Muſdorani*, *Caſſirotæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*; its principal cities of old were *Aria*, ſeated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the ſame city, which is ſtill famous under the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, rebuilt and ſplendidly adorned by the ſultan *Heuſſien Mirza*, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander*, who ſettled a colony of *Macedonians* therein, *Artacanda*, called by [d] *Strabo Artacana*, and *itaxa* (K).

[c] *Parthia*,

[c] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xvii. [d] Geogr. lib. xv.

" he gave the preference in his opinion to this province before any " other of all his dominions, which made him lay the foundation " of the city of *Ferabath*, his ordinary reſidence where he died (43).

(K) It is not eaſy to determine, whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the ſame province, or, if they were not, how they differed: To diſcuſs ſo perplexed a queſtion here, and to endeavour to ſolve what to the beſt geographers, has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and raſhneſs. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the ſatisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our deſcription in the text we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we muſt at the ſame time allow, that ſome things there are in his deſcription of this province which are not eaſily underſtood, ſuch as the ſeveral fountains from whence he derives the ſtream of the river *Arias*, and the lake which he ſays it forms (45). Of the 35 cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or ſix mentioned by any other antient writer, and of theſe the greateſt part are found altogether in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was antiently a very populous country, though much ſubject to heats, and intermixed with deſerts, heaths and foreſts near the mountains; however, where the heat of the ſun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath ſo ſtrong a body as to keep fourſcore or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The antient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, is ſtill large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbert* in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a gover-

(43) *Harris's Collect. Vol. II. p.* 101. (44) *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib iii. c. xxii. p.* 721. *Caſaub. in Strab. lib. xv. p.* 720. (45) *lib. vi. c.* 17. (46) *lib. xxii.*

nor

[c] *Parthia*, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north by *Hyrcania*, on the east by *Aria*, on the south by *Carmania the desert*, surrounded with mountains, which serve it for boundaries on every side, at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*, and to distinguish it from *Chaldæa*, which is likewise called *Erak*, this is stiled *Erac-Agami*. Parthia.

THE antient *Parthians* [f] are said to have been originally *Scythians*, who, banished from their own country, settled here and assumed this name, which in their own, that is in the *Scythian* language, signified *exiles*. *Ptolemy* reckons 25 large cities with this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and 2000 villages were destroyed by earth-quakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylos*, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky as some think, to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of *Hispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are [g] *Touchercan*, *Hamadan*, a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, &c. (L).

Persis

[c] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 5. [f] CLUV. ubi supr. [g] TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

nor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of *Europe*, but even those that come from the rest of the *Persian* looms (47).

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia* by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province, more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it. "The *Parthians* (says he) are also derived "from the *Scythians*; for they were exiles of that country, as their "very name testifies. For in the *Scythian* language *banished men* "are called *Parthians*. These, in like manner with the *Bactrians*, "being by civil wars driven out of *Scythia*, first fixed themselves by "stealth in the country adjoining to *Hyrcania*, and afterwards ob-"tained by force more extended dominions (48)." Though in later ages *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared

(47) *Harris's Coll. Vol. I. p.* 435. (48) *Isidor. Origin. ix.* c. 2

[h] *Perſis*, bounded on the north by *Media*, on the weſt by *Suſiana*,

[h] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 4.

with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the antient *Perſian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs, it was ſo little conſidered, that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrcania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not eaſy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*; in antient time, *Polybius* ſays, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, becauſe all the roads through the *Parthian* dominion centered here (49). *Curtius* ſays it was built by the *Greeks*, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It ſhould ſeem that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek* interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language we pretend not to ſay, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In reſpect to what has been obſerved in the text of *Spauhawn*'s being founded on the ruins of the antient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimouſly acknowledged, that the preſent city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preſerve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. Theſe are *Heider*, and *Neamet Olahi*. The inhabitants of theſe places, notwithſtanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have tranſmitted to their ſucceſſors, who, tho' they live in the ſame city, ſhew notwithſtanding, on all public occaſions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed aſcribe this enmity to another cauſe, they ſay, that *Heider* and *Neamet Olahi* are the names of two princes who reigned antiently over *Perſia*, and who divided their ſubjects into two parties, which are ſaid to have ſubſiſted ever ſince, not only in *Spauhawn*, but in all the towns of *Perſia*. Such as ſay this, however, own that the city we are ſpeaking of was compoſed of two diſtinct towns, called by them *Deredechte* and *Joubare*. It may be wondered, that magiſtrates in the courſe of ages have not ſubdued theſe unnatural feuds. An enquiry into the cauſe would be impertinent here, if the anſwer were not ſhort, they have been always indulged by the magiſtrates, becauſe theſe quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some ſay this happened before the reign of the famous *Timurbec*, corruptly called *Tamerlane*, who deſtroyed it twice. Certain it is, that *Spauhawn* owes the glory it now poſſeſſes to the great *Shâh Abas*, who, after the conqueſts of the kingdoms of *Lar*

(49) *lib. x. c.* 25. (50) *lib. vi c.* 11. (51) *Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol I. p.* 431. *Holſtein Ambaſſadors Travels in the ſame Collection, Vol. II. p* 79. *Careri Voyag. tom. ii p.* 85. (52) *Tavernier, Voyag. tom i. l. iii c.* 5. *p.* 434, *Chardin, tom. ii. p.* 6. *Careri, ubi ſupr. Le Brun, Voyag. tom.* 1. *p* 197.

and

ſiana, on the eaſt by the *Carmanias*, on the ſouth by the *Perſian*

and *Ormus*, charmed with the ſituation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is ſo differently written as this of the capital of *Perſia* (53). Among *Europeans* it is uſually written *Hiſpaban*, or *Iſpahan*, it is alſo called *Spaha*, *Spachea*, *Aſpaban*, *Izpaan*, and *Spahon*; the *Nubian* geographer calls it *Asbabawn*, and the *Perſians* themſelves pronounce it, as it is written in the text, *Spaubawn*, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, ſince the beſt writers are divided on this head. *Tavernier* and Sir *John Chardin* write it *Iſpahan*, Dr. *Gemelli Careri*, *Spahon*, M. *Le Brun*, *Spaban*; but all theſe authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as ſettled by us. The etymology of the word is no leſs difficult to be diſcovered, than the manner in which it ſhould be wrote. Before the time of *Tamerlane* it is ſaid to have been called *Sipaban*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, *Sipe*, in the old *Perſic* and *Usbeque* language, ſignifying *an army*, and the plural thereof *Sipahan* conſequently ſignifying *armies*. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word ſignifying a *battalion* (54), but it is time to quit theſe dry enquiries for ſomething more uſeful, as well as more entertaining, ſince in the deſcription of *Perſia* it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, eſpecially ſince we are furniſhed with ſuch noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors, M. *Tavernier*, Sir *John Chardin*, Dr. *Gemelli Careri*, M. *Le Brun*, and others; *Chardin* and *Le Brun* having each of them given us a copious deſcription thereof, adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as eaſy to form a juſt idea of it as of *London* or *Paris*. All who ſpeak of *Spaubawn* are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the ſituation thereof: it ſtands in a plain ſpacious and fertile, ſurrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the ſultry heats of ſummer, and the piercing winds of the winter ſeaſon; through this plain run ſeveral rivers which water *Spaubawn*, and contribute alike to ornament and uſe. The firſt of theſe is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its riſe in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a ſmall ſtream of itſelf; but *Abas* the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a briſker and more conſiderable ſtream to fall into this river, that it might benefit his capital the more, and by this contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spaubawn* in the ſpring, as the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the winter. The united waters of theſe rivers are ſweet, pleaſant, and wholeſome,

(53) *Holſtein Ambaſſadors travels*, *Tavernier*, *Voyag. ubi ſupr.* *Careri. ubi ſupr. p.* 80. (54) *Holſtein Ambaſſadors travels ubi ſupr.*

almoſt

ſian gulph, called now *Pârs*, or *Fars*, antiently inhabited by the

almoſt beyond compariſon, as indeed are all the ſprings which are found in the gardens belonging to the houſes of *Spauhawn*. The river brought by *Abas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mahmoud*, and we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak both of it and the *Zenderoud* in another place. Beſides theſe there are two other ſtreams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge*: One of theſe is pretty conſiderable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally ſpeaking equal, for which reaſon ſeveral attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tahmas* in the XVIth century expended an exceſſive ſum of money on a project of this ſort without ſucceſs. *Abas* the great did the ſame thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, diſcourage *Abas* the ſecond from twice endeavouring at the ſame thing, in which likewiſe failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spauhawn* is very great, not leſs perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth, poorly built, and ſo covered with houſes and ſhaded with gardens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to diſcover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is ſhared by moſt of the great towns in *Perſia*, whence many travellers have been led to repreſent them as not walled at all. The *Perſians* themſelves are wont to ſay, *Spauhawn Niſpe gehon*, i. e. *Spauhawn is half the world*. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there ſeen wider accounts than thoſe which different authors give us of the number of ſouls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* ſays, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that ſome have reckoned eleven hundred thouſand (57); but he is himſelf of opinion that it is not more populous than *London*. At a diſtance the city is not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, for the ſtreets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every houſe having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The ſtreets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the firſt is that being built on common ſewers, theſe are frequently broke up which is very dangerous, conſidering that moſt people ride; the ſecond is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the ſtreets, which are as dangerous; the third ariſes from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houſes; the latter is indeed in ſome meaſure qualified by the dryneſs of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peaſants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the eaſt and ſouth, and four to the weſt and north, *viz.* the gate of *Haſſen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare* called alſo the gate of *Abas*, the gate of *Seidabmedion*, the *Dervazedeulet* that is

(55) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. ii. p.* 2, 3. (56) *Ubi ſupr.* (57) *Ubi ſupr.*

the

the *Mesabatæ*, *Rapsii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, *Stabæi*. Antient cities of note were *Persepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Persian* empire; *Axima*; *Marasium*, called now *Marazu*; *Toace*, the capital of a district of the same name; *Pasargada*, a noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honoured with his tomb [1]. As to modern cities there are many of great

[1] TAVERN. Voyag. tom. 1. l. iv. c. 1. p. 412.

the *imperial* gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tcekhi*, and the gate *Deredechte*; he reckons also six posterns. Other authors say there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entering *Spauhawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the names of the streets, and even of the houses of this vast city, may satisfy his curiosity, and be very agreeably entertained by perusing *Chardin*'s elegant description; which is at once pleasant and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious description, we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spauhawn*, as they are described by that gentleman and *M. le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has six gates, the first called *AliKapie*, that is the gate of *Ali*. The second *Haram Kapesie*, or the gate of the *Serail*; the third *Moerbag Kapesie* the gate of the *kitchen*; the fourth *Gandag Kapesie*, or the *garden* gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth *Ghajatganna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *taylors*, because those belonging to his majesty have apartments near it. The sixth *Ghanna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *secretary*. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates first mentioned. The *Mey-doen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city: It is a grand market 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south. On the south side stands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachroechone* a building wherein are placed the king's band of music. On one side of the *Mey-doen* stands the mosque called *Sjig-lotf-olla*, so called from one of their doctors, who is reputed a saint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue stones encrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal. On the west side of the *Mey-doen* stands the royal mosque extremely magnificent. At some distance from thence appears the gate called *Ali Kapie*; and between these stand a range of fine buildings adorned with porticoes full of shops. The middle space is taken up in a great measure with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening to make

great note, and amongst these *Chiras*, *Beniaron*, *Lar*, *Bender-abassi*, or *Gombroon*, and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the chief (M).

Susiana,

make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this space the mountebanks erect stages, distribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize consists generally in a cup of gold, or something of the same value, and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of *Nouroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery or theatre called *Talaei*, very curiously adorned on the gate of *Ali*. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal street of *Spauhaewn*, called *Chiaer-baeg*, i. e. *four gardens*, one of the grandest ornaments of this city; the shops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof in every respect convenient and pleasant. From thence runs the bridge of *Allaewerdie Chan* over the river *Zendervade*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones; it has three and thirty arches, some of which are founded on the sand, which is firm and stable; and through these, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety three niches upon this bridge, some shut, some open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain distances, which afford the finest prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of their possessor. There are some other bridges, mosques, and public structures, which deserve to be particularised, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with observing that the citadel or fortress, called by the *Persians Tabaroek*, is a very mean structure and in as mean a condition, its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though there are some cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made use of, from an apprehension that the walls would fall if those pieces were discharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in antient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as present state (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor

(59) *Le Brun. tom. i. p.* 198, *&c. Chardin. tom. ii. c.* 1. *Careri, tom ii. l.* 1. *c* 5, 6. (60) *Strab. lib. xv. p.* 501. *Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Herod. c.* 125.

corn

Susiana, bounded on the [k] north by *Assyria*, on the west by *Chaldæa*, on the east by *Persis*, on the south by the *Persian* gulph Susiana.

[k] PTOL. lib vi. c. 5.

corn sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; some emeralds indeed there are found, but of no great value. On the coast of the *Persian* gulph the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than *Palms*; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by small rivers, than most of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly against *Alexander* the Great by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Persian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progress, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the service of his country. As to *Persepolis* the antient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Persians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time that it was subdued by *Alexander*; whose soldiers taking it by storm put all the men to the sword, rifled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver, *Alexander* reserving to himself the treasures in the citadel, which had been amassing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thousand talents of gold; in fine, the spoil was so great, that the neighbouring countries were constrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burden, besides three thousand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived such a dislike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was resolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the same writer observes, *Persepolis*, once so famous for its magnificence, became no less remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is *Schiras*, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spauhawn* to the *Indies*: "From thence (*i. e. Tebel minar*) to *Schiras* "is an hard day's journey, especially when the snow melts, for then "the road is like a sea. The city of *Schiras*, which many will "have to be the antient *Cyropolis*, the metropolis of the province of "*Persia*, lies in 78 deg. 15 min. long. and 29 deg. 30 min. lati- "tude. It is seated in a plain, about four leagues in extent "from north to south and about five leagues from east to west. "Upon the south-east is a lake of salt water about four leagues "in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and "famous for the best wines in *Persia*. The city itself [illegible] "handsome in it, for it looks more like a ruined town [illegible] "It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houses are [illegible]

(61) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *c.* 68.

gulph, believed by some to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chusistan*, inhabited by the nations following, *viz.* the *Elymæi* and *Cossæi*. Its capital the famous city of *Susa*, the [1] *Shushan* of the scriptures, and *Tariana*, called by *Ammianus*

[1] Daniel viii. 2. Nehem. i. 1. Esth i. 2.

" dried in the sun, and whitened over with lime; so that when
" they are well moistened with rain, they often fall down of them-
" selves, only the college which *Iman Kouli Kan* built, and some of
" the mosques, are of brick; and the best of these mosques, which is
" called *Sha Shiraque*, is kept in something better repair than ordinary
" out of a particular devotion; but there is nothing worth taking
" notice of in it. On the north-east stands an high mountain, which
" is covered with several sorts of fruit trees, of which there are
" some orange, lemons, and cypresses, and at the foot of it a stone
" bridge, from whence there is a street which goes in a strait line
" quite through the city. This street is walled on both sides, and at
" certain spaces are several great gates which have neat little houses
" built upon them, from which is a pleasant prospect into the gar-
" dens planted with rows of cypresses. The streets of *Schiras* are
" somewhat narrow; but there are some fair ones, having in the
" midst of them lovely canals, and basons of water very pleasant.
" There are a great many fair covered bazars with great shops
" well furnished with all sorts of *Indian* and *Turkish* commodities,
" and every commodity has its particular bazar. In the college
" there are professors who have salaries for teaching theology, phi-
" losophy, and medicine, and 'tis said it has sometimes 500 stu-
" dents in it. There are in this city three or four glass-houses,
" where they make great and small bottles to transport the sweet
" waters made in this city, as also several other vessels to put their
" pickled fruits in, which they send in great quantities into *India*,
" *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, and other places. They make their glass of
" a white stone almost as hard as marble, which they fetch from an
" hill four days journey from *Schiras*, and 'tis as clear and delicate
" as any glass in the world. It is wonderful how they blow their
" great bottles called *Caraba*, which are a finger thick, and hold
" near 30 quarts of wine They have no manufactures at *Schiras*
" but a few coarse painted cloths, and used only by the meaner
" sort. On the north-west side is the king's garden called *Bay sha*,
" which is indeed well planted with fruit trees, roses, and jasmins,
" but for want of order it looks like a wilderness. From this gar-
" den to the hills is a vineyard, belonging to several persons, two
" leagues long and one broad, which is watered with the river
" *Bendemir*, which is sometimes dry in summer, because it never
" rains there but in spring and autumn. The wines made here
" are the best in all *Persia*, but they make no great quantities of
" them.

mianus Tarſiana [m]. The modern towns of note are [n] *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, *Ram-hormus* (N).

THERE

[m] Ap. CELLAR. Geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684. [n] Tavern. Voy. ubi ſupra.

" them, becauſe they are dry and pickle good part of their grapes. " 'Tis an excellent ſtomach wine, but very ſtrong, ſo that, with- " out ſpoiling the taſte of it, it will carry two thirds of water. " They ſell their wine by weight, and not by meaſure, and put- " ting it in cheſts ſend a great deal yearly to *Spaubawn* and the " *Indies*. The people of *Schiras* are very witty, and moſt of the " beſt poets in *Perſia* were born here. In an antient moſque here " lies *Schzich Sadi*, one of the beſt of their poets, whom they ho- " nour as a ſaint. The ſoil about this city is very good and produ- " ces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that we have, " and oranges and lemons in abundance. They have vaſt quanti- " ties of roſes, from which they draw ſuch great plenty of roſe- " water that they furniſh all the *Indies* with it. They have a " great deal of corn, but give much to their horſes to be eaten in " the blade, becauſe they ſay that for want of water it would ne- " ver come to maturity. There is a great deal of opium made at " *Schiras*, for round about the town are large fields ſown with " white poppies; they have alſo ſtore of capers which they ſend " into all parts (62).

(N) *Suſiana*, as deſcribed by *Ptolemy*, includes the province ſtiled *Elymais* (63), which *Pliny* alſo obſerves to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been diſtinguiſhed from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Suſa*, the capital thereof, once the royal ſeat of the *Perſian* kings, who were wont to reſide one part of the year here, and the other at *Ecbatana*. *Pliny* ſays, that it was founded by *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* (65); but this is not to be taken ſtrictly, for certain it is, that the *Darius* he ſpeaks of could only be its reſtorer, ſince *Strabo* poſitively affirms, that it was built by *Tithonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before ſays, that *Suſa* was called the city of *Memnon* (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleaſantneſs, magnificence, or ſtrength this noble city excelled; ſeated it was as ſacred and prophane authors agree, on the river *Ulai* or *Eulæus*, called alſo the *Choaſpes*, or rather on the confluence of theſe two rivers, for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaſpes*, meeting at *Suſa*, run together in one ſtream, and are afterwards ſtiled ſometimes by one name, ſometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms, that *Alexander*, when he ſeized the palace here, took poſſeſſion of the nobleſt man-

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collection, Vol. II p.* 344. (63) *Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 19. 5. 2 *p.* 682. (64) *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 27. (65) *ubi ſupr.* (66) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (67) *Terpſich. c.* 54.

Curdistan *and* Schirwan.

THERE are two other provinces of the *Persian* empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are [o] *Curdistan*, containing the antient *Assyria*, and [p] *Schirwan*, of old stiled *Media*. A famous modern traveller [q] tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of *Persia* upwards of five hundred considerable places, walled towns, and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls.

Climate.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwise than varied, according to the situation of the several parts thereof, some being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the same time of the year, which cannot be stiled wonderful, since it is natural, and occasioned by causes for which we can easily account. The air, where ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is sometimes moist: In order to give the reader a just notion of this, it will be necessary to observe, that all along the coast of the *Persian* gulph, from west to east, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is for four months so excessive, that even those who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houses, and retire to the mountains; so that such as travel in these parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. As the extreme heat of the air renders it insupportable, so it makes it also prodigiously unwholsome, strangers frequently falling sick there, and seldom escaping. The eastern provinces of *Persia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are subject to great heats,

[o] Cluver Geog. l. v. c. 14. Tavern. ubi supr. See before, p. 123. [p] Cluver. ubi supr. Tavern. ubi supr. See before, p. 355, & seq. [q] Chardin. Voy. tom. iii. p. 4.

son in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68) The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of *Sbuster* being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where of old stood *Susa* (69).

(68) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xviii. *c.* 66. (69) *Tavern. Voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 1.

but

but not quite ſo unwholſome as on the coaſts of the *Indian* ocean and *Perſian* gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moiſture, as unwholſome as on the coaſt before-mentioned. From *October* to *May* there is no country in the world more pleaſant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their ſummers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither ſtrength nor ſpirits, though about the end of *April* they abandon their houſes, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the ſea. In a word, the unhealthineſs of this place is ſo notorious, that when a perſon is ſent to the government of *Ghilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of diſgrace, and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered to deſerve ſuch a commiſſion. But this moiſtneſs in the air is only in theſe parts; the reſt of *Perſia* enjoys a dry air, the ſky being perfectly ſerene, and hardly ſo much as a cloud ſeen to fly therein. To ſay the truth, the purity of this element is the greateſt bleſſing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains ſeldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be ſeen, the ſky being ſo clear that the ſtars alone afford a light ſufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which laſts till within an hour of morning, which gives ſuch a coolneſs to the air, that a man may diſpenſe with a tolerably warm garment. The ſeaſons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happen thus; the winter, beginning in *November* and laſting till *March*, is very ſharp and rude, attended with froſt, and ſnow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never deſcending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the weſt of *Spauhawn*, on which the ſnow lies for eight months of the year. It is ſaid, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if cruſhed feel colder than the ſnow itſelf. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are brisk winds, from *May* to *September*, the air is ſerene and dry, refreſhed by pleaſant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in *September* and *November* the winds blow as in ſpring. It is to be obſerved, that in ſummer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very ſhort, which joined to the coolneſs of the nights, renders the heat of the day ſo moderate, that this ſeaſon is as ſupportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryneſs of its air exempts *Perſia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the ſpring indeed there ſometimes falls hail,

and

and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the *Gulph*, as all travellers agree (O).

There

(O) As to the air and clime of *Persia*, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. M *Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spaubawn* it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to *Kilan* (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by *Olearius* is still found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the *Holstein* ambassadors and their retinue crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at *Gombroon*, all authors are agreed about it. M. *Tavernier* says, that people often find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry, *I burn*, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. *le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to M. *le Brun* and his company, had a well in which he passed some part of the day. Among the inconveniencies consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last mentioned has therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes,

(70) *Chardin tom.* iii. *p.* 7. *Tavern. tom. i. l.* iv. *c.* 1 *p.* 414 (71) *Tavern. tom.* i. *l.* v. *c.* 23. *p.* 764.

there

THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which general- *Mountains.*
ly ſpeaking, is more mountainous than *Perſia*; but theſe mountains are far from being advantagious, ſince many of them yield neither ſprings nor metals, and but a few are ſhaded with trees. It is true, that many of them are ſituated on the frontiers, and ſerve as a kind of natural baſtions or ramparts to this vaſt region, and it is very likely contribute in other places to make the country wholeſome, by ſheltering the vallies under them from exceſſive heat. On ſome of theſe hills there is found a ſort of mineral ſalt, which is ſold very cheap [r]. As for particular mountains, we have already mentioned moſt of them, which deſerve to be remembered, in our deſcription of the ſeveral provinces of *Perſia*.

IN reſpect to rivers, it has been already obſerved, that, ex- *Rivers.*
cept the *Araxes*, there is not one navigable ſtream in all this country. There are indeed in moſt of its provinces ſome little rivers which run ſhort courſes, and would be more conſiderable than they are, if through want of water the inhabitants were not forced to divert their ſtreams, by ſmall channels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent traveller informs us, that this was practiſed antiently much more than of late years, and that from hence in a great meaſure ariſes the mighty difference between the productions of antient and modern *Perſia*. He affirms, that a *Perſian* of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that, within the ſpace of 24 years, no leſs than fourſcore channels had been choaked up and loſt in the territory of *Tauris* [s]. As to ſeas, the northern provinces of the *Perſian* empire lie on the *Caſpian* lake or ſea, of which an ample deſcription has been already given. On the ſouth the *Perſian* ſhore is waſhed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the waters of the *Perſian* gulph or gulph of *Balſora*, flowing out of the *Indian* ocean near the iſle of *Ormus*, from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, having *Perſia* on the eaſt, and *Arabia* on the weſt, it runs as high as the antient *Chaldæa*, where it receives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* united in one ſtream, and very few rivers of note beſides. It may not be amiſs to take

[r] TAVERN. Voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 416. [s] TAVERN. Voyag. ubi ſupr.

there are many people of worth and good ſenſe, who for the ſake of acquiring large fortunes in a ſhort time, hazard themſelves here, and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

(72) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 327.*

notice here, that the gulph is sometimes stiled the *red sea*, as well as the gulph of *Aden* (P)

After

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in *Persia*, the reader need not be surprised that we say so little of the several streams which water that country; one of them we shall have occasion to speak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river *Araxes* deserves to be further considered on account of the mistakes which some writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occasioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers; *Olearius* gives us a very distinct account of this matter, which we shall therefore recite in his own words. "The 17th we cross'd "the famous river of *Aras (Araxes)* by the means of a bridge of "boats near *Tzanat*. Q. *Curtius*, speaking of this river, in two "different passages, and in a different sense, has not a little puzzled "the antient historians and geographers, who indeed for the most "part put it in the same province, but can't agree in the description "of its course; for Q. *Curtius* in his fifth book puts it in *Persis*, "and says its course is to the south, whereas in his seventh book "he makes it pass through *Media*, and to disembogue in the *Caspian* "sea. *Strabo* is no less dubious, and *Raderus*, endeavouring to "dissolve this knot, by asserting that the river *Medus*, before it is "joined with the *Araxes*, has its course to the south, and after-"wards exonorates itself into the *Caspian* sea, is fallen into a gross "mistake; for how is it to be conceived, that the river should "make its way through the vast mountain *Taurus*, which is so "many leagues in breadth, and divides not only all *Persia* but even "*Asia* itself, and so continue its current from *Persepolis* to the *Cas-*"*pian* sea? The foundation of the whole mistake lay here, that "there are two rivers which bear the name of *Araxes* in *Persia*, "one in *Media*, the other in *Persis*; to the last, which washes the "walls of *Persepolis*, (now called *Schiras*) Q. *Curtius* has left the "right name of *Araxes*, but has taken the liberty to impose the "name of *Tanais* upon the *Jaxartes*, which passes through *Scythia*, "as he has given the name of *Caucasus* to the eastern branch of "the mountain *Taurus*, but with what reason I am not able to de-"termine. That which passes through *Persis* is by the *Persians* "called *Bend Emer*, from a signal miracle there performed by *Ali*, "and disembogues in the ocean in the *Persian* gulph; that which "we speak of now keeps its antient name, and rises out of the "mountains of *Armenia* behind the great *Ararat*, and being joi-"ned by many other rivers, the chiefest whereof are *Karasu*, "*Sanki*, *Kemi*, and *Arpi*, it turns its chanel near *Karasu* deep "into the country, and afterwards near *Ordubath* falls with a great "noise, which is heard two leagues thence, in the plain of *Nokan*. "Its course there is very slow, and after having received into its "channel about twelve leagues above *Tzanat* the river *Cur* or *Cy-*"*rus* (as large a river as itself, coming northward out of *Georgia*) "it exonerates itself into the *Caspian* sea. This sufficiently refutes

AFTER this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleasant enough. The earth in some places is sandy and stony, in others heavy and hard, but *Soil.*

" *Ptolemy* and those who follow his footsteps, who make the *Araxes*
" and the *Cyrus* fall by two different channels into the *Caspian* sea.
" Thus they would have *Cyropolis* called *Scamachie*, which *Maginus*
" would infer from the degrees of latitude given by *Ptolemy*: But
" according to that supposition these two rivers must not be placed
" above, but below the city towards the south, it being certain,
" that when we travelled in those parts, we found the conflux of
" those two rivers at 39 deg. 54 min. and the city of *Scamachie* at
" 40 deg. 50 min. which is 13 leagues thence and under another
" meridian. Neither is there any other river within 19 days jour-
" ney of *Scamachie* on either side, which bears the least compar-
" son in bigness or otherwise to this river (73)". We should not have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto confounded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that *M. Le Brun* in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74). As to the *Persian* gulph, it is not to be questioned, but that the antients stiled it, as well as the gulph of *Arabia*, the *Red sea*; what renders it most remarkable now is its pearl-fishery, of which no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them in many places of the gulph, but especially about the islands of *Babarin*. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, Sir *John Chardin* says, more than a million in a year; the largest weigh generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fishers are directed under great penalties to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is, however, believed they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by divers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fathom water, by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, pick up there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco; those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fish for pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*; besides the pearl-oysters, they catch others in this sea excellent for eating (76).

(73) *Ambassadors of Holstein's Travels in Harris's Collect. II. p.* 104. (74) *Voyag. tom* ii. *p.* 158. (75) *Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 31. (76) *Tavern. in Harris's Collect. v.* ii. *p.* 314.

every where so dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not so much as grass. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the sun are so brisk and so drying, that the rain has not much effect. But wherever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked, how this description suits with what we find recorded, in antient authors, of the luxury and profuseness of the *Persians*, such a demand is capable of various answers; for first, *Persia* is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, which must induce barrenness in a country, where the soil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great measure produced this difference, the antient kings of *Persia* were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, overbearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Persees* or *Gaurs*, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the *Persians*, like other *Mohammedans*, are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themseles the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall into their way, and, in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder, that sterility has ensued, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other such like authors. Sir *John Chardin*[t] therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is, whereas if the *Armenians* or the *Persees* were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its antient splendor. It must not, however, be imagined, that there subsists not at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrcania*, and *Bactria*, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their Productions; as along the coasts of the *Persian* gulph the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the *Persians* are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land,

[t] Voyage tom. iii. p. 11.

that

that they examine very curiouſly how high it riſes every year, there being a ſtone on the top of a mountain four leagues from *Spaubawn*, between two and three foot high, over which when once the ſnow riſes, the *Peaſant*, who firſt brings the news to court, receives a conſiderable reward for his pains [u]. But it is now time for us to ſpeak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

Trees. AMONG the trees, the moſt common in *Perſia*, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornil, called by the *Arabs Seder*, and by the *Perſians Conar*, from whence, probably, came the Latin *Cornus*, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane has a ſingular virtue againſt the plague, and all other infectious diſeaſes, and they poſitively aſſert that there has been no contagion at *Spaubawn*, ſince the planting vaſt numbers of theſe trees in its ſtreets and gardens. The tree which bears *Gall nuts* grows in ſeveral parts of *Perſia*, but particularly in *Koureſtan*. The trees which produce *Gums*, *Maſtic*, and *Incenſe*, are found very commonly in moſt parts of *Perſia*; that, however, which bears *Incenſe* is particularly found in *Carmania the deſert*, reſembling in form a large *Pear Tree*; *Turpentine Trees*, and *Almond Trees*, with the wild *Cheſnut*, are common. The tree which bears *Manna* is alſo frequent, but there are ſeveral ſorts of *Manna* in *Perſia*; the beſt is of a yellowiſh colour and of a large grain, it comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another ſort called the *Manna* of *Tamariſk*, becauſe it is gathered from that tree; all the different ſorts of *Manna* are uſed to the ſame end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being eſteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one eaſily diſpoſed of.

Herbs and drugs. The herbs in *Perſia*, eſpecially ſuch as are aromatic, exceed thoſe of other countries; roots, legumes and ſalleting are larger, fairer, and better taſted than elſewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the ſtomach. Moſt of our *European* roots and legumes flouriſh here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion reſtrained from eating fleſh. As to drugs, *Perſia* produces as many as any country in *Aſia*; for, beſides *Manna*, *Caſſia*, *Sena*, the *Nux Vomica*, common in moſt provinces, gum *ammoniac*, called by the *Perſians Ouſcioc*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia* towards the ſouth. *Rhubarb* grows commonly in *Coraſſan* or the antient *Sogdiana*, but it is not ſo good as that

[u] TAVERN. voyage. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.

which is brought from the country of the *Tartars*, between the *Caſpian* ſea and *China*, and for this reaſon they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i. e. *rhubarb* of *China*; in *Goraſſan* they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of *Perſia* is eſteemed the fineſt in the world, not only in reſpect to its beauty, but becauſe its juice is by far ſtronger than the juice of the ſame plant elſewhere, The *Perſians* call this juice *Aſioun*, from whence our word *opium*; the beſt is made in the territory of *Lingan* ſix miles from *Spauhawn*, though others prefer the *Aſioun* of *Cazeron*, which is towards the *Perſian* gulph, as being leſs apt to ingender crudities in the ſtomach. Tobacco grows all over *Perſia*, eſpecially about *Hammadan*, which is the antient *Suſa*, and in *Coureſtan* near the *Perſian* gulph, which is eſteemed the fineſt; the *Perſians* themſelves, however, who are great ſmoakers, prefer what they call *Tambacou Ingleſi*, or *Engliſh* tobacco, to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that this tobacco, which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite loſt. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and eſpecially about the *Caſpian* ſea and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much eſteemed. The plant called by the *Perſians Hiltet*, and ſuppoſed to be the *lazerpithium* or *ſilphium* of *Dioſcorides*, from whence drops the *Aſſa-fœtida*, is common every where, but abounds moſt in *Sogdiana*: there are two ſorts of it, the white and the black, the white is the leaſt eſteemed, becauſe leſs ſtrong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the eaſt called *King*, and the *Indians* conſume vaſt quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and ſauces; it has by far the ſtrongeſt odour of any thing hitherto diſcovered, ſince places where it has been kept will retain its ſcent for whole years, and the veſſels in which it is tranſported to *India* are ſo thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its ſcent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both ſorts is a great *Perſian* commodity, the firſt is taken from embalmed bodies, or ſuch as are dried in the ſands, the other is a precious gum which diſtils out of a rock; there are two mines or ſources of it in *Perſia*, the one in *Carmania the deſert* in the country of *Sar*, which is the beſt; for it is certain that there is no bruiſe, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty four hours. The other mine is in *Coraſſan*, the rocks from whence it diſtils belong to the king, and all that iſſues from thence is for his uſe, they are incloſed with walls, the gates of which are ſecured by the ſeals of the five principal officers

officers in the province; once a year each mine is opened in their preſence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it, is ſent to the king's treaſure. It derives its name from the *Perſian* word *Moum*, which ſignifies literally *an unguent*; the *Hebrews* and the *Arabs* make uſe of the ſame term: the *Perſians* ſay, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the uſe and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Perſia*, but there is a tree which ſomewhat reſembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a ſort of ſilk very fine and ſoft, and of which many uſes are made. Galbanum is likewiſe common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deſerve to be mentioned here *.

Fruits.

IN ſpeaking of the fruits of *Perſia*, melons certainly claim the firſt place, they have above twenty ſorts of them here, the firſt are called *Guermec*, i. e. *forced by heat*; they are round and ſmall, a ſpring fruit, inſipid in the mouth, and conſequently no way pleaſant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiouſly wholeſome, and on their firſt coming in eat, for a fortnight or three weeks together, twelve or thirteen pound weight each day; nay an author of good credit and a phyſician ſays, that ſome eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly any thing elſe, and Sir *John Chardin* ſays that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn* in a day than throughout all *France* in a month; the beſt grow about a little borough called *Craguerde* on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to *Spauhawn* for the uſe of the king. The people in general are ſo fond of melons, that they take great pains to preſerve them in certain repoſitories during the laſt months of the year, and even till the *guermec* are again in ſeaſon. After the melon the raiſin deſerves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen ſorts in *Perſia*, the moſt eſteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are ſo large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preſerve grapes all the winter in *Perſia*, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preſerve them from the birds. In *Courdeſtan*, and about *Sultania* where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raiſins, which at once give them a fine taſte, and render them the more wholeſome; the beſt grapes in the neighbourhood of *Spau-*

* TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. liv. c. 2. p. 418. CHARDIN. tom. iii p. 12. CARERI. tom. ii. p. 209.

hawn

hawn are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or antient *Perſians*, for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating theſe trees, which for the ſame reaſon are neglected by the *Mohammedan Perſians*. The dates of *Perſia* are without compariſon the richeſt in the world, their ſyrup being ſweeter and more pleaſant than virgin honey, the beſt grow in *Coureſton*, *Siſtan*, about *Perſepolis*, and the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulph, and particularly at *Jaron*, a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*; ſtrangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwiſe it is apt to overheat the blood, ſometimes to ſuch a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any ſuch inconvenience. Dates grow in cluſters on the palm-tree, which is the higheſt of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top; it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here; their apricots are excellent and of ſeveral ſorts, nectarines and peaches weigh ſometimes ſixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break eaſily, and what is very extraordinary, the ſtone opens at the ſame time the peach is broke, and diſcovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taſte the moſt delicious that can be imagined. The *Perſian* pomegranates grow of ſeveral colours and in the higheſt perfection, ſome of them weighing a full pound; to ſum up all, it may not be amiſs to mention the particular places where the ſeveral kinds of fruit are held moſt excellent; apples and pears grow to the higheſt perfection in *Iberia*, dates in *Carmania*, pomegranates about *Schiras*, oranges in *Hyrcania*, and all ſorts of things in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiouſly large, and ſweet as apples; piſtaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound, and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that, at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he ſaw fifty ſeveral kinds of fruit provided for one deſert w.

Grain. The grain moſt common in *Perſia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean, as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in ſome places, as in *Courdeſtan*, when their wheat bread is exhauſted before the return of harveſt. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the *Armenians* are ſettled, who make great uſe of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the univerſal aliment of all ſorts of people in *Perſia*; for this reaſon they are extremely

w Chardin. tom. iii. p. 23, Tavern. ubi ſupr. Carer i, ubi ſupr.

careful

careful in its cultivation; for after they have ſown it in the ſame manner with other grain, they in three months time tranſplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwiſe it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, ſince it is ſofter, ſooner boiled, and more delicious to the taſte, than the ſame grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taſte is in ſome meaſure heightened by a practice they make uſe of to give it a gloſſy whiteneſs, *viz.* by cleanſing it after its being beaten out of the huſks with a mixture of flour and ſalt [x].

Flowers.

THERE are in *Perſia* all the ſorts of flowers which are to be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer ſorts of them, and fewer of each ſort in the ſouthern provinces than in the reſt, exceſſive heat being more deſtructive to them than froſt, which is the reaſon that in *India* they have fewer than in *Perſia*; and that thoſe in *Perſia* have more vivid and delightful colours than thoſe either in *India* or in *Europe*. *Hyrcania* in this reſpect excels the reſt of *Perſia*, as much as *Perſia* does other countries; there are there whole foreſts of oranges, the jeſſamin ſingle and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profuſely ſcattered by nature. The moſt eaſtern part of this country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is a perfect parterre; from *September* to the end of *April* the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their beſt ſeaſon, the exceſſive heat and the malignity of the air deſtroying them in ſucceeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the northern frontiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, and ranunculuſſes, of the brighteſt red, all ſpringing of themſelves; in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spaubawn* jonquils grow wild, and ſubſiſt all the winter. To recite all that is ſaid on this ſubject, by ſuch as have travelled through *Perſia*, would not be agreeable to the deſign of this work; let us content ourſelves therefore with adding, that roſes of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the buſhes bearing often three different coloured roſes on one branch, *viz.* yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Perſians* are wont to make uſe of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumſtance contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no ſkill, and that the nobility of *Perſia* are ſo far from being curious in ſuch things, that they take

[x] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 101.

no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with singling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smoak, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there [r] (Q).

Metals or minerals.

METALS of all sorts are frequently found in *Persia*, especially of late years; and since the reign of *Abas the Great*, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines where ever they were discovered, iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver, there are no mines open at present. As *Persia* is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the *Persian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhawn*, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Persia* to signify an unlucky undertaking, *that it is like the mine of* Kervan, *where they lay out* ten *to receive* nine. There were also silver mines in *Kirman* and *Mazenderan*, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrcania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia*, and in *Bactria*, but it is not so pliable as some *European* iron. The mines of steel are the most valuable of any in this coun-

[r] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 26. TAVERN, tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 3. LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is scarce a province in *Persia* which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more esteemed than the wine of others; but *Schiras* wine is universally allowed to be the very best in *Persia*, insomuch, that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one must eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Schiras*. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) *Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.*

try, and produce in ſuch abundance, that Sir *John Chardin* tells us, it is not worth above ſixpence a pound; this ſteel is ſo full of ſulphur, that if you take of the filings thereof and caſt them into the fire, they make a report as loud as gun-powder; it is ſo fine and cloſe, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glaſs; and as the *Perſian* artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable inſtruments thereof. It is to be obſerved, that this ſteel is quite a different metal from iron, which appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and deſtroyed; the *Perſians* call both this and the ſteel of the *Indies*, *ſteel of Damaſcus*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *European* ſteel. Copper is found in greateſt quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Mazenderan*; there are alſo mines of it in *Bactriana*, and towards *Casbin*; it is, however, poor and not fit for uſe, till mingled with either *Swediſh* copper or copper of *Japan*; the lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yezde*. Minerals are alſo found in *Perſia* in vaſt abundance, ſulphur and ſalt-petre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which ſeparates *Hyrcania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the leaſt aſſiſtance of art, as are alſo ſulphur and allom; there are two ſorts of ſalt in *Perſia*, that found on the earth and rock ſalt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, ſometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with ſalt, and others covered in like manner with ſulphur or allom; in *Media* and at *Spauhawn* the ſalt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as free-ſtone, nay in *Carmania the deſert* the people actually uſe it as ſuch in building their houſes. Marble, free-ſtone, and ſlate, are found in great plenty about *Hamadan*; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red, and black and white; the beſt is found about *Tauris*, it is tranſparent as cryſtal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is ſo ſoft that ſome have queſtioned whether it be really a ſtone or not; in the neighbourhood of the ſame city they find azure, but it is not ſo good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrcania*, and eſpecially in *Mazenderan*, the *Petrolium* or *Naphthe* is met with, of two ſorts, black and white, but the richeſt mine in *Perſia* is the *Turquoiſe*; there are two ſorts of this precious ſtone, one at *Nichapour* in *Coraſſan*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caſpian* ſea; this mountain derives its name from an antient king of *Perſia*, who ſubdued this country, and in whoſe time the mine was found; nay, the very ſtones carry his name alſo, for though

we call them *Turquoiſes*, becauſe they come from the true and proper *Turkey*, yet throughout the eaſt they are ſtiled *Firouſe*. They have of late years diſcovered another mine of the ſame ſort of ſtones, but they are by no means ſo valuable, but are diſtinguiſhed amongſt us by the name of *Turquoiſes* of the new rock, to difference them from thoſe taken out of the antient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after ſelecting the moſt beautiful, ſells the reſt to merchants; the reaſon why theſe late diſcovered turquoiſes are leſs valued than thoſe of the old mines is, becauſe they are leſs beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at laſt wears almoſt quite out [z].

Beaſts tame and wild.

THE horſes of *Perſia* are the moſt beautiful in the eaſt, though they are not ſo much eſteemed as thoſe of *Arabia*; they are higher than our ſaddle horſes, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet conſidering how much they are uſed, and the great demand made for them by the ſubjects of the mogul on one ſide, and of the grand ſeignior on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horſe being ſometimes valued at a thouſand crowns. Next to horſes we may reckon mules, which are much eſteemed here, and are very fine, and next to theſe we may juſtly place aſſes, of which they have in this country two ſorts, the firſt bred in *Perſia*, heavy and doltiſh as aſſes in other countries are, the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the moſt docile and uſeful creature of its kind in the world; theſe are uſed wholly for the ſaddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, becauſe of their eaſy manner of going, and their being very ſure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on theſe *Arabian* aſſes; and on this account theſe animals alſo are kept at a high rate, a good aſs being worth at *Spauhawn* twenty five piſtoles. Camels are numerous in *Perſia*, and ſo much in eſteem that they are called *Kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. *the ſhips of the earth*, becauſe the inland trade is carried on by the help of theſe camels as the foreign by ſhips: To deſcribe this animal particularly here would be improper, ſince they are rather more employed by the *Arabians* than by the *Perſians*; let us content ourſelves therefore with obſerving, that the *Perſians* make uſe of three ſorts, a ſmaller, a larger, and a ſwifter kind of camel, than

[z] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 28. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221. CARERI, tom. ii. p. 212.

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are common elſewhere. The largeſt camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the ſwifter kind of camel is called *Revatrie*, i. e. *the gaer*, becauſe they trot as faſt as a horſe can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that theſe creatures are managed entirely by the voice, thoſe who direct them making uſe of a kind of ſong, and according as they keep a quicker or ſlower time the camel moves briſker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Perſia*, their oxen are generally imployed in ploughing and other ſorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in *Perſia*, if we except a province or two on the borders of the *Caſpian* ſea; ſheep and deer are very common throughout all *Perſia*, and as to the former, Sir *John Chardin* aſſures us, that he has ſeen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of paſturage. As to beaſts of chace they are not ſo common here as in moſt of the countries of *Europe*, becauſe it is, generally ſpeaking, devoid of wood; but in *Hyrcania* where there are woods, deer of all ſorts, and gazells are found in great abundance; the gazell is a creature common throughout the eaſt, and ſo many of them have been brought into *Europe* that they need not any deſcription. As to wild beaſts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the ſame reaſon which has been before aſſigned with reſpect to beaſts of chace, except in *Hyrcania*, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. ſo that the antients ſpoke very truly of *Hyrcania*, when they called it the country of wild beaſts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all *Perſia* are there any wolves; but the chakal or jackal, a creature which makes a terrible noiſe, and which many good writers take for the *Hyæna*, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to inſects, the dryneſs of the air prevents our having much to ſay about them; there are, however, in ſome provinces prodigious numbers of locuſts or graſs-hoppers, which come in ſuch clouds as to obſcure the air. In certain parts of the *Perſian* dominions they have large black ſcorpions, ſo venemous, that ſuch as are ſtung by them die in a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their ſkins being as hard and tough as that of the ſea-dog; they are ſaid to attack and kill men ſometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants *Hazarpey*, i. e. *thouſand feet*, its whole body is ſtuck with ſmall feet, with which it runs prodigiouſly faſt; it is longer and

ſmaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ear [a].

Birds. There are in *Perſia* all the ſeveral ſorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in ſuch quantities, becauſe they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to ſuch a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their greaſe. There are, however, vaſt numbers of pigeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the beſt manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, ſo that it may be on juſt grounds preſumed, that no country in the world has ſuch a number of pigeon-houſes; they are moſt of them ſix times as large as any we have in *Europe*, they are built of brick and plaiſtered on the outſide, every thing being diſpoſed in the moſt convenient manner poſſible for the preſervation of theſe creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* they reckon more than three thouſand of theſe pigeon-houſes, chiefly erected for the preſervation of the dung, which is ſold for about three pence the dozen pound. The *Perſians* call this manure *Tchalgoüs*, i. e. *enlivening*; it is a great diverſion among the lower ſort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpoſe they have pigeons ſo taught, that flying in one flock, they ſurround ſuch wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their maſters. People who follow this trade are called *keſtor-perron*, or *pigeon-ſtealers*, and there are ſome ſo addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this fooliſh and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body's pigeons they can find. The partridge of this country are the largeſt and fineſt in the world, being generally of the ſize of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geeſe, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other ſorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the ſouthern provinces; the ſinging-birds here are of the ſame kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the ſpring; they have alſo martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them, and another bird of the ſame ſize, called by them *Noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleaſantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger ſize, the moſt conſiderable is the *Pelican*, called by the *Perſians Tacab*, i. e. *water-carrier*, and alſo *Miſc*. i. e. *ſheep*, becauſe it is as large as one of theſe animals; its feathers are white and ſoft like thoſe of a gooſe,

[a] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 32. Tavern. tom. 1 l. iv. c. 3. p. 423. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 215.

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its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a ſack or pouch, in which it preſerves a quantity of water for moiſtening its food; it uſually reſts this long beak on its back, which would otherwiſe incommode it very much. The *Pelican* lives chiefly upon fiſh, in taking of which it ſhews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in ſuch a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net; when it opens its throat, the paſſage is large enough for a lamb; it is called *the water-carrier*, becauſe in *Arabia* and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its neſt at a great diſtance from ſtreams or wells, foreſeeing that there will be leſs danger of diſturbance in ſuch places, though this ſituation obliges the bird to fly ſometimes two days journey for a ſupply of water for her young, which ſhe brings in the ſack before-mentioned; and hence the fable of the antients of the pelican's tearing her breaſt open to feed her young. There are in *Perſia* various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are ſome of the largeſt and fineſt in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of theſe birds, each of which has a perſon to attend it. The *Perſian* lords are likewiſe great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practiſe it much; for neither this, nor ſhooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meaneſt man in *Perſia* [b].

Fiſh.

WE ſhall divide the fiſhes of *Perſia* into freſh and ſalt water fiſh; as to the firſt, they are not very plenty, becauſe there are no great rivers in *Perſia*; however, there are of theſe three kinds, thoſe of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the *Keriſes* or ſubterraneous paſſages; thoſe in the lakes are carps and ſhads; the river-fiſh is chiefly barbel, which is alſo the ſort of fiſh commonly met with in the ſubterraneous channels; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the ſun, but living altogether in theſe foul and cold ſtreams. There are in the river at *Spambaun* a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are eſteemed a very delicious food. As to ſea-fiſh, no country is better ſerved; the *Caſpian* ſea, as we have ſeen before, contains very fine fiſh on one ſide, and

[b] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 38. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. CARERI, tom. ii. p. 214.

the

the *Persian* gulph on the other is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world; they fish there twice a day, morning and evening, and such fish as are not sold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before sun-set, are thrown back into the sea. There are taken on the coasts of this gulph a sort of fish, for which they have no particular name, its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious, and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its flesh will take salt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive; for which reason, whenever they intend to keep either fish or flesh, the inhabitants content themselves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of smoke [c].

Natural rarities.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Persia*, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of these the first we are to take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub or plant, called by the *Arabians Chark*, by the *Persians Gulbad Samour*, i. e. *the wind-poisoning flower*; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the consistence of cream, sharp and sour to the taste; it is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a member of these plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania the desert*, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respires it [d]. There is likewise another shrub in the same country, *viz. Carmania the desert*, singularly noxious, it is called *Kerzehre*, i. e. *asses poison*, because those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be poisonous, the trunk of this shrub is as large as one's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of six feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round, with a rising point in the middle; it bears a sort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhododendron*, the *Arabians* as well as the *Persians* call it the gall or poison of an ass. Some are of opinion, that it is the Nerium of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in *French Rosage* [e]. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the shore of the *Persian* gulph, afford the bezoar, so much esteemed in medicine, but the very best is taken out of these creatures in the province of *Corassan* or *Bactria*, and

[c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 424. Careri, tom. ii. p. 210. [d] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 13. [e] Chardin, ubi supra.

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is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golchonda* and the reſt of the *Indies*. The naturaliſts in *Perſia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more ſalutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. *Coraſſan* and the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulph are allowed to produce the dryeſt herbage in the world. It is no fable what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of ſuch balls, lumps, or ſtones as it grows in, a little ſprig of bramble or other buſh, round which by a continual acceſſion of matter the ball of bezoar is formed; this ſtone is here found in ſheep as well as in goats, but it is not ſo in the *Indies*. Its very name is of oriental extract, and ſhould be wrote *Pe-zaor*, i. e. *poiſon killing*, for the eaſtern people held it heretofore to be one of the ſtrongeſt counter-poiſons; quacks, however, were thoſe who commended it moſt, and its virtues were rather taken upon truſt, than ſupported by experience: the number of the credulous, however being great, raiſed its price very high; but of late years it is much ſunk in its reputation, as well in the eaſt as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a ſudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that claſs. The manner of giving it in *Perſia* is thus, they either ſcrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a doſe into a ſpoonful of roſe-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made uſe of to this end were, generally ſpeaking, reſin and *Spaniſh* wax. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the poliſh which bezoar ſtones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outſide is of a rough greeniſh hue, juſt as the ſtone appears within [f]. The *Abmelec*, i. e. *water of locuſts*, or *graſshoppers*, is a bird which deſerves to be deſcribed better perhaps than moſt others of which travellers have given us an account, becauſe the facts relating to it are not only ſtrange in themſelves, but are alſo ſo well and ſo diſtinctly atteſted, that, however ſurpriſing they may ſeem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locuſt, or grashopper. It is of the ſize of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its fleſh of a greyiſh colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the ſtarlings are wont to do with us; but the thing which renders theſe birds wonderful is, that they are ſo fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Coraſſan*, or *Bactria*, that wherever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preſerved; for wherever the locuſts fall, the *Armenian*

[f] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 19.

prieſts,

prieſts, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of theſe birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locuſts [g] (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, i. e. *Mahmoud the deaf*, is a noble natural rarity. At ſome diſtance from *Spauhawn* there is a range of rocks, plain and equal for a conſiderable ſpace, except that here and there they have openings, like the embraſures in baſtions, through which the winds paſs with ſurpriſing velocity; through theſe rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble baſon, partly wrought by the water itſelf, and partly formed by art. As one aſcends the mountain, certain natural chinks ſhew the water at the bottom of it, like a ſleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when ſtones are thrown into it, they make a moſt amazing noiſe, whence this river derives its name. After its deſcent from the baſon before mentioned, it

[g] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 40. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us in his deſcription of *Perſia* the following paſſage from an antient traveller in relation to this bird. "In *Cyprus*, about the time that the corn was ripe for the "ſickle, the earth produced ſuch a quantity of cavalettes or locuſts, "that they obſcured ſometimes the ſplendor of the ſun. Where-"ever theſe came they burnt and eat up all; for this there was "no remedy, ſince as faſt as they were deſtroyed the earth produ-"ced more; God, however, raiſed them up a means for their de-"liverance, which happened thus. In *Perſia*, near the city of "*Cuerch*, there is a fountain of water, which has a wonderful pro-"perty of deſtroying theſe inſects; for a pitcher full of this, being "carried in the open air, without paſſing through houſe or vault, "and being ſet on a high place, certain birds which follow it, and "fly and cry after the men who carry it from the fountain, come to "the place where it is fixed; theſe birds are red and black, and "fly in great flocks together like ſtarlings, the *Turks* and *Perſians* "call them *Muſulmans*. Theſe birds no ſooner came to *Cyprus*, "but they deſtroyed the locuſts with which the iſland was infeſted; "but if the water be ſpilt or loſt, theſe creatures immediately diſ-"appear, which accident fell out when the *Turks* took this iſland, "for one of them going up into the ſteeple of *Famagoſta*, and "finding there a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it con-"tained gold or ſilver, or ſome precious thing, broke it, and ſpilt "what was therein, ſince which the *Cypriots* have been as much "tormented as ever by the locuſts" (77).

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont p.* 97. *ap. Chardin. tom iii p.* 40.

rouls along the plain, till at laſt it falls into the river *Zenderoud*; ſome are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from ſprings, but from the ſnow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, diſtills through the chinks of the rocks into the vaſt lake before mentioned; and this they think, is in ſome meaſure proved from the acrimonious taſte of theſe waters, which is, however, loſt after it joins the *Zenderoud* [h]. Under a certain mountain called *Tagte-Ruſtan*, ſo called from the ruins of a building on the ſummit thereof, ſuppoſed to have been erected by the giant *Ruſtan*, there runs a grotto, which deſerves a place among the natural rarities of *Perſia*; from the top of this grotto there diſtills through the whole mountain, in two or three places, freſh water, which falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three diſtinct ſtreams, which iſſue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians* aſſemble to celebrate a feaſt in honour of a hermit or ſaint of theirs, who lived long here, and the whole cave is full of ſhreds or rags of peoples garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diſeaſes, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a ſort of blue ſtones, very hard and ſhining, which they make uſe of in adorning their moſques, tombs, and other public buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the deſcription of *Perſia* did not already begin to ſwell under our hands; though we have uſed all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing, which may not be uſeful and inſtructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let us now paſs to the artificial rarities viſible in *Perſia*.

To begin then with the antient *Perſepolis*, the ruins of which ſtill teſtify the truth of what ſome antient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its proſperity it was one of the moſt auguſt cities in the world; nay, when we conſider all things, when we compare the deſcriptions of travellers one with another; when we conſider what is recorded of other cities, and what is ſtill to be ſeen of thoſe that were moſt famed; we ſhall be induced to confeſs, that the *Perſian* empire in all its grandeur could boaſt of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more aſtoniſhing to poſterity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of theſe noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reaſonable this chapter ſhould go. We are

[h] CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. 2. [i] LE BRUN, tom, i. p. 246.

writing a geographical description of *Persia*; we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or which may enable him to understand thoroughly that history which is to follow; but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical description and this history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care that it be of a piece, and not resemble a statue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reason we think ourselves obliged to contract the many diffusive accounts, which we have read of the ruins of *Persepolis*, within a reasonable compass, giving the reader such an account as may enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the same time how useful fine draughts and exact relations of them may be, towards settling many points of antient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius of that nation, whose capital this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves in the disputes of travellers, or attempt to decide whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticisms, or rather invectives, against Sir *John Chardin*, our business is to give a succinct prospect of what has been said of *Persepolis*, by authors antient and modern, and therefore to this let us come without farther preface (S).

The

(S) In order to give the reader some idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we shall here give him a concise account of such authors as have written on this subject, and whose descriptions we have perused. The first is Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himself saw at *Persepolis*, but of what has been said by antient authors on that head. He has given us also a specimen of the characters which are to be seen in the tablets belonging to these ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*. He has likewise inserted his conjectures concerning these antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we shall be obliged to mention most of these from M. *Le Brun*, it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader with them here, we shall therefore add only to what we have already said concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of these ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be said to bear any resemblance to the accurate descriptions of *Chardin* and *Le Brun* (79). Prior in point of time to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other respect, is the concise description of these remains of antiquity given by our countryman Mr. *Geofry Ducket*, who in 1568 passed

(79) *Sir Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p.* 429.

this

THE plain in which this famous city ſtood is one of the fineſt in *Perſia*, and indeed in all the eaſt; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in ſome places two, in others

this way. The main of what he ſays may be reduced to this, that *Perſepolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deſerves any credit, or whether it was the ſlip of an inadvertent author, as well as heedleſs obſerver, we preſume not to determine (80) *John Albert de Mandelſloe*, who obſerved theſe ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better deſcription of them than moſt of the writers who went before him, and as there is ſomething very plain and inſtructive in what he has left us on this ſubject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has ſaid with what we have recorded in the text. "The foundation or ground-work, "on which this vaſt ſtructure was erected, is raiſed 22 geometrical "feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of ſtairs of white "marble of 95 ſteps, ſo flat and broad that twelve horſes may go "up conveniently together abreaſt. Before you come to the main "body of the ſtructure itſelf you paſs through a ſquare, where you "ſee the ruins of a wall and the remainders of two great gates, "each of which have a horſe harneſſed and ſaddled after a very "antic manner, carved on one ſide, and on the other two creatures "reſembling a horſe, except that they have wings on each ſide, "and the head is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the one "ſide you ſee the ruins of 19 pillars of white and black marble, "the leaſt of which are 8, and ſome 10 ells high without the "baſes, but whether they had been intended for the ſupport of "ſome large hall, or were built purely in the air is not to be di-"ſtinguiſhed at this time". The ſame author, ſpeaking of ſome unintelligible characters engraven on a ſquare pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them ſo well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the leaſt mark of barbarity, but ſeem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudeneſs of the inhabitants, who, without the leaſt regard to ſo noble and ſo antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other ſtone, for the quicker diſpatch of common and private buildings; he alſo deplores the want of perfect draughts of theſe wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of *Perſia* (81). Sir *John Chardin* in the year 1674, took a view of theſe ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inſerted in the ſecond volume of his travels; it is true, M. *Le Brun*, who ſtayed there a much longer time than he, and who had conſequently a better opportunity of ſtudying and deſcribing what he ſaw than this gentle-

(80) *Account of Mr. Geofry Ducket's Travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p.* 526. (81) *J. A. Mandelſloe's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I.*

others four, and in some places six; it is watered by the great river *Araxes* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those

man had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description; but whoever reads, with calmness and candour, what Sir *John Chardin*, with great perspicuity and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of M. *Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars which are no where else recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of *Darius*, and the ruins of the antient *Persepolis*; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of *Italian* authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. *Le Brun*, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity, he has taken up upwards of thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful ornaments to his book. Besides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Persepolis* are farther explained (84). From these materials a very copious description, and very curious observations, might have been thrown together, especially when we consider, that, besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject, such as the most judicious Dr. *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning some of the enigmatical figures represented on the walls and pillars of these antient buildings (85): But it is our business to hint only where the curious and inquisitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to these monuments of the *Persian* glory, our description being no more than the out lines of a regular dissertation on this head, for which what has been said above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, serve for a sufficient apology.

(82) *Chardin voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 140—197. (83) *Carreri voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 240. (84) *Le Brun voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 285. (85) *Hyde. Hist. relig. vet. pers. p.* 544.

in

in the mountains, all adorned with pleaſant gardens, and planted with ſhady trees. The entrance of this plain on the weſt ſide has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from induſtry or art. It conſiſts of a range of mountains ſteep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a riſing terrace in the middle, the ſummit of which is perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are ſuch openings, and the terraces are ſo fine, and ſo even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elevation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly theſe banks were the very places where the advanced guards from *Perſepolis* took poſt, and from which *Alexander* found it ſo difficult to diſlodge them. One cannot from hence deſcry the ruins of the city, becauſe the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every ſide the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are ſpeaking. On the weſt and on the north this city is defended in the like manner, ſo that, conſidering the height and evenneſs of theſe banks, one may ſafely ſay, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place ſo fortified by nature [k]. The antient palace of the kings of *Perſia*, called by the inhabitants *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty columns*, is ſituated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this ſuperb building are ſtill ſtanding on their ſides, and it has the mountain on the eaſt. The front is in extent ſix hundred paces from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt, quite to the rock, without any ſtair-caſe on that ſide, till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged ſtones, it is eaſy to get to the loweſt part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet ſeven inches in height, and in ſome places not ſo high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in ſome places; but in moſt thirty quite to the mountain, where there is ſtill a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds alſo before the weſt ſide ſeveral rocks, which riſe towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It ſeems, as if there had been a ſtair-caſe antiently on this ſide, and ſome buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very ſmooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a

[k] CHARDIN. tom ii. p. 141. LE BRUN. tom. ii. p 261.

platform

platform of 400 paces, which extends itſelf in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three ſides, runs a pavement of two ſtones joined together, which fill up a ſpace eight foot broad; part of theſe ſtones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and ſix in breadth, but the reſt are ſmaller. The principal ſtair-caſe is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the ſouth, being ſix hundred paces diſtant from this, and only a hundred and ſixty five from that; this ſtair-caſe is compoſed of two flights of ſtairs, forty two feet aſunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the ſteps, which are as long as the ſtair-caſe is deep within five inches; each of theſe ſteps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, ſo that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty five on the north ſide, and fifty three on the ſouth, but the latter are not ſo whole as the former. Aſcending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the ſtair-caſe; the ſtones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary ſize. The two flights of the ſtair-caſe are ſeparated by the wall of the front, but in ſuch a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and ſuits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

The upper part of this ſtair-caſe conſiſts of 48 ſteps on one ſide and on the other, ſome of which are damaged, notwithſtanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of theſe there is another landing-place, between the flights of ſtairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great ſtones, ſome 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad[1] (T).

To

[1] Le Brun, ubi ſupr. Chardin, ubi ſupr.

(T) In the deſcription in our text we have adhered pretty cloſely to *M. Le Brun*, and that for many reaſons; firſt becauſe his profeſſion, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of deſcribing minutely, and of deſigning exactly, all the wonders of *Perſepolis*, than any former traveller, whom either buſineſs or curioſity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himſelf to conſider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, theſe relics of *Perſian* architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our laſt note, but Monſ. *Chardin's*

To ſpeak now of what is to be ſeen when one is amongſt theſe ruins. The firſt thing that ſalutes the eye in a ſtrait line, 42 feet diſtant from the front before deſcribed, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the firſt is much damaged by time, and the ſecond is ſunk five feet lower than the former, theſe porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One ſees in the front of each pilaſter a large figure cut in baſs-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind feet, and 14 feet and a half

Chardin's curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is ſuch an agreement, in material points at leaſt, between his accounts and thoſe of *Chardin*, notwithſtanding his affecting on all occaſions to quarrel with that gentleman's ſentiments, that we did not think it at all neceſſary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a diſpute of no great importance in itſelf, and which, though proſecuted with warmth, ſeems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the fame of theſe ruins has, for the two or three laſt centuries, been ſo great, and the deſires of the *Virtuoſi* to ſee exact plans of them ſo ſtrong, that ſome have ventured to publiſh the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chilminar*. Such was the view of *Perſepolis* ſent into the world by *Sebaſtian Serlio* an *Italian* architect, in his account of noble buildings antient and modern, ſince therein are found juſt forty columns adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happineſs to ſee. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongſt a multitude of other ſtrange things and temerarious aſſertions, we have a wild deſcription of theſe ruins, and a wilder plan, ſaid in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by gueſs; ſince it is not only quite different from the plans publiſhed by others, but contains alſo ſuch palpable miſtakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witneſs of theſe noble works, eſpecially one who looked on them with a deſign of deſcribing them to the reſt of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that wherever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them muſt be miſtaken. M. *Le Brun* and Sir *John Chardin* vary very little in what they ſay, relating to the pillars yet ſtanding at *Perſepolis*; but there is a conſiderable difference on this head between what they ſay and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figueroa*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*, all of whom teſtify nearly to the ſame point Time and the barbarity of the modern *Perſians*, who make very little account of theſe ruins, have made conſiderable alterations ſince they were firſt deſcribed; and it is very probable, that whoever ſees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly anſwerable to what is ſaid of them by M. *Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 152.

high.

high. The heads of these animals are entirely destroyed, their breasts and feet project from the pilaster, and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second which have wings on their bodies towards the mountains. One sees above the pilasters certain characters, but they are so small and so high that one can make nothing of them. The first portico is still 39 feet high, and the second 28. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. In the present condition it is not easy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find some account in the authors cited at the bottom of the foregoing pages, and will judge for himself which is the most probable of those taken notice of there.

The two columns which stand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their bases they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the first portico, and 56 from the second, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between these and the last portico, of which there are still some remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the last mentioned portico southward, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a space of about 150 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the rest; it is about two feet in compass and 12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken stones.

Turning from these porticoes to the south, one sees at the distance of 172 feet another stair-case, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former, one fronting towards the east, the other towards the west. The wall is still about six feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almost entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the east flight of stairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermost of them, that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the stair-case are still some foliages, visible with figures in bas-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. The stair-case is half buried in earth, and one sees certain small figures on the wall, on both sides. The west flight consists of

of 28 ſteps; the other having ſuffered more by the acceſſion of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of theſe towards the top broken, and two or three entirely deſtroyed, tho' cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the ſtair-caſe, there is another front whereon there are three rows of ſmall figures, one above another; of the firſt row there is nothing now to be ſeen but the parts below the girdle, the reſt being deſtroyed by time; the ſecond row, which is the beſt preſerved, has notwithſtanding received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. Theſe figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which there is ſtill five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the firſt ſtep to its left corner, where there is another ſtair-caſe, the ſteps of which are exactly of the ſame ſize with thoſe before deſcribed. From what remains of the inner wall it appears, that it alſo was covered with ſmall figures. At the end of the ſtair-caſe there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner turns a little to the ſouth, and goes no farther, becauſe the earth is there at the ſame height; returning to the weſt flight of ſteps of the ſtair-caſe before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, with an interval of 67 feet to the weſt front. This Side like the former is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an aſs, with a horn in its forehead; between theſe animals and the figures, there is a ſquare ſpace filled with characters, of which the higheſt are quite effaced; the figures on this ſide are fairer than on the other, the ground being leſs elevated; there are 25 ſteps here. The wall from the ſtair-caſe weſtward extends quite to the front; but beyond the ſtair-caſe is unadorned with figures.

AT the ſtep of the ſtair-caſe, between the two flights of ſtairs, there is an open place, paved with very large ſtones between the ſtair-caſe and the firſt columns, which are 22 feet and two inches diſtant; they ſtand in two rows, each conſiſting of ſix columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight baſes, and ſome broken pieces of the reſt. There are ſix rows of columns 70 feet eight inches diſtant from theſe, each row conſiſting of ſix columns. Theſe thirty ſix columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other as the former are. There are ſtill ſeven of theſe entire, with the baſes of all the reſt, but much broken and defaced. Of thoſe which are left, there is one of the firſt row, one of the ſecond, two of the third, and one of each of the reſt. One finds, between theſe columns and thoſe before mention-

ed, ſeveral large ſtones, heretofore part of ſome ſubterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches weſt from theſe columns, towards the front of the ſtair-caſe, there were 12 columns more, diſpoſed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The baſes of ſeven more are viſible, and the ground is covered with ruins of thoſe which are decayed. One can diſcover, however, among the fragments of thoſe ornaments, which lie half interred, that each of theſe columns was ſurmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the ſouth of theſe columns ſtands the edifice moſt elevated of any in theſe ruins, but it is neceſſary for us to obſerve, that on the eaſt there are ſtill diſcernible two rows of columns, conſiſting of ſix each, of which the baſes of four or five remain ſtill above the earth, and in all appearance theſe were oppoſed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing ſtill towards the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, conſiſting of porticoes, paſſages, and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and theſe ruins take up a great ſpace; but to return to the edifice ſpoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns; and the wall of its front is yet five feet ſeven inches high, compoſed of one row of ſtones only, ſome of which are eight feet broad, extending from eaſt to weſt 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain ſtone foundations ſtill viſible, but what end they ſerved cannot be gueſſed, ſince there is no ſtair-caſe on this ſide. This wall is adorned with no ſort of ornament as the reſt are; there are, however, two ſtair-caſes, one on the north, the other on the ſouth-ſide, but almoſt entirely ruined; on the landing-place, however, we ſtill diſcover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the reſt of the building, which conſiſts of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly ſquare. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the ſouth a portico and four windows open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the weſt, with two openings; and a third to the eaſt, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of theſe openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the eaſt. One ſees under the two porticoes on the north, on each ſide, the figure of a man, and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of thoſe on the weſt ſide, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left

left hand, and ſtrikes a poignard into the belly of the beaſt with his right; on the other ſide the figures are the ſame, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and ſtabs the beaſt with his left. In the ſecond portico there is the figure of a man holding a beaſt, reſembling either a deer or a lion, by ſuch a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon his back. Under the portico to the north, the ſame figures are viſible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; theſe figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both ſides of the portico towards the ſouth, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head reſembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has ſome enſign of authority in her hand. Above theſe figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilaſters of the firſt portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of ſtairs laſt mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left; one of theſe only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the ſame kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two ſtones ſtanding up, one on the right hand, the other on the left: Of theſe, that towards the eaſt is broken, the other towards the weſt is ſtill 28 feet high. There is on the top of this ſtone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which ſeems to have been cut after the reſt. The like inſcriptions are ſeen in the niches or windows before mentioned, each tablet conſiſting of one ſtone only. To the ſouth there are two flights of ſtairs, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; but of theſe only five ſteps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which ſeparates them, there are ſtill viſible ſome ſmall figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground: a hundred feet from thence to the ſouth, the laſt ruins are found of theſe edifices, conſiſting chiefly of porticoes and encloſed ſpaces of ground, and between theſe two heaps of ruins another ſtair-caſe, of which only ſeven ſteps are remaining, which ſerve, however, to ſhew that antiently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the eaſt ſide of this ſtair-caſe there are certain ſubterraneous paſſages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treaſures are hid. *M. Le Brun* entered them, as ſeveral travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any diſcoveries, the paſſages being ſo narrow, and ſo dark, and moiſt, that it was impoſſible to go far. However, even theſe experiments are ſufficient to ſhew, that the con-

jectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, ſince from the ſtructure of theſe vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or ſome ſuch like purpoſe, than to be made the repoſitories of royal treaſures [m].

There would be no difficulty in following *M. Le Brun*'s deſcription much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures ſpoken of before; but for the reaſons already given we ſhall ſtop here, that we may have room to ſay ſomewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning theſe remains of the magnificence of antient times. The proceſſions delineated on the walls, the vaſes in the hands of many of the figures, the ſeveral tablets of unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical repreſentations, which are ſtill ſeen in theſe ruins, have led ſome great men into an opinion, that this antient ſtructure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worſhipped in *Perſia*. Others, with much greater reaſon, have delivered it as their ſentiment, that theſe ruins are what remain of the antient palace of *Perſepolis*, which they think ſtrongly confirmed by the deſcription left us by antient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in proceſſion, thoſe who adhere to this notion ſay, that they repreſent a birth-day feaſt of one of the *Perſian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him preſents; as to the inſcriptions, they are, generally ſpeaking illegible by the *Perſees* or antient *Perſians* themſelves, ſo that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well ſerve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple, and, it may be, were ſome of the ſpoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyſes*'s army, led by *Smerdis* the *Magian*. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of theſe figures agree perfectly well with the deſcriptions of the old *Median* and *Perſian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be preſumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the firſt race, ſince nothing ſeen there carries the aſpect of later times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finiſhed by *Xerxes*, is a point not eaſily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures viſible on the walls, pillars, *&c.* it ſeems probable to us, that they were enigmatical repreſentations, at leaſt for the moſt part, of the courſe of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this, and of the reaſons which in-

[m] Le Brun, Vol. ii. p. 268.

cline

cline us to believe it, we ſhall take occaſion to diſcourſe more largely in our ſection on the religion of the antient *Perſians*. The traditions of the natives in reſpect to theſe antiquities are generally repreſented by travellers, as confuſed, extravagant and not to be depended on. This may, however, in ſome meaſure ariſe from their want of acquaintance with oriental hiſtory, which is not always ſo fabulous and incoherent as it is repreſented to be: there is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative ſtyle of theſe eaſtern nations, and that in uſe amongſt us; but as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew, even in reſpect to theſe ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eaſtern writers, as from the artful memoirs of ſome of our weſtern hiſtorians (V).

AT

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible, what antient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Perſepolis*; to begin then with what is ſaid by *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* on this ſubject: He relates, that, after paſſing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, moſt of them old men, ſome having their hands, others their feet, ſome their ears, and ſome their noſes, cut off, which had been done by the *Perſians* of that diſtrict; which ſo incenſed him, eſpecially againſt the inhabitants of *Perſepolis*, that he called, ſays our author, the *Macedonians* together and told them, "That *Perſepolis*, the "metropolis of *Perſia*, of all the cities of *Aſia*, had done moſt "miſchief to the *Grecians*, and therefore he gave it up to the "plunder and ſpoil of the ſoldiers, except the king's palace. "This was the richeſt city of any under the ſun, and for many "ages all the private houſes were full of all ſorts of wealth, and "whatever was deſirable. The *Macedonians* therefore, forcing into "the city, put all the men to the ſword, and rifled and carried a-"way every man's goods and eſtate, amongſt which was abun-"dance of rich and coſtly furniture, and ornaments of all ſorts. "In this place was hurried away here and there vaſt quantities of "ſilver, and no leſs of gold, great numbers of rich garments, ſome "of purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became a "plentiful prey to the ravenous ſoldiers. And thus the royal "ſeat of the *Perſians*, once famous throughout the world, was now "expoſed to ſcorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom. "For, though every place was full of rich ſpoil, yet the covetouſ-"neſs of the *Macedonians* was inſatiably ſtill thirſting after more. "And they were ſo eager in plundering, that they fought one "with another with drawn ſwords, and many who were conceiv-"ed to have got a greater ſhare than the reſt, were killed in the "quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they "divided with their ſwords, and each took a ſhare; others in

"rage

AT two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains in the

" rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold upon a thing that
" was in dispute. They first ravished the women, as they were
" in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves.
" So that by how much *Persepolis* excelled all the other cities in
" glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of
" their misery and calamity. Then *Alexander* seized upon all the
" treasures in the citadel, which was a vast quantity of gold and
" silver, of the public revenues that had been heaping up, and de-
" posited there from the time of *Cyrus*, the first king of *Persia*,
" to that day. For there was found an hundred and twenty thou-
" sand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of silver. Part
" of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered
" another part of it to be treasured up at *Susa*. To this purpose,
" he ordered, that a multitude of mules, both for draught and
" carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-saddles should be
" brought out of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Susa*, and with these
" he conveyed all the treasures to the several places he had ap-
" pointed. For, by reason of his great hatred to the inhabitants,
" he was resolved not to trust them with any thing, but utterly
" to ruin and destroy *Persepolis*: Of whose palace in regard of its
" stately structure, we conceive it will not be impertinent if we
" say something. This stately fabric or citadel was surrounded
" with a treble wall: the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned
" with many sumptuous buildings, and lofty turrets. The second
" was like to the first, but as high again. The third was drawn
" like a quadrant four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hard-
" est marble, and so cemented as to continue to the latest time.
" On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which there are cur-
" tains or palliśades of the same metal, twenty cubits high, these
" were raised as well to strike the beholder with terror, as for the
" strengthening and security of the place. On the east side of the
" citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount called
" the *royal mount*, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings,
" many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the
" rock; into which cells there is made no direct passage, but the
" coffins with the dead bodies are by machines hoisted up, and so
" let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately
" lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent
" workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously con-
" trived for the laying up of money. Here *Alexander* made a
" sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends, in comme-
" moration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the
" gods. At this feast were entertained whores who prostituted their
" bodies for hire, where the cups went so high, and the reins were
" so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both

" drunk

the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by ſeveral names; ſometimes they ſtyle it *Kabreſton Gauron*, i. e. *the ſepulchres*

" drunk and mad. Among the reſt there was at that time a " courteſan, called *Thais*, an *Athenian*, that ſaid *Alexander* would " perform the moſt glorious act of any that ever he had done, " if while he was feaſting with them he would burn the palace, " and ſo the glory and renown of *Perſia* might be ſaid to be " brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This " ſpreading abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men, " (who commonly make little uſe of reaſon when drink is in their " heads) preſently one cries out, *Come on, bring us firebrands*, and " ſo incited the reſt to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety " the *Perſians* had committed in deſtroying the temples of the *Gre-* " *cians*. At this others with joy ſet up a ſhout, but ſaid, that ſo " brave an exploit belonged only to *Alexander* to perform. The " king ſtirred up at theſe words embraced the motion, upon which " as many as were preſent left their cups and leaped from the " table, and ſaid, that they would now celebrate a victorious feſ- " tival to *Bacchus*. Hereupon multitudes of firebrands were pre- " ſently got together, and all the women that played upon muſi- " cal inſtruments, which were at the feaſt, were called for; and " then the king with ſongs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way " to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this whore, " *Thais*, who next after the king, threw the firſt firebrand into the " palace. This precedent was preſently followed by the reſt, ſo " that in a very ſhort time, the whole fabric by the violence of " the fire was conſumed to aſhes (87)". We have tranſcribed this long paſſage to avoid a multitude of quotations, ſince ſeveral authors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made uſe of by him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of this tranſaction, little different from that which we have juſt ſeen; indeed he ſpeaks leſs confidently of the ſtory of *Thais* than *Diodorus* does, whence ſome have ſuſpected the truth of it, and whether *Thais* had any concern therein or no. *Arrian* ſays, that *Alexander* ſeized at *Paſſargadon* on the money which had been laid up there by *Cyrus*, and then adds, " the royal palace of the *Perſian* " monarchs he burnt, much agãinſt the will of *Parmenio*, who " intreated him to leave it untouched, not only becauſe it was im- " proper to ſpoil and deſtroy what he had gained by his valour, " but that he would thereby diſoblige the *Aſiatics*, and render " them leſs benevolent to him; for they would then ſuppoſe that " he would not keep *Aſia* in his poſſeſſion, but abandon it as ſoon as " it was conquered and laid waſte. To which *Alexander* made an- " ſwer, that he was reſolved to revenge the antient injuries his " country had received by the *Perſians*; who, when they arrived

(87) *Diodor. Sicul lib. xvii. c.*

" with

sepulchres of the Gaurs; sometimes *Nachs Rustan, the pictures of Rustan*; and sometimes *Takt Rustan*, i. e. *the throne of*

" with their army in *Greece*, subverted *Athens*, burnt their temples, " and committed many other barbarous devastations there. But " this, in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politic " action in *Alexander*, and was no revenge upon the *Persians* at " all (88)". *Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject, his words are these; " *Alexander* destroyed the temple of *Persepolis* in re- " venge of the injuries done the *Greeks*, whose cities and temples " the *Persians* had formerly destroyed with fire and sword (89)". *Curtius* has nothing singular upon this head, except the following observation. " The city of *Persepolis* was so far from being re- " built, that unless the river *Araxes* ran near it, there had not been " the least sign left to have guessed where it stood; that it was " situated twenty stadia from the banks of this river, the inhabi- " tants rather believe than know with any certainty (90)". In this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken; for first, he is the only author who says that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Diodorus* says indeed that it was plundered; but as to burning and destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace; besides, after the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus*, taking five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ecbatana*, marched into *Persia*, and after twenty days arrived at its capital *Persepolis* (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city as still standing after the destruction of the palace; and, if we may believe the author of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation. " About that time came *Antiochus* with dishonour out of the coun- " try of *Persia*. For he had entered the city called *Persepolis*, and " went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city, whereupon " the multitude, running to defend themselves with their weapons, " put them to flight; and so it happened, that *Antiochus*, being " put to flight of the inhabitants, returned with shame (92). In the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary passage in respect to the point before us. " About that time, says " the author, king *Antiochus*, travelling through the high countries, " heard say, that *Elymais*, in the country of *Persia*, was a city greatly " renowned for riches, silver, and gold; and that there was in it " a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breast- " plates, and shields which *Alexander, son* of *Philip*, the *Macedo- " nian* king, who reigned first among the *Grecians*, had left there. " Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil " it; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib.* iii. *c.* 18. (89) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 730.
(90) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 7. (91) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xix. *c.* 3.
(92) 2 *Mac. c.* ix. *ver.* 1.

of Ruſtan. This *Ruſtan*, as we have obſerved before, is the *Hercules* of the eaſt, or rather the *Amadis*, for the ſtories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our buſineſs, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better poliſh than marble; it is levelled by art, its ſides are perfectly perpendicular, ſo that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures repreſented in baſs-relief, with great ſkill and beauty. The firſt of theſe, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, repreſents a combat between two knights, mounted on horſeback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight ſeems to take hold with his right-hand; at the foot of each of their horſes lies a man groveling on the ground. All theſe figures, as well of horſes as of men, are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we truſt tradition and the *Perſian* poets, it is thus to be underſtood; they ſay, that one of theſe cavaliers was *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Sal the white*, the ſon of *Sam*, the ſon of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the ſecond *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Tahmour* king of *Perſia*; theſe two princes are ſaid to be engaged in long and bloody wars, and at laſt to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand which the o-

" warning thereof, roſe up againſt him in battle: ſo he fled, and " departed thence with great heavineſs, and returned to *Baby-*" *lon* (93)". That this city *Elymais* was *Perſepolis*, we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, ſince we are certain, that the latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor in all probability did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Perſian* name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to obſerve here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author: it is, this; *Perſepolis* or *Perſæpolis* ſignifies in *Greek* no more than the city of the *Perſians*; *Elymais* ſignifies the ſame thing, as alſo *Phars-abad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its antient name in the *Perſic* tongue; hence therefore, we may with probability conclude, that its moſt antient name was *Elymais*, derived from the antient name of *Perſia*, *Elam*, that in proceſs of time when *Perſia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be ſtiled *Pharas-abad*, and that the *Greeks* might tranſlate either of theſe appellations into their own language by the word *Perſepolis*; all which we ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader.

(93) 1 *Mac. c.* vi. *ver.* 1.

ther laid hold of, it being previouſly agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, ſhould be eſteemed the conqueror, and ſhould be obeyed for the future by him who loſt it; they ſay too, that the king of *Perſia*, who is the perſon repreſented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquiſhed the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Beſides this ring and mace, theſe combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the ſides of their horſes, which it is to be ſuppoſed they let fly at each other, in the ſame manner as peaſants ſometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are repreſented as of a leſs ſtature than in that before deſcribed, *viz.* not above ſeven foot high; there is a perſon repreſented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked ſabre with both his hands; he is ſaid to be the ſame king of the *Indies* before mentioned, becauſe his bonnet and beard reſemble thoſe of the figure ſo called in the former piece; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the ſhoulders downwards, perhaps to ſignify that they are priſoners; behind him, there are three other men in the ſame poſition, who ſeem to be making ſigns to the five over-againſt them. As to this repreſentation it is impoſſible to ſay any thing with certainty, ſince we are furniſhed with no lights by antient writers, and the traditions of the modern *Perſians* on ſuch ſubjects are little to be depended on; though to ſay the truth, the common people in *Perſia* are rather more modeſt than elſewhere, for when they are aſked about the meaning of theſe figures, they generally ſay, God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themſelves with affirming, that they relate to the antient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At 120 paces diſtance from this figure, one finds the firſt tomb, but before one comes thither, one ſees here and there on the mountain ſeveral tablets, which ſeem to have been deſigned for ſuch repreſentations as have been before deſcribed; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfiniſhed. One ſees before this firſt tomb the repreſentation of a combat between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little as of that of the former. At ſixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence another, and at the diſtance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the laſt. There are two inſcriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in length, in the character made uſe of in the inſcriptions at the palace of *Perſepolis*. There are many other curious repreſentations carved on this mountain, ſome perfectly whole and

found,

found, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themſelves much on deſtroying images. We ſhall not detain the reader any longer on ſo obſcure a ſubject, ſince our deſcriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the ſame idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inſerted in their travels by *Chardin* and *Le Brun* [n]. Beſides, ſhould we run into a long diſcourſe on the conjectures, which have been or may be made in relation to theſe ſepulchres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, aud turn very little to the edification of the reader. On the whole therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that theſe ſtupendous monuments of antient magnificence are ſufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wiſdom and genius of the antient *Perſians*, before ſuperſtition and ſlavery took place (X).

THE

[n] Vid. CHARDN, tom. ii. LE BRUN, tom. ii.

(X) Beſides the tombs ſpoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Perſepolis*, which Sir *John Chardin* ſays, appeared to him the moſt curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about ſix hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a neceſſity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. Theſe monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north, over-againſt the great ſtair-caſe of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The platform is ſquare and like the landing place of a ſtair-caſe; it is about four feet deep that is cut into the mountain; on each ſide there are ſix figures finely cut, and exactly reſembling thoſe in the proceſſion; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the ſpectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not ſeem ever to have been deſigned for a paſſage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanſhip full of figures; and on the ſummit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend perſon holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of aſcent, over-againſt it as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which ſeems to repreſent the ſun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a ſmall figure of the ſame perſon, whom we ſee praying below, as if he were aſcending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is on the eaſt ſide differs not much from this which we have deſcribed. It has four columns, a falſe door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-prieſt praying before it, with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconſiderable differences there are in the architecture, and in the diſpoſition of things in this ſecond tomb, but we do not think them of conſequence enough to be mentioned here. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country ſay, that *Nembroth* or *Nimrod*

THE great perfection, which appears in these antient works and those of *Persepolis*, leaves us no room to doubt, that those

was buried in the first, and *Dar-ab*, i. e. *Darius* in the second; but he thinks the first fabulous. And as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns it is in some measure warranted by the account given us by *Arrian*; that *Alexander* caused the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be sent to his mother, that she might cause it to be interred in the tomb of his ancestors. It is allowed, that the sepulchres of the kings of *Persia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and that, at the time *Alexander* sent back *Darius*'s body, that country was new conquered and in great disorder. It is not impossible therefore, that his mother might cause him to be buried at *Persepolis*. However, Sir *John Chardin* himself is of opinion, that the thing was otherwise, and that these tombs were actually closed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the present inhabitants of *Persia*, that in these tombs, and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side, since we know that when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95). As on the other hand, we know that *Josephus* (96) reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulchre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a dissertation, we shall not expatiate further upon this subject, but confine ourselves to these very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs Rustem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in these repositories of the dead; but at the same time they affirm this, they assert with equal confidence, that the passages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. Sir *John Chardin*, however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these shining spoils: he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkaskoun*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Persepolis*. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who resided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country, having dissipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand vizier, threatening him, in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling his wife and

(94) *Chardin Voyag. tom. ii. p.* 166. (95) *Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vi. ult. Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. c.* 730. (96) *Antiq. lib. vii. c.* 15.

children,

thoſe who were the authors of them, might, if they had ſo pleaſed, have left marks of their ſkill and genius in other parts of this empire alſo, or at leaſt that their ſucceſſors might have done ſomething in the ſame way. We have already put ourſelves under ſuch reſtrictions, as forbid a prolix proſecution of this hint, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with remarking here, that Mr. *Le Brun* takes notice in his travels of ſome remains of antiquity, which he, with two *Engliſh* gentlemen, ſaw near a mountain a league and a half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There ſtood here a moſque, called the moſque of the mother of *Solomon*, ſquare, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three por-

children for ſlaves, in order to produce the ſum he was in arrear. The poor man, diſtracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himſelf, but checking this thought on a ſudden, he ſaid in his mind, Why ſhould I deſtroy myſelf without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by ſome other means? in yon houſe of idols (ſo the *Mohammedans* call all places where there are figures in baſs-relief) every body agrees there are vaſt quantities of wealth concealed, why ſhould not I go look for it? If I ſucceed I ſhall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live ſplendidly myſelf all the reſt of my days; and on the other hand, if I periſh, I periſh, death is the ſame thing in thoſe tombs or here. Having taken this reſolution, he provided himſelf with lights and with ſome proviſions, and then eſſayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was ſo lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large ſquare room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the ſum he brought back was not quite ſufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his firſt had been happy; for, by ſome means or other, loſing his way, he periſhed in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themſelves, and where their ſpirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are ſaid to be in this mountain, but moſt of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he ſaw a ſquare room, built up in the form of a tower, cloſe on all ſides except a door which was almoſt at the top, and altogether inacceſſible; this he took to be a ſepulchre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares he does not doubt the fact, and tells us further of his own knowledge, that theſe ſubterraneous paſſages are really very perplexed, frequently croſs each other, and are full of a moiſt vapour which quickly extinguiſhes lights (97).

(97) *Chardin. Voy. vol. ii p.* 111.

ticoos

ticoes exactly reſembling thoſe at *Perſepolis*, the firſt on the eaſt, the ſecond on the north-weſt, and the third on the north-eaſt. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaſter the figure of a woman as big as the life, with ſomething in her hand, in the ſame attitude with the figures on the wall at *Perſepolis*. North-eaſt from this ruined moſque, the ſame author ſays, there are ſeen on the ſide of the rock nine ſmall figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above ground; and on the north-weſt a ſtone of prodigious magnitude repreſenting a caſk or tun. All the ground thereabout is covered with ſtones, and moſt of the pilaſters are out of their places, which could not poſſibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice however, of the middle one is very little damaged: a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are ſeen of that wall, which antiently ſurrounded this moſque; and about a league from the moſque, the ſame gentleman tells us, that he ſaw ſeveral figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The firſt table contains three figures, one of which is repreſented leaning with its hand on a great ſword. The ſecond repreſents a man with ſomething not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the firſt, leans its hand on the guard of a great ſword; they are very much broken and damaged, ſo that it is difficult to deſcribe them particularly [k]. For which reaſon we may ſuppoſe the author has omitted the deſcriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the repreſentations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller, we may with ſome aſſurance, that theſe figures are neither ſo old, nor executed near ſo well as thoſe on the mountain of *Nachs Ruſtem*, which they reſemble much more than any thing which is to be ſeen at *Perſepolis*. Mr. *Le Brun* ſpeaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to ſuch things as theſe; but there is no neceſſity of examining their accounts here, ſince we ſhall be obliged to give an ample account of theſe matters, when we ſpeak of the *Perſian* hiſtory, as it has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that on a ſtrict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in *Perſia*, than thoſe hitherto deſcribed and magnified ſo much.

[k] Le Brun. Voyag. Vol. ii. p. 299.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of thē antient PERSIANS.

The origin of the Perſians.

THE *Perſians* were, without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was firſt peopled by *Elam*, or as *Joſephus* calls him [a] *Elymus*, the ſon of *Shem*; whence *Perſia* is conſtantly called by the ſacred writers *Elam*; nor does it appear, that it was known to the *Jews* before the captivity by any other name. The deſcendants of *Elam* ſettled firſt in that province, which from them was called *Elymais*, and by degrees, as their numbers increaſed, ſpread themſelves into *Suſiana* and other adjoining provinces; as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Suſa*, the metropolis of *Suſiana*, in the province of *Elam* [b] (A). All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* underſtand *Perſia*, and in the acts the *Perſians* are called *Elamites* [c]. Whence it is probable, that they were deſcended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into into that of *Perſia* we have ſhewn already.

Their government.

THE government of *Perſia* was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* ſeems to have been pretty powerful even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is ſaid in ſcripture to have invaded the *Zamzummims* and *Emims*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; though he was at laſt overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the reſcue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken priſoner [d]. In the time of *Jeremiah Elam* muſt have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretels the increaſe of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dominions, and particularly, that he ſhould ſubdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eaſtward of the *Tigris* (B).

BUT

[a] JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. [b] DANIEL viii. 2. [c] ACT. ii. 9 [d] GEN. xiv. 5. DEUT. ii. 20, 21.

(A) *And I ſaw in a viſion*, ſays the prophet, (*and it came to paſs, when I ſaw that I was at* Shuſhan *the palace, which* is *in the province of* Elam) *and I ſaw in a viſion, and I was by the river of* Ulai. *Shuſhan* is without doubt the city of *Suſa* in *Suſiana*, which ſtood on the river *Eulæus*, or as the prophet ſtiles it, *Ulai*.

(B) *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might. And upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the*

The majeſty of their kings.

But to ſpeak here of *Perſia*, as the ſecond of the four great empires (for of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we ſhall have occaſion to give ſome account hereafter); the *Perſian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleaſure. They were revered by their ſubjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without proſtrating themſelves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Spercies* and *Bulis* both *Lacedæmonians* refuſed to comply with this ceremony, as did alſo *Conon* the *Athenian*; as *Juſtin* informs us [e], and *Iſmenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* [f], by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himſelf on the ground to take it up. *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* [g], was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Perſian* monarch. In the time of *Appollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the ſame honours to his image. While they were in the king's preſence, they were to hold their hands, ſo long as their audience laſted, within their ſleeves; for neglecting this ceremony *Antoſaces* and *Mitræus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were ſuffered to enter the royal palace without the ſovereign's leave, except the princes who ſlew *Smerdis*; all others, of what rank ſoever, before they ſet foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a meſſenger that they deſired to attend him, and wait his royal pleaſure. What reſpect and obedience his vaſſals payed him we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in danger by ſea, many at the king's deſire ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt in leaping overboard to lighten the veſſel and ſave their prince's life, at the expence of their own [h]. They all lived in no leſs dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the gods; whence they looked upon the incurring his diſpleaſure as the greateſt misfortune that could befal them in life, and were ready at

[e] Justin, l. vi. 2. [f] Ælian. var. hiſtor. l. i. [g] Valer. Maximus, l. vi. c. 3. [h] Herodot. l. viii.

the heaven, and will ſcatter them towards all thoſe winds, and there ſhall be no nation whither the outcaſts of Elam *ſhall not come. For I will cauſe* Elam *to be diſmayed before their enemies, and before them that ſeek their life: and I will bring evil upon them,* even *my fierce anger, ſaith the Lord, and I will ſend the ſword after them, till I have conſumed them. And I will ſet my throne in* Elam, *and will deſtroy from thence the king and the princes, ſaith the Lord* (1).

(1) *Jerem. xlix.* 35—38.

the leaſt intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and beſtowed on the eldeſt of the deceaſed king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all conteſts, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he ſet out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at *Paſargada*, or as *Pliny* calls it *Paſagarda* [i], by the prieſts, who bore a great ſway in the court of *Perſia*. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddeſs of war; where the king uſed firſt of all to cloath himſelf with the garment, which *Cyrus* the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, had wore before he was raiſed to the throne. Being thus attired, he uſed to eat ſome figs with a ſmall quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup of ſour milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whoſe family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all over *Perſia*, the greateſt honour a ſubject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called *Cidaris*, being a kind of turban riſing up with a ſharp point without bending; whereas the other *Perſians* wore turbans bending, in token of ſubjection, down to their foreheads. However, the deſcendants of thoſe who with *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* ſlew the uſurping *Mage*, were allowed to uſe a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other ſubjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing elſe is meant by the word *Diadem* in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead [k]. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only enſign of royalty we find among the *Perſian* kings of the firſt dynaſty. The king's birth-day was kept as ſacred, and celebrated with public ſports and the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by ſhutting the tribunals of juſtice for five days; and that fire, which was worſhipped in private families as a houſehold god, was on that occaſion alone extinguiſhed [l]. The king's abode was according to the ſeaſon, ſeven months at *Babylon*, three at *Suſa*, (C) and two at *Ecbatan* [m]. Whence they

[i] PLIN. l. vi. c. 26. * PLUT. in Artaxerx. [k] DRUS. obſervat. l. xii. c. 12. BRISS. l. i. p. 44. [l] DIODOR. Sicul. l. viii. [m] ZONAR. Annal. l. i.

(C) *Suſa*, called in ſcripture *Shuſhan*, was the metropolis of the province *Suſiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as ſome ſay, the ſon of *Tithonus*,

they are compared by *Ælian* [n] to cranes, and by *Aristotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who, by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise removed sometimes to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last became their ordinary residence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's person, but to give him notice of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were called, some *the king's ears*, others, as *Aristotle* * informs us, *the king's eyes*. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive no-

[n] Ælian. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3. * Arist. l. de mundo.

who was slain by the *Thessalians* in the *Trojan* war (2). *Strabo* (3) and *Pausanias* (4) compare the walls of *Susa* even with those of *Babylon*. *Cassiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polycletus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no less improbable, considering the kings of *Persia* resided there three months in the year, and that great part of the royal treasures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Susa* from the many lillies which grew in that neighbourhood, says *Stephanus*, and in the *Persian* language bore that name. It is also called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7) and others, from its founder *Memnon*. In scripture it is constantly named (8) *the palace*; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Susa* was in antient times a wealthy and magnificent city; *Alexander* found in it 50000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here *Ahasuerus* kept his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouster* or *Suster*.

(2) *Strabo, l. xv. p.* 500. (3) *Strabo, ubi supra.* (4) *Paus. Messen c.* 31. (5) *Ubi supra.* (6) *Diodor. Sic. l. xvii. c.* 66. (7) *Herodot. l. v. c.* 54. (8) *Dan. viii.* 2. *Nehem. i.* 1. *Esth. i.* 2. (9) *Strabo, l.* 15.

tice

tice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

THE king's palace was deemed holy, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and *Herodotus* [o] mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who after the kings of *Persia* was accounted the richest man in the world (D). The body and branches of this vine, says *Athenæus* [p], were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones. It hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his beds head stood always a chest or coffer containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet with three thousand talents [q]; adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon* [r], that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went (E). [s] They drank only *Calybonian* wine made

[o] HERODOT. l. vii. [p] ATHEN. l. xii. vide. BUD. de aff. l. iv. [q] BUDÆUS ubi supra. [r] CIC. de senect. [s] HERODOT. l. i. c. 159.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10), entertained at *Cælene* in *Phrygia Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching against *Greece*, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes* with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand *Darian* pieces or *Darics* to be given to *Pythius*, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave *Cælene* till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the *Choaspes* and the *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pasitigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as

(10) *Herodot. l.* vii. (11) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 27.

made at *Damaſcus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Aſſos* in *Phrygia*, and their ſalt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their public feaſts exceeds, as appears from holy writ [t], what we read of in the hiſtories of other nations. Their table was daily ſerved with ſomewhat of the product of each nation ſubject to them [u]. Among the priſoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damaſcus* were, as *Athenæus* [w] informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the diſhes, 17 who miniſtred water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whoſe province it was to prepare garlands uſed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in banquets. During their repaſt their ears were feaſted with the harmony both of vocal and inſtrumental muſic, and 300 women, of the ſweeteſt and moſt melodious voices, were in conſtant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewiſe their province to lull him aſleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as ſoon as he awaked in the morning [x]. Moſt of the *Perſian* kings were ſo diſſolved in pleaſures, that they ſcarce minded any thing beſide their own ſatisfaction. *Xer-*

[t] Esther. i. [u] Athen. l. viii. [w] Idem. l. xii. [x] Idem. ibid.

we read in *Strabo* (12), ſuppoſes them to be two different ſtreams, though he makes them diſembogue themſelves into the ſame lake. On the other hand, *Salmaſius* (13) takes them to be one and the ſame river under different names; for the *Choaſpes* riſing in *Media* buries itſelf under ground, and again appears not far from *Suſa*; in *Media* he thinks it is called *Choaſpes*, and in the province of *Suſiana Eulæus*. This ſeems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two ſprings of the *Eulæus* (for he no where names the *Choaſpes*) one in *Media* and the other in *Suſiana*. Beſides, *Herodotus* tells us (15), that the *Choaſpes* waſhed the walls of *Suſa*, and that the *Perſian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifeſt, that the *Choaſpes* and *Eulæus* are one and the ſame river at leaſt at *Suſa*, and even *Pliny* (16) and the other writers, who diſtinguiſh them, place the city of *Suſa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*, and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai* mentioned by *Daniel* (17) to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the ſame river ſhould be known in different places by different names; thus the *Danube* was called by the *Latins Danubius* and *Iſter*, the *Weſer Viſurgis* and *Viſurgis*, the *Po Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(12) *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 701. (13) *Salmaſ. in Solin.* p. 493. (14) *Ptol.* l. vi. c. 3. (15) *Herodot.* l. i. c. 153. (16) *Plin. ubi ſupra* (17) *Dan.* viii.

xes

xes was not aſhamed to propoſe, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one that ſhould deviſe a new pleaſure [y]. The king ſeldom admitted others to his table, beſides his wife and mother; ſuch as received this honour were ſo placed as not to ſee, but only be ſeen by, the king; for they thought it was, in ſome degree, a degrading of their majeſty to appear ſubject to the ſame neceſſities with other mortals. This deſire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and ſcarce ever ſuffered them to appear abroad. Their luſt and voluptuouſneſs ſufficiently appears from the book of *Eſther*, and *Tully* [z] adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of ſome of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to ſupply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, *&c.* Nay *Socrates* [a] mentions an ambaſſador, who being ſent into *Perſia* ſpent a whole day in travelling through a country which was called the *Queen's Girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory ſtiled *the Queen's Head-dreſs*.

THE king's children, more eſpecially the eldeſt, were preſently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At ſeven years old they learnt under experienced inſtructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the moſt manly exerciſes; at the age of fourteen they were put under the diſcipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another juſtice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude [b]. *The king's children.*

THE king's ordinary guard conſiſted moſtly of *Perſians*. *Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's perſon, conſiſting of 15000 men, who were called *the king's relations*; there was alſo a body of 10000 choice horſe-men, all *Perſians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *immortal*. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all neceſſaries of life. *The king's guard.*

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Perſian* kings appeared no where greater than on occaſion of the puiblic ſacrifices, at which they often aſſiſted, as we ſhall have occaſion to take notice in the next ſection, as alſo of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in uſe among the *Perſians*. *The manners of the* Perſians.

NOW to ſay ſomething of the cuſtoms and manners of the antient *Perſians*, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A ſon was not admitted to the preſence of his father, but was brought up by *How they educated their children.*

[y] CIC. Tuſc. quæſt. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c 2. [z] CIC. in Ver. act. v. [a] SOCRAT. in PLAT. Alcibiad. [b] XENOPH. l. i. c. 11. BRISSON, Polit.

WOMEN

women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, lest if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *Mages*, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learned also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went a hunting, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the *bow of Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* [c], and the *quiver of Elam* by *Isaiah* [d], as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us [e], *to manage a horse, to use with dexterity the bow, and to speak truth.* A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shew a numerous offspring received yearly presents from the king [f]. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day, before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day, before were approved or rejected [g]. When they met they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other; but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they met or ac-

[c] JER. c. xlix. 35. [d] ISA. c. xxii. 6. [e] HERODOT. l. i.
[f] HERODOT. ubi supra. [g] HERODOT. ibid.

costed

coſted their ſuperiors. They ſhewed moſt value for thoſe that lived next to them, and very little to ſuch as lived at a great diſtance, as if men were more or leſs worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or ſmaller diſtance from them [h]. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign cuſtoms. They no ſooner conquered the *Medes*, but they aſſumed their dreſs; in war they uſed the *Egyptian* armour after they had ſubdued that kingdom; and imitated the *Greeks*, as ſoon as they became acquainted with them, in the worſt of vices, as *Herodotus* himſelf owns [i]. They were indulged many wives, and beſides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, thoſe who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great proweſs, as thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in military exploits. They bore ſuch reſpect to their parents that they thought it impoſſible a man ſhould ever put to death his father or mother, whence no puniſhments were inflicted by their laws on ſuch offenders, and if any one was indicted for committing ſo heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges ſpurious or ſuppoſititious. To affirm a falſhood was accounted the utmoſt infamy, and next to that the being in debt, becauſe it expoſed a man to the neceſſity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leproſy, or any other diſtemper of that nature, he was not permitted to ſtay within the city, nor to converſe with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this puniſhment upon himſelf by committing ſome offence againſt the ſun. All ſtrangers that were ſubject to this diſtemper were expelled the country. Theſe cuſtoms, and ſome others relating to their funerals, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next ſection, we have learned of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

THE moſt ſevere puniſhment in uſe among the *Perſians* was that of ſhutting them up between two boats, which was done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpoſe, ſo even that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other; then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpoſe. In this poſture he was ſupplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thruſting ſharp iron tools into his eyes, to eat what was neceſſary to ſupport nature, leſt he ſhould ſtarve himſelf, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the ſun, they poured honey,

Their puniſhments.

[h] Idem ibid. [i] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

which

which inviting the flies and wasps, they tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel manner of putting to death [k], tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment for killing his brother *Cyrus* *, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their head and right-hand struck off; which sentence was, by order of *Artaxerxes*, executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus* [l]. But by the antient laws of *Persia* the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent; and if his faults were found to over-balance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure, if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely [m]. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Parysatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira* [n].

The *Persians* were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters; thus we are told, that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix* [o] reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardesanes*, which shews, that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in *E-*

[k] Plutarch. in vita Artaxerxis. [l] Plutarch, ibid. [m] Herodot. ubi supr. [n] Plutarch, ubi supr. [o] Arnob. contra gentes.

* *Artaxerxes*, according to *Plutarch* (1), rewarded *Mithridates* for killing his brother *Cyrus*; but put him to this cruel death for boasting of it, being himself desirous to pass for the person who had done it.

(1) *Plutarch in vit. Artax.*

gypt,

gypt, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, as *Euſebius* witneſſes [p], where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named *Maguſſæi*, or, *addicted to magic* [q]. They were the firſt that introduced thoſe amphibious animals called *Eunuchs*, which *Petronius Arbiter* [r] and *Seneca* [s] impute to their inſatiable lechery.

THE firſt that cauſed gold and ſilver to be coined in *Perſia* was *Darius* the ſon of *Cyaxares*, or as he is called in ſcripture *Darius the Mede*, the founder of the *Medo-Perſian* monarchy (F). In his reign were coined thoſe famous pieces of gold called *Darics*, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the eaſt. They were ſtamped on one ſide with an archer, cloathed in a long robe, and crowned with a ſpiked crown, holding a bow in his left-hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other ſide was the effigies of *Darius* [t]. To theſe pieces alluded *Ageſilaus*, when finding himſelf obliged to quit *Aſia* in order to ſuppreſs the tumults, which *Artaxerxes* had by dint of gold ſtirred up in *Greece*, he ſaid, that the king of *Perſia* had driven him out of his dominions, with thirty thouſand archers [u]. The *Darics* were of the ſame weight and value with the *Attic Stater*. *Darius* ſeems to have learned the art and uſe of money of the *Lydians*, for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered *Lydia* [w]; whereas *Cræſus* king of *Lydia* had coined innumerable pieces of gold called *Cræſei*; as it was not reaſonable that the coin of *Lydia* ſhould continue current after the downfal of the kingdom, we may ſuppoſe, that *Darius* recoined the *Cræſei* with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value [x]. All theſe pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the ſame weight and value, by the ſucceeding kings, not only of the *Perſian* but alſo of the *Macedonian* race, were called *Darics* from this *Darius*, in whoſe reign they were firſt coined (G).

Their money.

[p] EUSEB. de Præpar. Evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. [q] Idem. ibid. [r] PETRON. ARB. Satyr. [s] SENECA controver. 4. l. x. [t] PLUTARCH. in Artaxer. [u] PLUTARCH. ibid. [w] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [x] Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s chronolog. p. 320.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the ſcholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* (18), that the firſt pieces of gold were coined not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who muſt neceſſarily have been *Darius* the ſon of *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, ſince we know of no other *Darius* reigning ſo early in the eaſt.

(G) In thoſe parts of ſcripture that were wrote after the *Baboniſh* captivity (19), theſe pieces are mentioned by the name of

(18) *Harpocr. Scholiaſt. Ariſtoph. p.* 741, 742. *Suidas in* Δαρεικός.
(19) 1 *Chron. xxix.* 7. *Ezra. viii.* 27.

Their arts, ſciences, &c.

There was, it ſeems, no great learning among the *Perſians* before the time of *Zoroaſtres*, whom the *Perſians* call *Zerduſht* or *Zaratuſh*, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and was the great mathematician and philoſopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages*, being inſtructed in the mathematics, aſtronomy, and natural philoſophy, partly by him, and partly by *Hyſtaſpes* the father of *Darius*, were reputed above all others ſkilled in thoſe arts. *Hyſtaſpes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there ſome time among the *Brachmans*, in order to learn their myſteries and ſciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the *Mages* what he had learned, improving that ſect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge [y]. But this ſubject ſhall be treated more at length in the following ſection, we ſhall only add here, that this knowledge was locked up among the prieſts, and ſeldom communicated to any, except thoſe of the royal family, whom they were bound to inſtruct [z].

Their trade and navigation.

The poverty of the antient *Perſians*, and their contempt of riches, ſhews them to have been quite ſtrangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a proſpect of gain. Before the conqueſt of *Lydia* they had no money, nor any cloathing but ſkins; they uſed water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the ſpeech of *Sandanis* diſſuading *Cræſus* from invading *Perſia* [a]. After they ſubdued *Lydia*, and were maſters of ſo many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to ſupply themſelves with thoſe commodities which their country wanted, and at the ſame time diſpoſe of their own productions. But as we can advance nothing with reſpect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject, and haſten to their military diſcipline.

[y] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. [z] Plato in Alcibiad. i. Stobæus 496. Clem. Alexand. in Pædagogo. [a] Herodot. l. i. c 71.

Adarkonim, and by the *Talmudiſts* are called (20) *Darkomoth*, both from the *Greek* Δαρικοὶ, that is *Darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius* during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was abſent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard* a *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(20) *Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbinic. p.* 577.

The

THE *Perſians* learned from their childhood to ride and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exerciſe of hunting inured themſelves to the toils of war [b]. They never parted with their ſwords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repoſe, and had them even then always ready at hand [c]; which cuſtoms the *Romans*, who never uſed any weapons but in the field, looked upon as unbecoming a civilized nation [d]. As ſoon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themſelves in the liſt of ſoldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty [e]. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except ſuch as were diſabled by age, to appear under their reſpective colours, and attend the king in his expeditions [f] (H). They uſed no mercenaries in the time of *Herodianus* [g], nor maintained *Their ſoldiery.*

[b] STRABO, l. xv. [c] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23. [d] OVID. Triſt. l. 5. [e] STRABO, l. xv. [f] HEROD. l. iv. [g] HERODIAN. l. iii.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Suſa* with his forces againſt the *Scythians*, *OEobazus*, a noble *Perſian*, who had three ſons in his army, begged, that one of his ſons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and told him, that he would grant him more than he aſked, for he deſigned to leave him all his ſons. This anſwer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word. *OEobazus* was ſcarce departed, when *Darius* commanded the officers appointed for ſuch purpoſes to put all his ſons to death, and ſent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's houſe (21). We have another, ſtill more dreadful, inſtance of the *Perſian* ſeverity on ſuch occaſions; *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence *Xerxes* and all his army, and offered him two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thouſand pieces of gold to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on againſt *Greece*. The king was ſo taken with his zeal and affection, that he promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. *Pythius* had then no requeſt to make; but ſome time after being frightened with an eclipſe of the ſun, and confiding in the merit of his liberal offer, and the king's unlimited promiſe, entreated him to diſcharge the eldeſt of his five ſons who were all in his army, that he might have ſome body to take care of himſelf in his old age and of his eſtate. He had no ſooner uttered this requeſt, but the king, tranſported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promiſe and the former merits of *Pythius*, comman-

(21) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Senecæ, de ira l.* iii. *c.* 16.

tained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

Their armour and discipline.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they wore short swords (H2) hanging from a belt on the right side [h]. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon* [i], *Curtius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*; however, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Roman* arrows [*]. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they passed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they past muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets; when they were all past, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient custom conti-

[h] Herodot. l. vii. Xenoph. l. vii. [i] Xenoph. l. viii. c. 190. [*] Procop. l. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18.

ded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Persian* discipline, to exempt one's self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H2) They wore rather daggers than swords; for *Josephus* (24) compares them to the poignards used by ruffians, and *Darius*, finding in his first engagement with *Alexander* that the length of the *Macedonian* swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the *Persian* swords, or *Acinaces* as the *Latins* call them, to be considerably lengthened (25).

(22) *Herodot. l.* vii. *Seneca, de ira. l.* iii. *c.* 17. (24) *Joseph. Antiquitat. l.* xx. *c.* 7. (25) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii.

nued

nued even in the time of *Procopius* [k]. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies [l]. They excelled all nations in horſemanſhip, being accuſtomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was diſreputable ever to appear in public but on horſe-back; on horſe-back they tranſacted all their private and public affairs, held their aſſemblies, viſited their friends, &c. [m]. This cuſtom in proceſs of time began to degenerate into luxury, the *Perſians* ſtriving to outdo each other in the richneſs of their capariſons, their very horſes, as *Dionyſius* expreſſes it [n], champing the pureſt gold. They fought not only on horſe-back, but likewiſe from chariots drawn by four, ſix, and ſometimes eight horſes [o]. They were the firſt, if we believe *Xenophon* [p], that introduced the uſe of chariots armed with ſcythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp [q], which cuſtom was obſerved amongſt all the eaſtern nations; their preſence, they thought, inſpired them with courage, ſince they were to loſe at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their proviſions and baggage were carried on camels, the ſoldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their arms [r]. In what manner they marched we learn from *Herodotus*, who deſcribes the march of *Xerxes*'s army thus [s]. The baggage, whether carried by ſervants or beaſts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without diſtinction. Between theſe and the reſt of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thouſand horſe-men,

[k] PROCOP. ubi ſupra. [l] HERODOT. l. ix. XENOPH. l. vii. p. 136. PLUT. in Artaxerxe. [m] XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 3. [n] DIONYS. de ſitu orbis. [o] XENOPH. l. vi. p. 124. [p] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem. [q] CURT. l. iii. 8. 12. XENOPH. l. iv. p. 76. [r] HERODOT. l. viii. [s] HERODOT. l. vii.

(I) *Xenophon* aſcribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with ſcythes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us out of *Cteſias*, that *Semiramis*, in the war which ſhe waged with the *Bactrians*, had in her army 700 chariots armed with ſcythes (27), and ſeems to make the *Aſſyrian* kings the firſt inventers of them. Whence it is plain, both from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Heſychius* was miſtaken when he aſcribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(26) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. *prope finem.* (27) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iii.

and

and the like number of ſpear-men with their ſpears pointing downwards. After theſe came ten great horſes, bred in the plains of *Media* called the *Niſean plains* (K), capariſoned with rich furniture, being conſecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horſes, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the ſeat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king in a chariot drawn by *Niſean* horſes. A thouſand choſen ſpear-men, all *Perſians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horſe, conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men of the ſame nation. After the horſe ten thouſand *Perſian* foot advanced, and of theſe one thouſand armed with javelins, which, inſtead of the common ornaments, were embelliſhed with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thouſand had pomegranates of ſilver. The ten thouſand foot were followed by ten thouſand *Perſian* horſe, and at the diſtance of two ſtades. The reſt of the forces advanced promiſcuouſly. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thouſand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as they poſſibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they cauſed the like number to enter the ground, and continued ſo doing till the whole army was computed [t]. When they intended to make war upon any nation they ſent heralds or ambaſſadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to ſubmit and acknowledge the king of *Perſia* as the ſovereign lord of their country [u] (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of

Their reviews, manner of declaring war, &c.

[t] Herodot. l. vii. [u] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Herod. l. iv.

(K) The *Miſean* or *Niſean* fields in *Media* are celebrated by all the antients for the large, ſtrong, and fleet horſes that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Perſian* monarchs uſed after they were maſters of that country.

(L) Some have erroneouſly imagined, that by this demand nothing elſe was meant, but that thoſe to whom it was directed ſhould furniſh the *Perſian* army with ſuch a quantity of proviſions. But the contrary is plain from all the antients, eſpecially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Indathyrſus* king of *Scythia* commanding him to own *the king of* Perſia *for his ſovereign, and to preſent him with earth and water in token of his ſubmiſſion*. To this meſſage the *Scythian* returned anſwer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor, and *Veſta* queen of the *Scythians*, and that, inſtead of preſenting him with earth and water, he would ſend him ſuch a

(28) *Herodot. l.* vii. *Ammian. Mar. l.* xxiii. *Themiſtius Orat.* v. *&c.*

preſent

of the *Medes*, as *Plutarch* informs us, and the *Medes* ſeem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Aſſyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* [w], uſed in that manner to require an entire ſubmiſſion. In time of action the king was always in the center [x], and uſed to encourage his men with a ſpeech [y]. The ſignal was given with the ſound of trumpets, and followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army [z]. The watch-word was in uſe even among them, for *Xenophon*, ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, tells us, that his was, *Jupiter our leader and protector* [a]. The royal banner was a ſpread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long ſpear [b]. They reckoned thoſe happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as abandoned their poſts, or fled from their colours [c]. They uſed no ſtratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour [d], or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expreſſes it, thought it unfair and baſe to ſteal a victory [e]. They never fought in the night, unleſs attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the riſing of the ſun [f]. Duels or ſingle combats were in uſe among them, as is plain from the ſtories of *Darius* [g] and *Polydamas* [h]. This is what we have been able to gather, from unqueſtionable authorities, relating to the military diſcipline of the antient *Perſians*.

[w] JUDITH. c. ii. 7. [x] XENOPH. l. i. Ἀνάβασ. [y] STOBÆUS. ſer. xlii. CURT. &c. [z] CURT. l. iii. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. [a] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. [b] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. PHILOSTRAT. Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. [c] PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxiii. [d] JUSTIN. l. xi. [e] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xvii. [f] CURT. l. v. 12. 6. [g] DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. [h] PAUSANIAS. in Eliac.

preſent as he deſerved, and perhaps might make him repent of his inſolence in aſſuming the title of his maſter. And accordingly he ſent him ſometime after a meſſenger to preſent him on his part with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit ſubmiſſion, and a giving him poſſeſſion of the land and water; for, ſaid he, the mouſe is bred in the earth and lives on the ſame food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horſe, and by the arrows they ſeem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobryas* was of opinion, that the king of *Scythia* gave them to underſtand by ſuch a preſent, that unleſs the *Perſians* could aſcend into the air like a bird, or conceal themſelves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they ſhould inevitably periſh by thoſe arrows (29).

(29) *Herodot. l. iv.*

Their laws.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever [i], and observes, that other law-givers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was to inspire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to public schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not under the care of common mercenary masters, but governed by men of the first quality and best characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for these schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practising of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water [k], at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in these schools were excluded from all honours and preferments [l] (M). There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity [m] (N). When any one went to give advice

[i] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. i, xli. Cic. l. 5. Tusculan. quæst. [k] Xenoph. ibid. Justin. l. ibid. Ammian. Marcel. l. iii. 5. [l] Xenoph. ibid. [m] Xenoph. ibid. Themistocles, orat. 3.

(M) These schools the *Persians* called *Liberal markets*; for they allowed no public place for buying or selling, as appears from *Cyrus*'s answer to the *Lacedemonians*, telling them, that he was not afraid of those who in the midst of their cities have a place of public resort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds *Herodotus* (30), were levelled at all the *Greeks*, who in every city had some public place for buying and selling, whereas the *Persians* allow of no such places, nor any place at all of public resort.

(N) *Seneca* therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gente*, says he, *non est in ullâ data adversus in-*

(30) *Herodot. l.* i.

advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in propoſing his opinion he ſtood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholſome, if otherwiſe, he was publicly whipt [n].

BEFORE we cloſe this ſection, we ſhall add ſome particulars, relating to the *Perſian* kings, gathered from the beſt authors. The kings of *Perſia* were above all others the moſt arbitrary and abſolute, and looked upon their ſubjects, however diſtinguiſhed by birth or fortune, as the meaneſt of ſlaves. None, their own children not excepted, durſt addreſs them with any other title, but that of *Lord*, *great king*, *king of kings* [o]; which high-ſounding titles they ſeem to have borrowed from the *Aſſyrians*; for *Daniel*.[p] in ſpeaking to *Nubuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Perſians* imitated in this the haughtineſs of the *Aſſyrians*, ſo did the *Parthians* that of the *Perſians* [q], and continued this ſtyle even to the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himſelf, *king of kings*, *partaker of the ſtars*, *brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. But to return to the *Perſian* kings, as they aſſumed high titles to themſelves, ſo they beſtowed no other on their ſubjects, by what dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, but that of ſlaves [r]; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other reſpects as arrant ſlaves. To this ſpirit of ſlavery, which is inconſiſtent with true courage, *Plato* aſcribes the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy [s]. This ſpirit of ſlavery prevailed to ſuch a degree among the *Perſians*, that even thoſe who were by the king's order publicly whipt, uſed to return him thanks for vouchſafing to remember them [t]. Whoever betrayed the leaſt reluctancy to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult ſoever, was ſure to forfeit his head and right arm [u]. The cuſtom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the ſame level with the gods, is by *Juſtin* [w] fathered upon *Cyrus the great*.

[n] ÆLIAN var. hiſtor. l. xii. c. 12. [o] DIO. CHRYS. orat. 3. de regno. ARRIAN. l. vi. STRABO, xv. EZRA. [p] DAN. ii. 37. [q] PLUTARCH in Pomp & Lucullo. [r] XENOPH. l. i. Ἀνάβασ. Q CURT. l. v. ARISTOT. de Mundo. EZRA, c. iv. 12. [s] PLATO. lib. iii de Legib. [t] STOBÆUS ſerm. xii. [u] STRABO l. xv. p. 733. [w] JUSTIN. c. iv. l. xi.

gratos aſſio (31), that is, in no nation, except the *Macedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where ſome read *Medorum* inſtead of *Macedonum*, but all the antient copies have *Macedonum*.

(31) *Seneca, de Benefic. l.* iii. *c.* 6.

None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's ears were open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs [x]. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai* [y]; nay, even to their statues and images, for *Philostratus* acquaints us, that in the time of *Apollonius* a golden statue of the king was presented to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates [z]. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever* [a], *Let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the

[x] Plutarch. in Themist. [y] Esther iii. 2. [z] Philostrat. l. i. de vita Apollonii. [a] Ælian. var histor. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii. 3. Daniel. c. vi. 6.

(O) *Q. Curtius* tells us (32), that when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabaxa*, one of his soldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, so benumbed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use of both his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but starting up, and with his own hands pulling off his armour, he placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again when he found himself seated in the royal chair, and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying, *Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the* Persians *under their king; had you rested in the* Persian *king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine has saved it*. Hence it was, that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(32) *Q. Curt. l.* viii. (33) *Herodot. l.* vii.

apparel

apparel which he had used, (P) to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q), to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king (R), were all capital crimes [b]. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells us [c], could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives choosing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. Nobody, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, *&c.* others milk, cheese, dates, *&c.* every one according to his ability [d] (S). THE

[b] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. VAL. MAXIM. l. v. c. 16. Q. CURT. c. xviii. FRONTIN. Stratagem. c. vi. PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & Themist. [c] Q. CURT. l. iv. & AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxi. [d] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 31.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us (34) that one *Tiribazus*, who was very familiar with *Artaxerxes*, whom he used to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Tiribazus*, not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, soon after appeared in it at court, which the *Persians* resenting, as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him by telling them, that he had commanded *Tiribazus* to appear in that garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to have a private conference with *Artaxerxes*, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being observed by the *Persians*, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Artaxerxes Macrocbir* (36) or *Longimanus*.

(S) We read in *Plutarch* (37) and *Ælian* (38) of one *Sinetus* a *Persian*, who meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from

(34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (36) *Plutarch. in Apophthegmat.* (37) *Plutarch. in Artaxer. & apophthegmat.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l.* i. *c.* 32.

How they administered justice.

The *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vitious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence [e]. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed [f] (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads, that the strings, with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons [g]. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom.

[e] Philostrat. l. i de vita Apollon. Ehiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. [f] Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. [g] Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & apophthegmat. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxx.

his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river *Cyrus*, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(T) To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39), that *Darius* having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deserts over-ballanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been overhasty in a matter of the utmost consequence, *but it was not in his power to undo what he had done* (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(39) *Herodot. l.* vii (40) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiv. (41) *Diodor. Sicul l* xii. (42) *Xenoph l.* i. Ἀναβασ *p.* 205.

dom.

dom. Theſe were called *royal judges*, they adminiſtered juſtice at ſtated times in different provinces, and ſome of them attended the king whither ſoever he went [h]. The king often adviſed with them, and in matters concerning himſelf referred the whole to their judgment [i]. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer ſuch only as were famed for their integrity (U).

THE *Perſian* kings had ſeveral wives, beſides what number of concubines they pleaſed. *Darius* maintained as many as the days of the year [k]. *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children [l]. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn [m], whence ſome have concluded, that the antient *Perſian* year conſiſted of 360 days, ſeeing that ſeveral of the *Perſian* monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in conſtant courſes [n] (W). *Their concubines.*

WE

[h] ÆLIAN var. hiſtor. c. xxxiv. [i] HERODOT. l. iii. [k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. [l] JUSTIN. l. x. c. 1. [m] ESTHER, ii. 12--15. [n] See *Whiſton*'s theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raiſed one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Perſian*, but a *Mede* by birth, for having condemned his own ſon to death, according to the power which parents had in thoſe days over their children. And *Cambyſes* being informed, that one of the Judges had received a bribe, cauſed him upon conviction to be flayed alive, and having covered the ſeat, on which he pronounced the unjuſt ſentence, with his ſkin, appointed his ſon in his room, ordering him to ſit in the ſame chair when he pronounced ſentence (44). Theſe judges according to *Joſephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were ſeven in number, which they gather from the commiſſion of *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, who *was ſent of the king and his ſeven counſellors* (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs: but we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſame writer ſhould alledge the authority of *Q. Curtius* to prove, that the antient *Perſian* year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in expreſs terms, that the *Perſian* year conſiſted of 365 days; his words are, *Magos trecenti & ſexaginta quinque juvenes ſequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Perſis quoque in totidem dies deſcriptus eſt annus* (48); that is, the *Magi* were followed by 365 youths, anſwering in number to the days of the year; for among the *Perſians* too the year is divided into 365 days. But *Curtius*

(43) *Ælian var. hiſtor. l.* i. *c.* xxxiv. (44) *Herodot. l.* v. *Val. Max. l.* vi *c* 3. (45) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (46) *Zonar. tom. l.* (47) *Ezra c.* vii. *v.* 14. (48) *Q. Curtius* iii. 3. 8. *& ſeq.*

in

Their revenues.

We shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and prophane; and from the great sums, which *Alexander* found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of *Damascus* he found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Susa* 40,000 and 9000 *Darics*, in *Persepolis* 120,000, in *Pasargada* 6000, in *Ecbatan* 180,000 [o]. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspes*. For, during the reigns of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Persians* gave *Darius* the nick-name of *Merchant*. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus* [p], amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents [q], besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Asia* only, but in process of time the islands and several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed, which encreased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe *Justin* [r], *Alexander*, after the conquest of *Persia*, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The *Persian* kings preserved their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary [s]. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes; but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and,

[o] Curt. l. v. Diodor. Sic. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. Plutarch. in Alexand. [p] Herodot. l. iii. [q] See the preface to the first volume. [r] Justin. l. xiii. c. 1. [s] Herodot. ubi supra.

in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken, since *Herodotus*, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which *Darius Hystaspes* laid on the provinces subject to the *Persian* empire, says, *that the* Cilicians *were obliged to furnish* Darius *with* 360 *white horses, that is, one for every day of the year* (49),

(49) *Herodot. l.* iii.

in

in time of war, of his army [t]. Thus the provinces of *Syrene* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the *Satrapæ* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made a present every third year of two *Chænixes* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size. The *Colchians* or *Colghi* presented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, &c. [u]. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hasten to the most entertaining and important part of the *Persian* history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

SECT. III.

Of the Religion of the Persians.

The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.

THERE is hardly any subject, which hath employed the pens of authors antient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers [z], is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having subsisted now some thousand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are still extant of the religion of the antient *Persians*, are far

[t] Herodot. ubi supra. Strabo, l. xv. Xenoph. l. iv. Ἀνάβασ, p. 261. [u] Herodot. ubi supra. [z] Vid. Hist. Relig. veter. Persar. per Thomam Hyde, 4to. Oxon. 1700. The religion of the *Persees* by Hen. Lord, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l' Etat. present de Perse par Sanson, Paris, 1695. Hist. of Chaldaic Philosophy by Thomas Stanley, Book ii. p. 67. Folio, London, 1662. Philos. General. per Theoph. Galeum, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, by Dean Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, Lond. 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, &c.

(X) *Chænix* was a *Greek* measure containing such a quantity of wheat as served a man one day.

from

from corresponding exactly ; and the descriptions, which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in *Persia* and *India*, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations (A).

In

(A) The accounts, we have of the *Persian* religion, are, as we have stated them above, of two sorts ; first, such as have been collected from books ; and these again may be divided into two classes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from *Oriental* historians ; the second consists of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the present *Persians*, who themselves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practise the religion of their ancestors with little or no variation. As to such as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we shall frequently have occasion to shew, prodigiously misled in their opinions, confidently enough delivered on this subject. For as to the *Greek* writers, such as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewise under this disadvantage, that being polytheists themselves, they of course conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the *Persians* worshipped the fire, because they prayed before it ; the air, because in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it ; and the sun, because they professed to reverence it (1) ; nor was this all, they forged, for the sake of making their histories uniform, such sacrifices and other religious rites, as seemed to them correspondent with the notions which they had framed of the *Persian* religion, and attributed them to the *Persians*. Thus *Herodotus*, speaking of the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impossible things of the *Magi*, with as much boldness as if he had been an eye-witness of them. " The " country (says he) that lies about the mountain *Pangæus* is called " *Phillis*, on the west side extending to the river *Angites*, which " falls into the *Strymon* itself. At their arrival the *Magi* offered " a sacrifice of white horses to this river ; and after they had thrown " them into the stream with a composition of various drugs, the " army broke up, and marched to the *Nine Ways* of the *Edonians*, " where they found bridges prepared for their passage over the " *Strymon*. But being informed that this place was called by the " name of the *Nine Ways*, they took nine of the sons and daugh- " ters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the manner of " the *Persians* is. And I have heard, that *Amestris*, the wife of " *Xerxes*, having attained to a considerable age, caused fourteen

(1) *Herodotus, Clio, p.* 25 *Strab. Geograph. lib.* xv. *Diog. Laertius, in Proem.*

" children

IF we had ſtill any conſiderable collection of the antient *Perſian* records, we ſhould doubtleſs find in them what would ſatisfy

" children of the beſt families in *Perſia* to be interred alive, for " a ſacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they ſay, is beneath the " earth (2)." We have ſhewn in the text, that the *Perſians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they ſacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running ſtream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which conſiſted in preſerving the purity of thoſe elements, and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcaſes; and in reſpect to ſacrifices, *Herodotus* himſelf in another place acknowledges as much (3). Q. *Curtius* with like hardineſs deſcribes the chariot of *Darius*, in which he appeared in the field againſt *Alexander*; " it was adorned (ſays he) with images of " their gods in ſilver and gold, the axle-tree thereof glittered " with precious ſtones; upon it were two images of gold, the one " repreſenting *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a cubit ſtature each; " between them was an eagle of gold diſplaying her wings over " both, *&c.* (4)". All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worſhipped by the *Perſians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worſhip them; what makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventer of this whole ſtory, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, ſays not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other antient hiſtorian; but *Curtius* was ſo great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but, on the contrary, loaded all his deſcriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the *Perſians*, or as ſome call them *Perſees*, ſince they very ſeldom agree exactly, even in their deſcriptions of leſs intricate things than theſe. As for *Henry Lord*, whoſe ſmall treatiſe in relation to theſe people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely becauſe he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is ſcarce poſſible to determine from what he ſays, whether they are idolaters or no; he calls them ſo, it is true, and ſpeaks of their worſhipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which conſiſts of what he heard from one of their prieſts, contains nothing which can juſtify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it neceſſary to peruſe, and ſhall on occaſion make uſe of, whatever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers concerning the *Perſees*, their tenets and cuſtoms; but it is our happineſs to follow a more capable guide than any of theſe;

(2) *Herodotus Polyhimn. p.* 183. (3) *Clio. p.* 25. (4) Q. *Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. (5) *lib.* ii. *cap.* 11. (6) *Lord's hiſtory of the Perſees, p.* 10. 44.

ſatisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wiſe men ; but as theſe are moſt of them either long ſince deſtroyed, or at leaſt are hidden from us, we muſt be content to follow ſuch lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader underſtand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Perſians* have preſerved the worſhip of one God, and other eſſential articles of true religion [b], through a long courſe of ages, without ſuffering themſelves to be drawn over by fraud, or ſubmitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their maſters ; a thing ſingular, and in ſome ſort commendable, if we conſider how much they have been depreſſed, ſince the death of *Yezdegherd*, the laſt king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them and chriſtians, with like contempt, *infidels*. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reaſonable than the ill connected legends of the *Arabian* impoſtor ; and though the modern *Perſians* (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil ſenſe) are unanimouſly acknowledged to be as honeſt, as charitable, and inoffenſive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have juſt reaſon to believe, they will at laſt acknowledge the truth of the goſpel diſpenſation, and be included within the pale of the chriſtian church *(B)*.

We

[b] Hiſt. relig. veter. Perſ. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 360.

theſe, the very learned and judicious doctor *Thomas Hyde* ; who, from the mighty ſtores of various learning which he poſſeſſed, as well as from the curious obſervations he in his travels had made, compoſed his valuable hiſtory of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, wherein every thing he lays down is ſupported by antient monuments, or by the expreſs authority of that law which this people profeſſed to have received from *Zerduſht*, a compendium of whoſe writings contained in the book *Sad der*, the *Enchiridion* of the modern *Perſees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatiſe (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into *Perſia*, the antient inhabitants have been expoſed to various perſecutions on account of their religion ; for the *Mohammedans* being generally ſpeaking bigots, they are not content with giving theſe unhappy men always ill language, but on every occaſion are ſtirring up

(7) *Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroaſtris Præcepta & Canones continens In uſum Eccleſiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.*

their

WE have heretofore ſhewn, that the original inhabitants of *Perſia* deſcended from *Elam* the ſon of *Shem* [c], and from thoſe *Origin of the* Perſian *religion.*

[c] Vol. I. p. 360.

their princes to oppreſs and deſtroy, under colour of religion, theſe relicts of the antient *Perſians*. It is true, the *Mohammedan Perſians* have in all ages had among them ſome men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever inquired thoroughly into the doctrines of theſe poor people; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to load them with opprobrious names, and ſuch as they no way deſerve; thus they call them *Nogueſha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or *deſerter of the true faith*; *Ghebri*, i. e. *infidel*; this word is as differently ſpelt as it is differently pronounced, the moſt uſual way of writing it is *Ghaur*; they likewiſe ſtile an antient *Perſian Ateſh-pereſt*, i. e. *fire-worſhipper*; *Philiv* or *Caliv*, i. e. *fool* or *madman*; the moſt gentle term they make uſe of is *Mogh*, that is, *Magian*, but then they frequently ſay that a *Mogh* is *Ateſh-pereſt* and *Zindik*, that is, *a fire-worſhipper* and a *Sadducee*; for among other calumnies with which they load theſe poor men, that of denying a future ſtate is one; however, though they may amongſt themſelves deſtroy their good name, yet with ſtrangers their aſperſions do the *Perſians* no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of theſe poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and eſteem: it would be an eaſy matter to ſupport all that has been advanced in this note, by quotations from the beſt accounts we have of *Perſia* and the *Indies*; but, inſtead of fatiguing the reader, it may perhaps anſwer the ſame end, if we here ſet down the five precepts which theſe *Perſians* acknowledge as the rule of life, which every *Behedin* or *Lay-man* is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. *Lord*.

I. "To have ſhame ever with them, as a remedy againſt all ſin; "for a man would never oppreſs his inferiors, if he had any ſhame; "a man would never ſteal, if he had any ſhame; a man would "never bear falſe witneſs, if he had any ſhame; a man would "never be overcome with drink, if he had any ſhame. But be- "cauſe this is laid aſide, men are ready to commit any of theſe, "and therefore the *Behedin* or *Lay-man* muſt think of ſhame.

II. "To have fear always preſent with them, and that every "time the eye twinkled or cloſed its lids together, they ſhould "ſtand in fear at thoſe times of their prayers, leſt they ſhould not "go to heaven; the thought of which ſhould make them fear to "commit ſin, for that God ſees what manner of ones they are, "that look up towards him.

III. "That whenſoever they are to do any thing, to think "whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether "commanded or forbidden in the *Zundavaſtaw*; if prohibited, "they muſt not do it; if allowed by the book of religion, they "may embrace and proſecute the ſame.

IV. "That whoſoever of God's creatures they ſhould firſt be- "hold

thoſe two patriarchs, it is moſt probable, they derived the true religion, which at firſt flouriſhed amongſt them with the utmoſt purity, but in proceſs of time was corrupted by an intermixture of ſuperſtitious rites and heretical opinions, at ſuch time as the reſt of the oriental nations were overſpread with that deluge of falſe religion, which generally goes under the name of *Zabiiſm.* From which ſome affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they ſay, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the ſuperfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more pure and in the ſame condition, wherein he tranſmitted it to his own deſcendants[d]. But if this were ſo, they were a ſecond time corrupted and ingaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in ſuperſtitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconſiſtent with the true faith (C).

The Perſians *pretend to derive their religion from* Abraham.

They were always zelous in the ſervice of One God.

However the ſplendor of their religion might be darkend with theſe ſpots, yet it was never ſo far obſcured as to admit any degree of compariſon between it and the worſhip of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*); for the *Perſians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wiſe and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipreſent, ſo that they

[d] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 313.

" hold in the morning, it ſhould be a monitor to put them in mind " of their thankſgivings to God, that had given ſuch good things " for mens ſervice and uſe.

V. " That whenſoever they pray by day they ſhould turn their " faces towards the ſun, and whenſoever they prayed by night " they ſhould incline towards the moon; for that they are the two " great lights of heaven, and God's two witneſſes: moſt contrary " to *Lucifer*, who loveth darkneſs more than light."

(C) That the *Perſian* religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its firſt principles and ſuffered by the introduction of ſome ſuperſtitions, cannot ſeem ſtrange to any conſiderate perſon. The *Perſians* themſelves confeſs it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver *Zerduſht* came to reſtore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away thoſe errors which time and the induſtry of *Zabian* heretics had introduced. In what theſe errors conſiſted, the ſuperſtitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it coſt this reſtorer of magiſm to root theſe fooliſh ſuperſtitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaſter* or *Zerduſht*, which we ſhall give the reader at large in our hiſtory of the *Perſians* from the *Oriental* writers, under the reign of that monarch in whoſe days he flouriſhed; for to have inſerted ſo long a digreſſion here, muſt have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the ſame time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the ſubſequent hiſtory.

could

could not bear, that he ſhould be repreſented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the univerſe ſhould be circumſcribed within the narrow bounds of temples[e]; on this account they overturned the ſtatues and places of public worſhip among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the deity, and not from any ſacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the antient *Perſian* empire, the worſhip of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the *Magi*[f], who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one God*, and took care to tranſmit it religiouſly to their poſterity.

An account of the nature of that reſpect ſhewn by them to fire and to the ſun.

THE only objection, to which the antient and modern *Perſians* have rendered themſelves liable, flows from the reſpect which they have conſtantly paid to fire and to the ſun: yet if this matter be ſeriouſly and impartially conſidered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this reſpect of theirs, but that they only worſhip God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they ſhould have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the reſt, to be the ſymbol to them of the divine nature, will appear leſs extraordinary, if we conſider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jeruſalem*[g], that God revealed himſelf to *Moſes* by a flame in a buſh[h], and choſe to teſtify his preſence in the hoſt of *Iſrael* by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of ſmoke in the day[i]. As to their veneration of the ſun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the nobleſt creature of the Almighty viſible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the miſtakes of antient writers, or at the ſtories told us by ſome *Mohammedan* authors, on this head, ſince it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious tenets and cuſtoms of this people, becauſe they were forbidden by their legiſlator *Zoroaſter* or *Zerduſht*, as appears from the book *Sad-der*, to teach either their antient language, or its character, to ſtrangers, or to inſtruct them in their religion[k]. If any further regard had been had to the ſun in antient times, it would certainly have deſcended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Perſians*; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde*

[e] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 3. HERODOT. Clio, p. 25. [f] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 90. [g] 2 CHRON. vii. 1. LEVIT. x. 1. [h] EXOD. iii. 2. ACTS vii. 30. [i] EXOD. xiii. 21. NUMB. xiv. 14. NEH. ix. 12. PSALM. lxxviii. 14. 1 COR. x. 1. [k] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. P. 5.

aſſures

assures us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of *Mithra*, (so the *Persians* call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the *Persians* settled in *India*, *At what seasons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the sun?* They answered, *That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked on it to come nearest to the nature of fire.* the same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of *Zoroaster*, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *Niyâsh*, i. e. *salutations*, consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of *Prestish*, i. e. *worship*, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration; for the *Persian Mohammedans*, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the *Armenians*, who dwell in *Persia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun [t]. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing the body, was even among the *Hebrews* a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to speak more properly, the same word, *viz.* השתחויה *Hishtahhavaah* was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple [u]; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols; but as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect these *Persians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the *Oriental* nations, since the sun is no more than the *Kibla* of the *Persians*, as the temple of *Jerusalem* is to the *Jews* and that of *Mecca* to the *Mohammedans*, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca* [w] from whatever place they are in (D).

As

[t] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. & 6. [u] Iarchi sup. Levit. xxvi. 1. [w] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 95.

(D) It may seem strange, how so odd a notion as this of the peculiar sanctity of one point of the compass ever established itself in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion so universally received as it is at present. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learned

As to the notions which the *Perſians* have of the ſun, they are not, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; ſome believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the ſeat of paradiſe; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradiſe, but praying nevertheleſs towards the ſun, as a ſymbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the *Perſians* never called *Mithra* a god, or aſcribed to it any name of the divinity; and ſo far from directing any petitions thereto, they conſtantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the ſun with the praiſes of the moſt high god, to whom alone their prayers are addreſſed [o]. As to the fire, before whom the *Perſians* worſhip, taking that word in an extended ſenſe, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, eſteeming it a ſymbol of the deity, they firſt proſtrate themſelves before it, and then ſtanding up they pray to GOD. Thus among the ruins of the antient palace at *Perſepolis* there are ſeen many marble ſtatues of kings, ſtanding praying to God before the figures of the ſun and fire, which are alſo placed on the wall before them, only one figure is ſeen kneeling with the ſame ſymbols before it as the reſt. As the fire in the temple was reputed ſacred among the *Jews*, ſo the *Perſians* might from them take this cuſtom of praying before ſacred fires; which is the more likely, ſince it was the manner of God's choſen people to proſtrate themſelves before the altar, and then, to offer up their petitions. It was alſo a cuſtom among the *Perſians*, to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which alſo they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preſerving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which laſt caſe the *Perſians* went ſo far as to puniſh offenders with death. Their kings alſo and principal perſons were wont ſometimes to feed the ſacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, ſtiling theſe *Epulæ Ignis*, or *fire dainties* [p]; but ſtill all things done to or by fire were performed to the

The Mithra *of the* Perſians *never eſteemed a deity.*

[o] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. v. [p] HYDE, c. xxii. p. 290.

ed Mr. *John Gregory* of *Oxford* (8), who, in treating of two texts of ſcripture which ſeem to have ſome relation to this point (9), hath ſhewn a conſummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for ſuch intricate and abſtruſe inquiries. For us it is ſufficient, that the fact is as we have ſtated it, ſince, whether it be right or wrong, the *Perſians* muſt be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(8) *4to, London, A D.* 1684. *p.* 73. [q] *Hab.* iii. 8. *vid.* 12.

however

honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurrent testimonies of *Persic* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion (E). There

(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this; *Whether the antient* Persians *had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not?* and what degree of evidence there is on each side, it may seem surprising, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elsewhere tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the *Persians* on hear-say, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour; for he owns, that the antient *Persians* had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifestly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of spleen against *Xerxes* and his successors, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon*'s authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had wrote decisively, and spoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the *Persians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded the r laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the *Persians* (11). *Plutarch*, in a passage hereafter more fully cited, speaks very respectfully of *Zoroaster*, and ascribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the antients who asserted two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a dæmon from whom all evil proceeded; this, says he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaster*, who flourished four thousand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the *Magi*, which we shall have occasion to insert in our text. Dr. *Hyde* has produced an authentic relation of the sentiments of the antient *Persians* on this subject, as collected from their successors the *Persees* settled in *India*, an abstract of which will likewise be inserted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruse the whole of it in the treatise of the excellent author beforementioned. In the same place may be found the testimony of *Sharistan*, who wrote in *Arabic* an account of the religions of the east, and who, in speaking of the faith of the *Persians*, does them all the justice that can be (14); but what is of far greater consequence to us, than any authority of friends or enemies whatsoever, the book *Sad-der*, containing the canon of the *Persian* faith, is not only extant among the *Persees*, but even

(10) *Herodot. Clio.* (11) *Vid Cyropædia.* (12) *De Isid. & Osir.* (13) *Relig. vet Persar. c. xxii. p.* 292. (14) *Ibid.*

amongst

THERE is yet another point in which the *Persians* are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them, after the time of *Zoroaster*'s reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which symbolical representations were called *mithriac figures*, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who were a wise and well-instructed people; for with them they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe; to which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented, by *Zoroaster* himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove at large, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man [q].

HAVING thus shewn in general the nature of the *Persian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations, either in the east or in the west, we shall proceed to shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to essential points, universally received amongst them.

THE great fame of *Abraham*, which from a concurrence of various causes had diffused itself throughout the whole east, induced the *Persians*, as well as the *Zabeans*, to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, stiling their faith at all times *Kish-Abraham*. They likewise ascribe the books which they hold sacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their *Sofh* or *bible*, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from Christ, or the *Mohammedans*, that God revealed to *Mohammed* his *Koran* [r]. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews* and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The *Persians* say further, that *Abra-*

[q] HYDE, c. iv. p. 118. Sect. v. of this chap. [r] HYDE, c. i. p. 98.

amongst ourselves, and every page therein affords us instances of *Zoroaster*'s wisdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he established, as to fundamental points, and especially as to the belief of one infinitely wise, eternal, self-existent being (15).

(15) *Vid. Sad-der liber Magorum ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Persar.*

ham, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they from thence stile the city of *Abraham*; but though it must be allowed that the old *Persian* religion agreed in many points with the religion of *Abraham*, and though it should be admitted, that his fame might even in his life-time be, with very advantageous circumstances, published throughout all *Persia*, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of *Moses* and other sacred books among the *Jews*, and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaster*, on account of his making it the residence of the archimagus or high-priest of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in antient times [r].

THOUGH fire was held the symbol of the divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them, insomuch, that the *Greeks* and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them *Cultores Elementorum* or *worshippers of the elements*; a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things, wherefore they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill smells; and, for their officiousness on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (says he) *the whole expanse to be Jupiter* [s]. That they might in like manner preserve the earth from impurities; they would not bury their dead therein, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preserving all the elements pure was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and as such meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affecters of cleanliness, and studious, in an especial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, because they were most liable to be contaminated; and hence the *Greeks*,

[r] Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. ii. p. 318.
[s] HYDE, c. iii. D'HERBELOT, Art. Balke.

mistaking

miſtaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without ſcruple, worſhippers of thoſe elements, and tell us formal ſtories of the ſacrifices offered to both. It is very true that kings often do extravagant things, and ſuch as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; ſo that it is not impoſſible that ſome of the *Perſian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, becauſe the *Perſians* univerſally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water deſerved death in this world, and everlaſting puniſhment in that to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For theſe reaſons the *Magi*, wherever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, aſſigning them keepers, whoſe ſole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to ſee that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had ſtated and well-ſettled ſalaries. For abhorring, as they did, the repreſenting of the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of ſtone or metal, they choſe to preſerve fire and water in their utmoſt purity, that they might ſerve for ſymbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the miniſtration of angels, ſo they believed that one of theſe celeſtial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called *Ardiſûr* or *Arduiſûr*, for whom a particular *Niyâiſh* or ſalutation was preſcribed, the title of which in their antient books runs thus, *Hymn to* Ardiſur, *for the benefits received from the ſea, rivers, wells, and fountains.* In this hymn they praiſed him for taking care of all theſe places, and prayed, that he might continue ſo to do, returning God thanks for the various uſes made of water, and the mighty advantages reſulting to mankind from his wiſe diſpoſition thereof throughout the earth; they were of opinion, that in paradiſe ſuch people were peculiarly bleſſed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this ſenſe preſerved a reſpect for that element during their lives, for which cauſe they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires, and the water uſed in their houſes; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to miniſter in religious matters. except in the myſteries of *Venus*, which, as we obſerved before, was a hereſy, and as ſuch deteſted by the orthodox magians. In their love to purity and their eſteem of water, the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, eſpecially if we con-

sider, that in washing the hands, and putting on the girdle, solemn forms of prayer were enjoined the antient *Persians*, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life [u],

WITH respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests who attended it by no means deserved the appellation of *Igniarii Sacerdotes*, i. e. *fire-priests*, for they were truly *Sacerdotes Dei*, *priests of the almighty*, who though, like the *Jewish* priests they waited on, and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished, yet this was far from being their only duty; for these, as well as those, read every day public prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of *Ateish-peresht*, i. e. *fire-worshippers*, so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him; yet they inclined to perform these public acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions; in like manner the *Jews* confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from superstition (F).

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[u] HYDE, c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole section; this is a bold assertion, but I will venture to give an instance of it, which I am positive will prove the truth of my observation. Mr. *Tavernier* has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in oriental literature. In his section of the origin and prophets of this sect, he confounds *Zerdusht* with *Abraham*, in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells us of a king, whom he calls *Neubrout*, probably *Nimrod*, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to shew, how much he was confused on this subject, and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaurs* or *Gubres*, as he calls them. Their prophet's

IN the moſt antient times, the *Perſians* had no temples at all, but reared altars, whereon they preſerved their ſacred fires,

prophet's name, as ſet down by him, was *Ebrahim-zer-ateucht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of theſe people, and that he himſelf has ſeen a great book which was attributed to him. But I muſt deſire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier*'s ſincerity as to facts which lay within the compaſs of his judgment; on the contrary, we are perſuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worſhip of the fire, which is the title of one of his ſections: "The "*Gaurs* render no ſuch honours to the fire as agree with this term "of worſhip, they are not idolaters, they ackowledge one God, "the creator of the heaven and of the earth, and him only they "profeſs to worſhip." In the reſt of his ſections he ſpeaks diſtinctly enough of what he ſaw; but he relates what he heard in ſuch a manner, that a perſon, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who, without all queſtion, was one of the moſt intelligent men that ever obliged the public with an account of his travels, ſpeaks very contemptibly of theſe people, and would have us believe there is no ſort of learning amongſt them, but a little aſtrology; he ſays, their prieſts talk confuſedly of their religion, and that they were not poſitive themſelves as to the place where their ſacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not ſo happy as to meet with intelligent perſons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and ſatisfactory, nay and ſupported by undeniable evidence. M. *Le Brun*, by the interpoſition of the *Engliſh* agent, had a converſation with one of their prieſts, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needleſs to inſert that converſation here, but it may not perhaps be amiſs to give the anſwer of the prieſt to M. *Le Brun*'s firſt queſtion, what he thought of the creation of the world and the power of God? He ſaid he believed God to be the being of beings, a ſpirit of light, above the comprehenſion of human underſtandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and againſt whoſe will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January* 1707 (18). As to the *pyrea* or *fire temples*, they were formerly frequent as pariſh churches in other countries; but ſince the deſtruction of the antient *Perſians* theſe ſtructures are by no means common. The *Perſees* content themſelves with ſaying their prayers before their common fires, and their prieſts officiate before them likewiſe. They have,

(16) *Tavern. lib. iv. c. viii. p.* 480. (17) *Chardin, tom. ii. p.* 179. (18) *Le Brun, tom. ii. p.* 387.

however,

fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places [x]. It was *Zoroaster*, who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, but this had no relation to *Mithra* or *the sun*, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air; neither did it subvert their antient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls, for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this though many *Greek* and *Oriental* writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extensive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and testified to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever [y].

The *Persians* in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*; joining this with the modern name they say *Hormizda Chodâ*, *O Supreme God*. They acknowledge also an evil created being, whom they stiled *Ahâriman*, *Ahreman*, or *Ahriman*, and in verse *Ahrimanan*, which signifies amongst them *the devil*. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the antient *Persian* books was thus wrote, ‘ to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *Div* [z].

[x] Herod. Clio. [y] Shahristan, &c. ap. Hyde, c. iii. p. 105.
[z] Hyde, c. xi. xiii.

however, fire-temples or fire-chapels still in some places, and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kirman*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Antiently their temples were splendid, and were dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets, in which, however, there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(19) *Hyde, Relig. veter. Pers.* c. xxix. p. 253.

Some

SOME have aſſerted, that the antient *Perſians* held a co-eternity of theſe two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *Ahariman* was created out of darkneſs, and that *Oromaſdes* firſt ſubſiſted alone, that by him the light and darkneſs were created, that in the compoſition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and ſo ſhall continue till the end of all things, when each ſhall be ſeparated and reduced to its own ſphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious and a very inquiſitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaſter*, very conformable to what has been already ſaid, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few ſtrokes of fable, which were either inſerted by the miſtake of the reporter of that abſtract, or were invented by *Zerduſht*, to account for thoſe things which ſurpaſs human underſtanding [a]. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkneſs thus. *Oromaſdes*, ſay they, ſaid once within his mind, how ſhall my power appear if there be nothing to oppoſe me? this reflection called *Ahriman* into being, who thenceforward oppoſed all the deſigns of God, and thereby in ſpite of himſelf contributes to his glory. The ſouls of men, according to them, were at firſt unbodied ſpirits, but the Almighty, reſolving to make uſe of them in warring again *Ahriman*, cloathed them with fleſh, promiſing them that the light ſhould never forſake them till *Ahriman* and all his ſervants were ſubdued; after which the reſurrection of the dead is to follow, with the ſeparation of the light from the darkneſs, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To ſay the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the ſtate of our firſt parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkneſs, the laſt judgment, the ſalvation of the good and the puniſhment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the ſcripture on theſe heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they ſay ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, becauſe without oppoſition his attributes could not have appeared with ſuch luſtre as they now do. That the world had exiſted three thouſand years before this deciſive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thouſand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil-one leave to

[a] PLUTARCH de Iſid. & Oſir.

chooſe which three thouſand years of the nine thouſand yet to come he would pleaſe to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he choſe the middlemoſt. Before, ſay they, this power was given to *Ahriman*, man lived in a ſtate of innocence, but that ſince his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that theſe, however, ſhall in time paſs away, and man live again for a certain ſpace in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twelve thouſand years; and as to the damned, they aſſert, that they ſhall be puniſhed according to the heinouſneſs of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inſpectors of their ſufferings: at laſt, however, even theſe are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the bleſſed, but to remain in a certain place by themſelves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that ſtate from whence through the mercy of God they were freed [b] (G).

The point in which the *Perſians* differ moſt from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they

[b] Hyde, c. ix.

(G) In the courſe of ages it is not to be wondered, that falſe notions crept into their religion in ſome places; as among the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worſhipped with idolatrous circumſtances their ſacred fires, but alſo introduced images in their temples. But that hereſy, which of all others threatened the religion of *Zoroaſter* moſt was *Manechbeiſm*; for *Manes* that arch heretic reſided long in *Perſia*, and there broached his abſurd notion of two eternal ſelf-exiſtent beings, and, by mingling the doctrines of *Magiiſm* and chriſtianity, made up a monſtrous ſyſtem of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, theſe notions were rooted out as will be hereafter ſhewn, by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, ſo that the preſent *Perſees* have amongſt them none of theſe whimſical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their anceſtors in all its purity, and are a religious as well as a moſt inoffenſive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaiſant to other people, though very reſerved, from whence proceed the many miſtakes that have been made about them. When they do ſpeak they never fail to expreſs themſelves in ſuch a manner as fully purges all ſuſpicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help ſhewing on ſuch occaſions an inveterate diſlike againſt two perſons celebrated by the greateſt part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. Theſe are *Alexander the Great* and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) *Hyde, R. V. P.* c. xxi. *p.* 275. (21) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 180.

ſay,

ſay, happened not in ſix days, but in ſix ſeaſons, each ſeaſon containing many days; the firſt of theſe they ſtile *Mid-yu-zeram*, containing forty two days; in this, ſay they, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The ſecond they ſtile *Mid-yuſham*, containing ſixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named *Pitiſhahim*, including ſeventy five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called *Iyaſeram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The laſt they ſtile *Hameſpi-tamidim*, comprehending ſeventy five days, wherein was made man [c].

IT is now time for us to ſpeak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Perſees*, antient and modern, in the exerciſe of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in aſſerting an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of perſons inſtructed in their ſacred myſteries, from the time of *Zerduſht* to this day. Their ordinary prieſts are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more ſevere than thoſe given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the ſubſequent page. Their high-prieſts were under ſtill ſtricter obligations, and all of them were bound to diſcharge their ſacerdotal offices with mighty exactneſs and devotion [d]. As to their public worſhip, it was, and is ſtill, thus performed: in every *Pyreum*, or *fire temple*, there ſtood an altar, on which burnt the ſacred fire, which was always kept alive by the prieſt. When the people aſſembled in order to their devotion, the prieſt put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauſe or cloth paſſing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgy*, which he held in one hand, ſpeaking very ſoftly, and in a whiſpering ſort of tone, holding in his left hand certain ſmall twigs of a ſacred tree, which, as ſoon as the ſervice was over, he threw into the fire. At theſe times all who were preſent put up their prayers to God, for ſuch things as they ſtood in need of, and when prayers were finiſhed, the prieſt and people withdrew ſilently, and with all other tokens of awful reſpect. All theſe rites are ſtill obſerved. But to prevent, as far as poſſible, the people from falling into idolatry, the prieſt now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reaſons why they worſhip before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it

[c] LORD's Religion of the Perſees, c. viii. p. 41. [d] HYDE, c. xxviii. LORD's account of the *Perſian* religion.

with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words: "Forasmuch as fire was delivered to *Zerdusht* by the Al-"mighty, as the symbol of his majesty, wherefore it was re-"quired that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an "emanation from the fountain of light, and that we should "love all things which resemble it, especially the sun and "moon, the two great witnesses of God, the sight of which "should put us in mind of his Omniscience; therefore let "us, without superstition, keep the command given us, "ever more praising God for the great usefulness of this "element, and beseeching him to make us always bear in "mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards "him, which is as necessary to the health and happiness "of the mind, as light and fire are to the ease and welfare of the body" * (H).

They

* Beauchamp's essays on important subjects, Sect. iii.

(H) Among the antient *Magi* there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archimagus like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged for the successor of *Zoroaster*, and held the supreme head of their church. These in the old *Persian* language were stiled *Mugh*, i. e. *Magus*, *Mubad*, i. e. *superintendant*, and *Mubad Mubadan*, or *High-priest* (zz). *Lord*, in his account of the religion of the *Persians*, calls them by other names, *viz.* *Daroas*, *Herboods*, and *Dibeeos*, the last he makes equivalent to *Mubad Mubadan*, and says there is never any more than one at a time, the chief of the clergy of the *Persees*. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, *viz.* 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaster*, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's, for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and to the priest not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that

(zz) *Hyde*, *R. V. P. c.* xxviii. *p.* 348.

he

THEY keep yearly ſix feſtivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the ſix ſeaſons, wherein all things were created; after each of theſe feaſts they keep a faſt of five days in memory of God's reſting five days, as they believe, at each of thoſe ſeaſons. As often as they eat either fleſh, fowl, or fiſh, they carry a ſmall part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beſeeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own ſubſiſtence. They have none of thoſe out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanneſs and uncleanneſs in meats, which expoſe ſome religions to ridicule; but as they are a vere complaiſant, as well as inoffenſive people, they abſtain from ſwines-fleſh, and from the fleſh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the ſake of purity and cleanlineſs; they likewiſe drink every man out of his own cup [f].

WHEN their children are initiated into their religion they ſend for a prieſt, and this is uſually done as ſoon as the child is born. The prieſt calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the prieſt telleth it to its mother, who then ſays, my child is called ſo or ſo, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the

[f] LORD's religion of the Perſees, p. 40. HYDE, R. V. P. c. xxix.

he may ſee juſt cauſe to reverence his prieſt. 6. To keep himſelf pure and undefiled, becauſe God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, ſhewing himſelf a pattern of meekneſs, that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deſerve that he ſhould pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for public benefits when they deſire it, and to perform conſtantly the known duties of his function. 9 To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To ſpend the greateſt part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to aſſiſt all who come to him, becauſe thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerduſht*, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, ſeeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(23) *Lord's religion of the Perſees, p.* 32.

Pyræum, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, and bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by *Zerdusht*[g] (I). Of their marriages

[g] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 45. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxxiv.

(I) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is directed to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others, as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tithe, *i. e.* the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use, for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law but with all the sciences, seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in

(24) *Hyde, R. v. Persar. c.* xiii.

all

marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five ſorts: Firſt, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a ſecond wife. Thirdly, of ſuch perſons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occaſioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young perſon dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The laſt kind of marriage is where a perſon adopts either a ſon or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is alſo founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made uſe of on this occaſion, they are very ſingular, but at the ſame time have nothing in them wild or irrational(K). The parties, deſigning to contract matrimony, are ſeated together on a bed, about midnight, oppoſite to them ſtand two prieſts, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulneſs which they wiſh the

all ſpiritual cauſes, he muſt reprove ſinners without any regard to their rank, and they muſt hear him patiently, ſince he ſpeaks not in in his own cauſe but God's. 11. He muſt above all things ſtudy to diſtinguiſh truth from error. 12. Though, in conſequence of his high office, he may for his conſolation receive viſions and other manifeſtations from God, yet he is not to publiſh them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He muſt preſerve the everliving fire brought by *Zerduſht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world ſhall be deſtroyed by that element (25).

(K) It is very poſſible, that the reader in the peruſal of this ſection may incline to wiſh, that in ſome things we had delivered ourſelves more copiouſly, and therefore it may not be amiſs to inform him, that in treating of the *Perſian* hiſtory, as delivered by oriental writers, we ſhall take occaſion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Perſians*, becauſe much of their hiſtory depends upon them. As to inconſiderable cuſtoms, ſuch as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; theſe we have purpoſely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in ſo great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their prieſts at confirmation ſell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to uſe it conſtantly, becauſe when he lays it aſide, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the prieſt's benediction Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that the *Engliſh* ſaying, *ungirt, unbleſt*, has ſome alluſion to this (26).

(25) *Lord's religion of the Perſees*, p. 36. (26) *Relig. veter. Perſar. c.* xxxiii.

new-

new-married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, *Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband?* the woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledes that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage [h].

As to their burials two things are remarkable; first, the place, secondly, the manner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers, the reason of thus exposing them we have elsewhere given, *viz.* the preserving the elements pure, for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was antiently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that one of the [i] apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expresly, that the *Persians*, since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man: "O Almighty Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend "thee, this man hath offended; thou hast ordained that we "should do good, yet this man hath done evil; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which, "however, this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful "God, at the hour of death forgive him his offences, his

[h] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 48. [i] Theodor. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128.

"misdeeds

" misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thyself." When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak, as they go along, out of decency; and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: " This our brother, while he lived, con-" sisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take " his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to " fire." They suppose, that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies on this occasion [k].

UPON so copious a subject as this, it would have been an easy task to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the desire we have of rendering the several parts of this work consistent with each other, and not to introduce tedious dissertations into a general history, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of so important a part of the *Persian* history, to tire the reader's attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious peruser, however, may from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leisure an exact system as well of the practical point as of the theoretical tenets of the *Persees*, which would certainly prove an entertaining, as well as instructive, piece, though inconsistent with the design, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PERSIA.

AS we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*'s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn [a], that *Elam* or *Persia* was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful.

[k] LORD's religion of the Persees, p. 49. [a] See before p. 382, note (P).

Chedorlaomer,

Chedorlaomer, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries [b]. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*; but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of *nations*, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* [c] informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at, in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians*, but afterwards recovered their antient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of *Achaemenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [d].

[b] Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. [c] Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10. [d] Herodot. l. vii.

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpes.*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſames.*	*Xerxes.*

Of this great family there were two branches; from the firſt was deſcended *Cyrus the great*, whoſe iſſue male failed in his two ſons *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner [c].

Perſes.	*Cyrus.*	*Cambyſes.*
Achæmenes.	*Cambyſes.*	*Smerdis.*
Darius.	*Cyrus the Great.*	

They will have *Perſes*, of whom, ſay they, *Perſia* borrowed its name, to be the firſt of this family that reigned in *Perſia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nurſed by an eagle [f]; and of this fabulous eagle the no leſs fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a copy. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus* [g], and ſuppoſed by ſome to have coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which ſuppoſition is diſproved by *Herodotus* [h], telling us, that the *Perſians* had neither gold nor ſilver before the conqueſt of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyſes* and *Ataſſa*; *Atoſſa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia* [i], and *Cambyſes Mandane*, the ſo much celebrated daughter of *Aſtyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the hiſtory of the *Perſian* kings before *Cyrus*, we ſhall proceed, without dwelling on ſo barren a ſubject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in ſacred and profane hiſtory; in the latter his valour and conqueſts have Cyrus.

[c] REINECC. hiſt. jul. p. 37. [f] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [i] DIODOR. Sicul. in Fragm. l. xxxi.

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Perſia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*,

Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, *iſque,*
Septimus a priſco numeratur origine Belo.

As this king is no where to be found but in *Ovid*'s metamorphoſes, what is ſaid of him deſerves no more credit than they do.

(1) *Ovid. Metam. l. iv.*

Chedorlaomer, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries [b]. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of *nations*, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* [c] informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at, in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians*, but afterwards recovered their antient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [d].

b Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. c Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10. d Herodot. l. vii.

Achæmenes.	*Teispes.*	*Hystaspes.*
Cambyses.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arsames.*	*Xerxes.*

Of this great family there were two branches; from the first was descended *Cyrus the great*, whose issue male failed in his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner [e].

Perses.	*Cyrus.*	*Cambyses.*
Achæmenes.	*Cambyses.*	*Smerdis.*
Darius.	*Cyrus the Great.*	

They will have *Perses*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle [f]; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a copy. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus* [g], and supposed by some to have coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which supposition is disproved by *Herodotus* [h], telling us, that the *Persians* had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyses* and *Atossa*; *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia* [i], and *Cambyses Mandane*, the so much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and profane history; in the latter his valour and conquests have CYRUS.

[e] REINECC. hist. jul. p. 37. [f] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [i] DIODOR. Sicul. in Fragm. l. xxxi.

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*,

Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, *isque,*
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.

As this king is no where to be found but in *Ovid*'s metamorphoses, what is said of him deserves no more credit than they do.

(1) *Ovid. Metam. l. iv*

rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their antient state, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name [k] many years before he appeared in the world; an honour bestowed upon none but him, and that excellent prince *Josiah* [l] king of *Judah*. Prophane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprizing incidents, is what we shall examine afterwards.

Account of the birth, education, &c. of Cyrus, *according to* Herodotus.

Astyages, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyses*, sprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another dream portending a-new, according to the interpretation of the *Mages*, the empire of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in *Media* puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the *Mages* had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane*, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the *Mages*, delivered to one *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him

[k] ISA. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1. [l] 1 KINGS xiii. 2.

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia*.

with

with his own hands, in what manner he ſhould think beſt. *Harpagus* promiſed to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly dreſſed, went home under great concern, as ſeeing himſelf employed in ſo cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as ſoon as he came home with what had paſſed between *Aſtyages* and himſelf, and reſolved not to execute the ſentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this deſign he immediately ſent for one of the king's herdſmen, who kept his cattle in paſtures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caſpian* ſea. The herdſman's name was *Mitradates*, and his wife's, in the language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, which ſignifies *a bitch*, and anſwers her *Greek* name *Cyno*. *Mitradates*, without delay, waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expoſe it in the moſt dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to ſee his orders put in execution. The herdſman, not daring to make any remonſtrance againſt the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife juſt delivered of a ſon. During her huſband's abſence, ſhe had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the meſſage from *Harpagus*, who had never before ſent for him; and therefore he no ſooner ſet his foot within the door, but ſhe asked him in great ſurprize, why *Harpagus* had ſent for him in ſuch haſte? He told her, he had been in the city, where he had heard and ſeen ſuch things as grieved him beyond expreſſion; that when he arrived, the houſe of *Harpagus* was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was ſtruck with horror in ſeeing an infant, dreſſed in gold and the richeſt colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away this child, and expoſe it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beaſts, upon pain of incurring the king's diſpleaſure, and undergoing the ſevereſt puniſhments that could be inflicted; that at firſt he had ſuppoſed the unhappy infant to belong to ſome perſon of the family of *Harpagus*, but that he had been afterwards informed by the ſervant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and ſon to *Cambyſes* of *Perſia*, and that *Aſtyages* had commanded it ſhould be put to death[1].

HAVING thus ſpoke, he diſcloſed the child to his wife, who no ſooner ſaw it, but being raviſhed with the innocent

[1] HERODOT. l. i. c. 107. & ſeq.

smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he, remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoyned him, she suggested to him to take their own child that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently consult our own safety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death [m].

Mitradates approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own [n].

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son, and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdsman and his son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the

[m] Herodot. ubi supra. [n] Herodot. ubi supra.

son

son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, vested with that character, had commanded, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mein and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him, that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him? *Mitradates* affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages*, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy [o].

Astyages was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane*. When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him, by any sort of falshood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body [p].

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

himself

himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson [q].

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of *Astyages*, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus* and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? *Harpagus* replied, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replyed, with a surprizing temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them [r].

Astyages, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and having again consulted the *Mages*, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king, *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigour and severity. Hereupon the *Mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events.

[q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem, ibid.

They

They adviſed him therefore to diveſt himſelf of all fear, and ſend the boy to his parents in *Perſia* [r].

Aſtyages, well pleaſed with this anſwer, called *Cyrus*, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reaſon of an inſignificant dream, deſired him to get ready for a journey into *Perſia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumſtances very different from thoſe of the poor herdſman *Mitradates*, and his wife *Spaco* [t].

THUS *Aſtyages*, after many kind expreſſions, diſmiſſed his young grandſon attended by ſeveral lords of the firſt rank. Upon his arrival at his father's houſe, he was received by his parents with a tenderneſs and joy, which is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs. As they had long given him over for dead they aſked him in what manner his life had been preſerved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himſelf the ſon of the king's herdſman, till thoſe, who attended him on his journey into *Perſia*, informed him of all that had paſſed. He related, how he had been educated by the herdſman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of *Cyno*, commended her on all accaſions. And this name his parents made uſe of, as our author informs us, to perſwade the *Perſians*, that the preſervation of their ſon was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, ſince he had been nouriſhed, as they induſtriouſly ſpread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch [u].

WHEN *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media* on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his ſon, began to court his friendſhip, with a deſign to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging ſo barbarous a treatment. At the ſame time he ſolicited the leading men among the *Medes*, who were highly diſſatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Aſtyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themſelves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by depoſing *Aſtyages*, and advancing his grandſon *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man ſhewed themſelves diſpoſed to ſecond his deſigns; whereupon he thought it high time to diſcover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to

[r] Idem, ibid. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Idem, ibid.

Perſia

Perſia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his moſt truſty domeſtics, dreſſed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to deſire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the preſence of any perſon whatſoever [w].

The meſſenger executed his orders, and *Cyrus* opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preſervation, againſt the wicked deſigns and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to ſtir up the *Perſians* to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, inſtead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had ſuffered on his account, and how barbarouſly he had been puniſhed for not executing the king's bloody orders. *Cyrus*, having read the letter, began to conſider what meaſures he ſhould take to induce the *Perſians* to revolt, and after various ſchemes, fixed upon the following as the moſt proper. He feigned a letter from *Aſtyages*, appointing him commander in chief of all the *Perſian* forces; this he read in a general aſſembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commiſſion commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in purſuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a ſpot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without ſome reluctancy, he diſmiſſed them with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he cauſed all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dreſſed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Perſia* could ſupply him with. They all aſſembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, *Cyrus* ordered them to ſit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feaſt. When they had ſolaced themſelves with dainties, which to that time they had been ſtrangers to, the young prince aſked them, whether they would chooſe to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all anſwered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleaſure to toil and labour, ſo they did the condition of the preſent day to that of the precedent. Upon this anſwer *Cyrus* acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they ſhould enjoy theſe and far greater plea-

[w] Idem, ibid.

ſures,

ſures, without any kind of ſervile labour; but, if they refuſed to follow him, they muſt undergo innumerable hardſhips, like thoſe they had complained of the day before. He then diſcloſed to them his true deſign of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in ſo great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that ſome divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculouſly ſaved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happineſs. The *Perſians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmoſt reluctancy, in ſubjection to the *Medes*, declared him with one accord their leader, and proteſted, that they would ſtand by him in ſo good a cauſe, even at the expence of their lives.

IN the mean time, *Aſtyages* being informed of what was doing in *Perſia*, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Cyrus*, enjoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus* by the ſame meſſenger returned this reſolute anſwer, *That he would come ſooner than* Aſtyages *deſired*. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* paſſing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the reſt of the army was routed with great ſlaughter. When *Aſtyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent paſſion, and vowing that *Cyrus* ſhould not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory, he firſt cauſed the *Mages*, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the *Medes*, marched out himſelf at the head of them. Both armies came to a ſecond engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. *Aſtyages* in this ſtate was reproached and inſulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who among other things aſked him, what he now thought of his tragical feaſt, when he compelled him to devour the fleſh of his own ſon, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a priſon. *Aſtyages* in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, aſked him whether he had been inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution. He anſwered, that it was chiefly owing to him, ſince he had the firſt encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replyed *Aſtyages*, you are the weakeſt and moſt unjuſt of all men: the weakeſt, in giving the kingdom to another when you might have ſeized on it yourſelf, ſince you have been able to effect this change; the moſt unjuſt, in inſlaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depoſe me and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might

with more justice have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity than a *Persian*. Whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Persia*, and no-ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the *Persians*, who were servants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Astyages* was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they had ruled over all those provinces of *Asia* that lie on the other side of the *Halys* for the space of 128 years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him[x].

This is the account which *Herodotus* gives us, and which every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an arrant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took more delight in surprising, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

What the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him[y], invaded the *Massagetes*, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Spargapises* the son of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to *Cyrus*, entreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, *Spargapises*, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the *Persians* battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the *Massagetes* carrying the day, the greatest part of the *Persian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these

[x] Herodot. ubi sup. [y] Herodot. l. 1. c. 214.

words,

words, *Glut thyſelf with the blood which thou haſt ſo inſatiably thirſted after.*

WHAT the ſame hiſtorian relates of his childiſh revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C), while he was on his march to beſiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wiſe and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the ſacred horſes of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, the prince, highly reſenting ſuch an affront, immediately cauſed the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole ſummer, and obliged him to poſtpone the ſiege of *Babylon* to the ſpring enſuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of ſo great experience and ſuch an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is, even by *Herodotus* himſelf, repreſented to have been, while he was marching to the conqueſt of *Babylon*, ſhould ſo idly waſte his time, and ſpend the ardour of his troops, in ſuch an unprofitable piece of work?

WE ſhall now give what we look upon as the true hiſtory of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chuſe to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, ſeeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the ſtandard of truth, than thoſe of *Herodotus*. We are told, for inſtance, in ſcripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raiſes the *Perſian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*, which is repugnant to ſcripture. It is true, that moſt of the antients have choſen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*; but that we can eaſily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more ſtrange and ſurpriſing, and conſequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to thoſe of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raiſe admiraiton. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt ſuch accounts as he thinks will prove moſt agreeable to his reader, has been greatly countenanced by *Plato* [z], who, in giving a character of *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia*, tells us, that he rather deſcribed in that work what a worthy and juſt prince ought to be, than gave us a true hiſtory of what that prince really was. From this paſſage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes [a], that *Plato* looked on the *inſtitution of Cyrus* as a fiction. *Tully* paſſes the ſame judgment on this performance, ſaying [b], that *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus*

[z] PLATO de legib. l. iii. [a] DIOG LAER. in vit. philoſoph.
[b] Epiſt. i. ad Quintum fratrem.

(C) The river *Gyndes* riſes on the hills of *Matiene*, and paſſing through *Dardania* falls into the *Tigris*.

was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a just empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion; and we must own, that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and a philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of *Cyrus*'s birth, education, and character; and that it is really such, its conformity with holy writ sufficiently shews. Wherefore bating his military and political descants and digressions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true history. He was esteemed by the antients [c] a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of *Cyrus* the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than *Herodotus* could have; and as he confined himself to this subject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactness than the other, who wrote of so many different subjects and nations. And these are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon*, in what relates to *Cyrus*, rather than *Herodotus* or those who have copied after him (D).

The true history of Cyrus.

Cyrus was the son of *Cambyses* king of *Persia* and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares* the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents in *Persia*, where he was educated after the *Persian* manner, and inured to hardships and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war (F). When

[c] See Diog. Laert. in vit. Xenophon.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks, that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related also by *Herodotus*; and *Erasmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a just government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: so fond are they of the surprizing incidents related by his antagonist *Herodotus*.

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, *viz.* that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane* daughter to *Astyages*; but *Ctesias* would have us believe, that *Cyrus* was no-ways related to *Astyages*, or *Astigas* as he is pleased to call him.

(F) The name of *Persia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the name

When he was twelve years old his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media* to his grandfather *Astyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded [d].

WHEN *Cyrus* was about sixteen years of age, *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to shew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Astyages* with his forces to oppose the invader. On this occasion *Cyrus* attending his grandfather first entered the school of war, and behaved so well, that the victory, which the *Medes* gained over the *Babylonians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in *Persia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* [e].

Astyages king of the *Medes* was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son *Cyaxares* brother to *Mandane Cyrus*'s mother. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he was informed, that *Nerigliſſar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*, that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and a amongst others *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, and that he had dispatched ambassadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and, upon his arrival with a body of 30000 *Persians*, appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians* [f] (G).

HE

[d] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 36. [e] Idem ibid. p. 44. 45, &c.
[f] Idem, ibid. p. 58.

name of *Persia*. For the whole *Persian* nation could at that time raise but 120,000 men (z). But after the conquests of *Cyrus*, it took in that vast tract, which extended east and west from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean.

(G) This army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the *Per-*

(z) *Cyropæd. l. i.* *sians*

He had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entered that country, before the inhabitants had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family; and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*[g].

Both parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in sight of each other, the *Babylonians*, under *Nerigliſſar* their king, encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians*, under the command of *Cyrus*, covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Ba-*

[g] Idem. lib. 3. p. 62—76.

ſians had yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and raised after a particular manner. First of all *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility 200 officers: each of these was ordered to choose four more of the same rank which made a thousand in all; and these were called ὁμότιμοι or *men of the same dignity*, and eminently distinguished themselves on all occasions. Every one of these was ordered to raise among the people ten pike men lightly armed, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of these troops, was vested with the command of the confederate army, those begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Persia* and *Media*, though the regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(3) *Idem. ibidem.*

bylonians

bylonians leaving their intrenchments, and drawing themſelves up in battle array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them. On the ſide of the *Aſſyrians*, the bow-men and ſlingers made their diſcharges before the enemy was within reach. But the *Perſians*, animated by the preſence and example of *Cyrus*, immediately cloſed in with the enemy, and broke through their firſt battalions. The *Babylonians*, notwithſtanding all the efforts uſed by *Cræſus* and their own king, were not able to ſtand ſo rude a ſhock, but immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. At the ſame time the cavalry of the *Medes* fell upon the enemies horſe, which was likewiſe put to the rout. *Cyrus* purſued them cloſe to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himſelf in a condition to force them, ſounded the retreat. In this battle *Nerigliſſar* king of the *Babylonians* was killed; whereupon *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, as being in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made as good a retreat as he could. But the next day *Cyrus* returned to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, and with the aſſiſtance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many priſoners and the baggage of the whole army [h]. *Cyrus* reſerved all the horſes that were taken for himſelf, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Perſian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richeſt and moſt valuable part of the booty he ſet apart for *Cyaxares*; and as for the priſoners, he allowed them to return home to their reſpective countries, without impoſing any other condition upon them, than that they ſhould deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war againſt him and his allies [i].

Babylonians *defeated.*

Nerigliſſar *killed.*

THE death of *Nerigliſſar* was a great loſs to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct and wiſdom, the preparations he made for the war ſhewed his wiſdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more ſenſible of the loſs they had ſuffered, than the tyrannical government of his ſon and ſucceſſor *Laboroſoarchod*, who was in every thing quite the reverſe of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedneſs, cruelty, and injuſtice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join *Cyrus*, and to be very inſtrumental in the ſubverſion of the *Babylonian* empire. The only ſon of the former he ſlew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reaſon, but that he pierced

[h] Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104. [i] Idem, ibid.

with his dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. For *Cyrus*, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken possession of the provinces, castles, and strong holds, which the two injured princes had been trusted with, he got a footing in *Assyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* itself. The king took the field against *Gadates*, but being met by *Cyrus* he was put to flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to his metropolis. *Cyrus* having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's country, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong holds on the frontiers [k].

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborosoarchod*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, insomuch that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign [l]. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of public affairs upon herself, and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river [m], that in case one of them should be distressed by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to, the other.

[k] Idem. l. v. p. 123—140. [l] Beros. apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. Megast. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. [m] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. Philostrat. l. i. c. 18.

While

WHILE the queen was thus taking all poſſible precautions againſt the enemy, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus*'s camp, and after ſeveral conſultations they determined to alter their method; and, inſtead of contenting themſelves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was neceſſary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortreſſes, that ſo they might make themſelves maſters of the country, and diſtreſs the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their proviſions [n]. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under ſubjection entire provinces, without meeting with any conſiderable reſiſtance from the *Babylonians*. The progreſs *Cyrus* made in thoſe conqueſts roufed at laſt *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treaſures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, by whoſe aſſiſtance and intereſt he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Leſſer Aſia*. Theſe various nations under the conduct of *Cræſus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, aſſembled near the river *Pactolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus* being informed of theſe vaſt preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deſerter, put himſelf in a condition to oppoſe them; and having increaſed the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left intirely defenceleſs, and marched forward to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to conſume their forage, and diſconcert their meaſures, by the quickneſs of his march and boldneſs of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus*'s army was 196,000 ſtrong, horſe and foot; beſides theſe troops he had 300 chariots armed with ſcythes, each chariot drawn by four horſes abreaſt, covered with trappings that were proof againſt all ſorts of miſſive weapons: he had likewiſe a great number of other chariots of a larger ſize, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower were lodged 20 archers. Theſe chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreaſt. There was moreover a conſiderable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel.

[n] CYROPÆD. l. vi. p. 156, &c.

The army of *Cræsus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men, and were the main strength of the army, in the centre [o].

Battle of Thymbra.

Year of the Flood, 2455. Year before Christ 544.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, *Cræsus*, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the centre halt, and the two wings advance with a design to inclose *Cyrus*'s army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that *Cyrus*'s army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed like a small square drawn within a great one [p].

This motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. The horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artagases*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with scythes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates* his chief favourite to fall upon the centre with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued. *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the *Egyp-*

[o] Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172. [p] Idem, p. 173.

tians

tians advancing boldly obliged the *Perſian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new ſhower of arrows and javelins diſcharged upon them from the towers, and at the ſame time the *Perſian* rear advancing ſword in hand, obliged their archers and ſpearmen to return to the charge. In the mean time *Cyrus*, having put to flight both the horſe and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, puſhed on to the centre, where he had the mortification to find his *Perſians* again giving ground, and judging that the only way to ſtop the *Egyptians* who were purſuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did ſo; and at the ſame time the *Perſian* cavalry coming up to his aſſiſtance, the fight was renewed with great ſlaughter on both ſides; for the *Egyptians* facing about defended themſelves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himſelf was in great danger; for his horſe being killed under him, he fell in the midſt of the enemies, but being ſaved by his *Perſians*, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themſelves headlong upon thoſe that ſurrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus* admiring the valour of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to ſee ſuch brave men periſh, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the ſame time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with *Cyrus* that they ſhould not be obliged to carry arms againſt *Cræſus*, in whoſe ſervice they had been engaged, ſurrendered themſelves to the conqueror, and from that time ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity [q] (H).

THE engagement laſted till night, when *Cræſus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*, and the other nations made the beſt of their way to their reſpective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to purſue them, but the next morning advanced

[q] Idem. l. vii. p. 172---178.

(H) *Xenophon* obſerves here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Lariſſa* and *Cyllene* on the ſea-coaſt, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their deſcendants in his time; and adds, that theſe places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This obſervation, and many others he makes in his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, ſhew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true hiſtory of *Cyrus*, at leaſt with reſpect to the ſubſtance of it, and greateſt part of the tranſactions.

(4) *Cyropæd. l. vii. p.* 179.

towards *Sardis*. *Cræſus* hearing of his approach marched out with his *Lydians*, for the auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, which *Cyrus* being ſenſible of, made his camels advance againſt them, whoſe ſmell the horſes not being able to endure, they were immediately put in diſorder. However, the *Lydians*, who at that time were one of the moſt warlike nations of *Aſia*, diſmounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obſtinately for ſome time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately cloſely beſieged by *Cyrus*[r] (I).

Sardis taken.

The night after he inveſted the city he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a *Perſian* ſlave, who had been a ſervant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no reſiſtance, the *Lydians* having diſperſed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s firſt care was to ſave the town, which was the moſt wealthy of all *Aſia*, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and ſilver. This condition they readily complied with, and *Cræſus* himſelf, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, ſet them an example by delivering his immenſe treaſures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compaſſion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his conſtancy in ſo great a change, treated him with great clemency, ſuffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the ſole reſtriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took

[r] Herodot. l. i p. 79---84.

(I) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis* he performed the exequies of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Shuſhan* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, being induced thereunto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken priſoner in his firſt engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a moſt obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her huſband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea* out of grief ſlew herſelf upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* cauſed them both to be interred with great pomp, and a ſtately monument to be erected over them near the river *Paſtolus*, where it was to be ſeen many ages after (5).

(5) *Idem*, *l.* v. & vii.

him

him with him in all his expeditions, either out of eſteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more ſecure of his perſon [f] (K).

Cyrus

[f] Idem, l. vii. p. 181---184.

(K) The taking of *Cræſus* is differently related by *Herodotus* and thoſe who have copied after him (6). According to theſe, *Cræſus* being ſhut up in *Sardis* diſpatched ambaſſadors to all his allies, intreating their aſſiſtance. But in the mean time *Cyrus* preſſed the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that he took the city, before any ſuccours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The deſign of *Cyrus* in ſo doing was, according to *Herodotus*, to offer this ſacrifice to ſome god as the firſt fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to ſee, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would ſave him from the fire. When *Cræſus* had aſcended the pile, notwithſtanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him, that no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving theſe words in his mind, he cried out with a great ſigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to aſk him, whoſe aſſiſtance he implored. Upon this *Cræſus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philoſopher, having formerly viſited him, and viewed his immenſe treaſures, had deſpiſed all, and plainly told him, inſtead of applauding his happineſs, that he could not pronounce any man happy ſo long as he lived, becauſe no man could foreſee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his preſent calamity, he called upon the name of *Solon*. This raiſed in *Cyrus* ſuch a ſenſe of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compaſſion for *Cræſus*, that he commanded the fire to be preſently extinguiſhed, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were uſed to execute his orders, but the fire could not be maſtered. In this diſtreſs *Cræſus* being informed that *Cyrus* deſigned to ſave his life, but ſeeing his *Perſians* attempted in vain to extinguiſh the flame, burſt out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking *Apollo*, beſought that god to deliver him from the preſent danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had ſcarce ended his prayer when clouds were ſeen gathering in the air, which before was ſerene, and a violent ſtorm of rain enſuing quite extinguiſhed the flame. *Cyrus* underſtanding by this miraculous event that *Cræſus* was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only ſpared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made

(6) *Herodot. l.* i *p.* 85.

uſe

Cyrus after the conquest of *Lydia* continued in *Lesser Asia*, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynitus*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning, that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour [t].

Cyrus having spent two entire years before *Babylon*, without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in

[t] Herodot. l. i. p. 177. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 186---188.

use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Cræsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of* Cræsus. These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily till his death (7).

(7) *Herodot. ibid.*

possession

poſſeſſion of the place. He was informed, that a great annual ſolemnity was to be kept in *Babylon*, and that the *Babylonians* on that occaſion were accuſtomed to ſpend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to ſurpriſe them in, and accordingly ſent a ſtrong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elſewhere deſcribed [u], with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the ſame time he poſted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as ſoon as they ſhould find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both ſides of the river above the city, that the water might diſcharge itſelf into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was ſoon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*, and finding the gates all left open, by reaſon of the general diſorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any oppoſition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, ſurpriſed the guards, and cut them in pieces. Thoſe who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cauſe of this confuſion, the *Perſians* ruſhed in, took the palace and killed the king, who ſword in hand came up to meet them. The king being killed, and thoſe who were about him put to flight, the reſt voluntarily ſubmitted, and *Cyrus* without any further reſiſtance became maſter of the place, and concluded his conqueſts after a war of 21 years [w]. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* had uttered againſt that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account [x]. Babylon *taken*. Year of the Flood, 2461. Year before Chriſt 538.

THE king of *Babylon* being killed, *Darius* the *Mede* is ſaid in ſcripture to have taken the kingdom [y]. By *Darius* the *Mede* is meant *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes* and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the hiſtory of *Media*. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnerſhip; nay, ſo far did he carry his complaiſance, that he let him enjoy the firſt rank. *Cyrus*, having ſettled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Perſia* to pay a viſit to

[u] See before, p. 332. [w] Cyropæd. p. 189-- 192. [x] See before, p. 353. [y] Dan. v. 31. ix. 1. xi. 1.

his

his father and mother, who were still alive [a]; and after a short stay there, went back to *Babylon* together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

THE civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review he found, they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the *Red-sea* and the confines of *Æthiopia* [a]. In this interval of time *Daniel* was by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media*.

Year of the Flood, 2463. Year before Christ 536.

ABOUT two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyses* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon* and took upon him the whole government of the empire [z], which he held for the space of seven years (K).

IN the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiah* [b], naming

[a] Cyropæd. ibid. [z] Idem, l. viii. p. 233. [z] Idem ibid.
[b] Isa. xliv. 28. xlv. 1.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media* and *Cambyses* in *Persia*, seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Ezra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, tho seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(8) *Cic. de divinat. l.* 2. (9) *Ptolem. in Canone.* (10) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. (11) *Ezra, i.* 1.

him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* to be repossessed by their antient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of 42360 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for *Judæa* *. And thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). *Cyrus* restored at the same time to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nabuchodonosor* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his God *Baal*.

AFTER the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter *Cyrus*'s decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the ministers to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly.

AND it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that in the third year

* Ezra ii. 64, 65. 1 Esdr. v. 41, 42.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Israelites*; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

In the first year of Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of* Jeremy, *the Lord raised up the spirit of* Cyrus *the king of the* Persians; *and he made a proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying*; *Thus saith* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *the Lord of* Israel, *the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at* Jerusalem *in* Jewry. *If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to* Jerusalem *that is in* Judæa, *and build the house of the Lord of* Israel; *for he is the Lord that dwelleth in* Jerusalem. *Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those I say that are his neighbours with gold, and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at* Jerusalem (12).

(12) 1 *Esdras*, ii. 1. 7.

of that prince *Daniel* gave himſelf up to mourning and faſting for three weeks together [c].

But to return to *Cyrus*. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural ſubjects and thoſe of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the eaſt by the river *Indus*, on the north by the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, on the weſt by the *Ægean*, and on the ſouth by *Æthiopia* and the ſea of *Arabia*. He kept his reſidence in the heart of theſe countries, ſpending the ſeven cold months at *Babylon* by reaſon of the warmth of that climate; three months at *Suſa* in the ſpring, and two months at *Ecbatan* during the heat of the ſummer [d].

Having ſpent ſeven years in this ſtate of tranquility, and eſtabliſhed his empire with ſuch wiſdom, that upon the ſtrength of this foundation alone it ſtood above 200 years, notwithſtanding the raſh and impolitic proceedings of his ſucceſſors, he died in the 70th year of his age [e], equally regretted by all the nations of his vaſt-ſpreading dominions. He had reigned, from his firſt taking upon him the command of the *Perſian* and *Median* armies, thirty years [f]; from the reduction of *Babylon* nine [g]; and from his being ſole monarch of the eaſt, after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Mede*, ſeven years [h]. Authors are ſtrangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon*'s account, who makes him die in his bed, as fortunately as he lived, amidſt his friends and in his own country, ſeems to us by far the moſt probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at *Paſargada* in *Perſia*, where *Xenophon* ſays he died, and his monument was to be ſeen there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been ſlain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been reſcued out of the hands of thoſe enraged barbarians, and buried at *Paſargada*? Beſides, it is by no means probable, that ſuch a wiſe man, as *Cyrus* is repreſented to have been, and ſo far advanced in years, would have engaged in ſo raſh an undertaking, as the *Scythian* expedition is deſcribed to have been by thoſe who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after ſo great an overthrow the *Perſian* empire could have ſubſiſted, eſpecially in the hands of ſuch a ſucceſſor as *Cambyſes* was. For *Herodotus* tells us, that

Cyrus *dies*. Year of the Flood, 2470. Year before Chriſt 529.

[c] Dan. x. 1. 3. [d] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. [e] Cicero de divin. l. i. [f] Cic. ubi ſupra. [g] Prol. in Can. [h] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

he

he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

ON his death-bed he appointed his son *Cambyses* to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyses*, known in scripture by the name of *Ahasuerus* [i], was scarce well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. The occasion of this war, as related by *Herodotus*, seems fabulous [k]. 'Tis most likely, that *Amasis*, who was then king of *Egypt*, and had submitted to *Cyrus*, upon the death of that great conqueror refused to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But be that as it will, *Cambyses* in order to carry on the war with success made vast preparations both by sea and land. The *Cypriots* and *Phœnicians* furnished him with ships; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, who, being commander of some *Greek* auxiliaries in the service of *Amasis*, Cambyses.

[i] EZRA iv. 6.

[k] HERODOT. l. iii. cap. 1. and this hist. Vol. II. p. 56, & seq.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Massagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Ctesias* (14) says, that in a battle against the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book ascribed to *Pythagoras*, acquaints us, that he was slain in a sea fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15), that after the reduction of *Babylon Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, revolted from *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Persians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Artabazus*, who had assisted *Cyrus* in subduing *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *myaxares* with an army against *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raised a new army, and was again defeated near *Pasargada* in *Persia*, and taken prisoner. By this victory, say they, the monarchy was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing so well with holy writ as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Diodor. Sic. l. ii.* (14) *Ctesias, l xi.* (15) *Suidas in Aristarchos.*

took some disgust, and going over to *Cambyses* made such discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in *Egypt*, as greatly contributed to the success of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that *Cambyses* contracted with an *Arabian* king, whose territories lay between the confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish his army with water during his march through the deserts that parted those two countries. The *Arabian* fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which *Cambyses* could never have marched his army that way [l].

Being thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that *Amasis* was just dead, and that his son *Psammenitus*, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before *Cambyses* could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, *Cambyses* had recourse to the following stratagem, probably suggested to him by *Phanes*. Being informed, that the whole garison consisted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, through fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyses* possessed himself of the place without opposition [m].

Cambyses had scarce taken possession of this important place, when *Psammenitus* at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his farther progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the *Greeks* and *Carians* who served under *Psammenitus*, to shew their resentment against *Phanes*, for introducing the *Persians* into *Egypt*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their father, and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The *Persians* enraged at so cruel a sight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to

[l] Herodot. l. iii. c. 4----9. [m] Polyen. l. vii.

Memphis,

Memphis (N). *Cambyſes* purſued them cloſe, and arriving at *Memphis*, ſent a herald into the city, in a veſſel of *Mitylene*, by the river *Nile* on which *Memphis* ſtood, to ſummon the inhabitants to a ſurrender. But the people tranſported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyſes*, after a ſhort ſiege having ſtormed the place, fully revenged their death, cauſing ten *Egyptians* of the firſt rank to be publicly executed for every one of thoſe they had ſlain, and the eldeſt ſon of *Pſammenitus* was one of the number. As for the king himſelf who was taken priſoner, *Cambyſes* was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only ſpared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind uſage, did all that lay in his power to raiſe new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of ſix months, and with him died the antient ſplendor and liberty of *Egypt*, for all that country immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror [n].

ON the news of this ſucceſs the *Libyans*, *Cyreneans*, and *Barceans* ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to *Cambyſes*, declaring themſelves ready to ſubmit to him, and receive his forces into their ſtrong holds. From *Memphis* he marched to the

[n] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 13----15.

(N) On occaſion of this battle *Herodotus* (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumſtance, whereof he himſelf was an eye-witneſs. The bones of the *Perſians* and *Egyptians* were in his time ſtill to be ſeen in the place where the battle was fought, but ſeparated from each other. The ſkulls of the *Egyptians*, ſays he, were ſo hard that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large ſtone; whereas thoſe of the *Perſians* were ſo ſoft and weak, that they were broke with the leaſt blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* cuſtom of ſhaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and ſtronger through the heat of the ſun, and the head preſerved from baldneſs, there being fewer people bald in *Egypt* as *Herodotus* obſerves, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were ſtrengthened by this method, ſo thoſe of the *Perſians* were ſoftened by the contrary cuſtom. For they were not expoſed to the ſun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds, that he obſerved the ſame thing at *Papremis* in thoſe who, together with *Achæmenes* the ſon of *Darius*, were defeated by *Inarus* king of *Libya*.

(16) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c* 12.

city

city of *Sais*, the burying-place of the *Egyptian* kings. Here he caused the body of *Amasis* to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after exposing it to a thousand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of *Amasis*, shews the irreconcileable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade *Egypt* •.

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions; the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But he was forced to drop the first project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent ambassadors into *Æthiopia*, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians*, being well apprised of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the *Ethiopian* king, in return for the presents they brought him from *Cambyses*, sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* ambassadors, he addressed them with this speech. "'Tis not from any consideration of my "friendship that the king of *Persia* sent you with these pre-"sents; neither have you spoken truth, but are come into "my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man, "he would desire no more than his own, and not attempt to "enslave a people who had never done him any injury. How-"ever, give him this bow from me, and let him know, that "the king of *Æthiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make "war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* shall be able "thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in the mean time to "thank the gods, that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians* "with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their "own country.[p]"

Cambyses, being informed by his ambassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other ne-

• Idem, ibid. c. xvi. [p] Idem, ibid. c. xx—xxiv.

cessaries

ceſſaries for ſuch an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his abſence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men againſt the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, while he with the reſt of his army ſhould march againſt the *Ethiopians*. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his proviſions were conſumed, and the army reduced to the neceſſity of eating thier beaſts of burden. *Cambyſes* notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, purſued his raſh attempt, and the ſoldiers fed upon herbs and graſs, ſo long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the ſandy deſerts, they were brought to ſuch extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to ſerve as food for his companions, a food, ſays *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itſelf [q]. The king ſtill perſiſted in his mad deſign, till at laſt being apprehenſive of the danger his own perſon was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having loſt great part of his army in this wild attempt [r].

As for that part of the army which was ſent againſt the *Hammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of *Oaſis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and ſeven days march diſtant from *Thebes*. No body doubts, as our author informs us [s], but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to *Egypt* or their own country. The *Hammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oaſis*. and that after they had entered the ſandy deſert which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, and raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

Cambyſes on his return to *Thebes* cauſed all the temples, which in that ſuperſtitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richneſs of thoſe temples from the remains ſaved from the flames, which amounted to the ſum of 300 talents of gold, and two thouſand three hundred talents of ſilver. He likewiſe carried away the famous circle of gold that encompaſſed the tomb of king *Oxymandyas*, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were repreſented all the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations [t].

[q] SENECA de Ira. l. iii. c. 20. [r] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. c. 25, 26. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] DIODOR. Sicul. l. i. p. 43—46.

FROM

From *Thebes Cambyses* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance, with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replyed, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him.

The chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, at *Memphis* called *Apis*. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the *Egyptians* believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere [u] of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks was sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to *Cambyses*, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis* to be slain. The *Apis* after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyses* [w]

The *Egyptians* say that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyses* was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

He had a brother by the same father and mother, called by *Xenophon Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin Mergis*. He attended *Cambyses* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the

[u] Vol. I. p. 448. [w] Herodot. ubi sup. c. 30.

bow, which the king of *Æthiopia* had ſent, within two fingers breadth, *Cambyſes* from hence conceived ſuch a jealouſy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he ſent him back into *Perſia*. After his departure *Cambyſes* dreamed, that a meſſenger arriving from *Perſia* told him, that *Smerdis* was ſeated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, ſuſpecting that his brother aſpired to the crown, he diſpatched *Prexaſpes*, one of his confidents, into *Perſia*, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed [1].

THIS murder was followed by another ſtill more criminal. *Cambyſes* had with him in the camp his youngeſt ſiſter, by name *Meroe*. As this princeſs was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was deſirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his deſign, he ſummoned all the royal judges of the *Perſian* nation, whoſe office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his ſiſter. The judges, being unwilling to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and at the ſame time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper ſhould they contradict him, returned this crafty anſwer: That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own ſiſter, but had a law which gave the king of *Perſia* liberty to do whatever he pleaſed. Upon this anſwer he ſolemnly married her, and thereby gave the firſt example of that inceſt, which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters. This ſiſter he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an iſland in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*. The occaſion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner. As *Cambyſes* was one day diverting himſelf in ſeeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched another of the ſame littter breaking looſe came to his aſſiſtance, by which means the lion was maſtered. Whilſt the king was mightily pleaſed with this adventure, *Meroe*, who ſat by him, began to weep, and being obliged to tell her huſband the cauſe of her grief, ſhe confeſſed, that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom nobody had been good-natured enough to aſſiſt. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithſtanding her being with child gave her ſuch a blow

[1] Idem, ibid. c. 30.

with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died [m] (N).

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head, and then turning to *Prexaspes*, if I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the *Persians* you must own have slandered me, but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoke the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dextrously [n] (O)

[m] Idem, c. 31, 32. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 34, 35.

(N) The *Egyptians*, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyses* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was; whereupon *Meroe* reply'd, that he had represented the broken lettuce by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words *Cambyses* struck her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(17) *Ælian*, c. 32 (18) *Seneca, de Ira, l.* iii. *c.* 14.

While

WHILE he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government, which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sentence and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking that, if *Cambyses* should inquire for him and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that *Cambyses* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyses* was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders o.

Cambyses in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left *Egypt* in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he met an herald sent from *Susa* to the army, to acquaint them, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. *Cambyses*, at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of *Patizithes* one of the chief of the *Mages*. This *Patizithes* had a brother who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps, on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that *Cambyses* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to *Egypt*, finding *Cambyses* with his army at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyses* caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he

o Idem, ibid. c. 36.

who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyses*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out into a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipt out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said in the presence of all, fate has decreed that *Cambyses* the son of *Cyrus* shall die in this place. For while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatan*, which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media* resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called *Ecbatan*, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the *Mage* was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians*, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyses* dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* with his own hand [p].

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. and their application was not in vain; for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work [q].

Smerdis the Mage. This prince is called in scripture [r] *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus Smerdis*, by *Æschylus Mardys*, by *Ctesias Spendadates*,

[p] Idem, l. iii. c. 64—66. [q] Ezra iv. 4, 6. [r] Ezra iv. 7, 8, 11, 23.

and

and by *Justin Oropastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother, *Cambyses*, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the *Mage* pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of, to prevent his being discovered, only encreased the suspicion that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes* to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that, as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes* by a second message desired her to enquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the *Mage* to be cut off, for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the *Mage*, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning

Year of the Flood, 2477. Year before Christ 522.

ing acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes* upon this information imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution *Otanes* named *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas Megabyzus*, and *Aspathines Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, arriving at *Susa* from *Persia* where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. *Darius* at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in *Persia* but himself had known that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a *Mage*, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best concerted designs easily disappointed. *Otanes* on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprize till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the *Mage*, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt *.

While they were concerting their measures, the two *Mages* in order to remove all suspicion engaged *Prexaspes* in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prexaspes*, as we have related above, knew, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was not living, having by the command of *Cambyses* put him to death with his own hand. The *Mages* having engaged *Prexaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the pa-

* Idem, l. iii. c. 74, 75.

lace,

lace, they deſired he would aſcend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus*. *Prexaſpes* having taken upon him this office, the *Mages* ſummoned the *Perſians* together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prexaſpes* began his diſcourſe with the genealogy of *Cyrus*, and then put the *Perſians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus* and his family, to the great aſtoniſhment of all, he ſincerely declared all that had paſſed, and told the people, that the apprehenſions of the danger he muſt inevitably run by publiſhing the impoſture had conſtrained him to conceal it ſo long; but now, not being able to act any longer ſuch a diſhonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by *Cambyſes* to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the perſon who poſſeſſed the throne was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulſion and againſt his will, and fulminating many imprecations againſt the *Perſians*, if they ſhould neglect to recover the ſovereignty and puniſh the uſurper, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the ſpot. 'Tis eaſy to imagine what confuſion the news of this accident occaſioned in the palace [r].

IN the mean time the conſpirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their deſign. On their way they were informed of what *Prexaſpes* had ſaid and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earneſtly deſired them anew to defer the enterprize. But *Darius* ſtill inſiſting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all propoſals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards reſpecting their dignity, and not ſuſpecting perſons of their rank and figure, permitted them to paſs without aſking them any queſtions. But as they came near the king's

[r] Idem, c. 74, 75.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending ſeven hawks appeared purſuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the ſeven *Perſians* obſerved, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched ſtrait to the palace.

(19) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 76.

apart

apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians*, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two *Mages* were consulting about the late affair of *Prexaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas* that they broke into the room with him. *Gobryas* having seized him held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike left he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which *Gobryas* perceiving desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two *Mages*, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians*, being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every *Mage* they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, and called by the name of *Magophonia*, or *the slaughter of the Mages*. On that festival the *Mages* durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses[t].

Smerdis *the* Mage *murdered.*

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. For as soon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they

[t] Idem, c. 76—79.

would

would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side of the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to inquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis*, upon these remonstrances, having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, that is for the space of near two years [u] (Q).

BUT to return to the conspirators; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the last was, after a long debate, embraced by all except *Otanes*; who, finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred; and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manner of the country [w].

UPON his departure the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new

[u] Ezra iv. 7—24. [w] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 83.

(Q) That *Cambyses* was the *Ahasuerus* and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of scripture, is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius* except *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, we must conclude that none but *Cambyses* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) *Ezra iv.* 5, 6, 7.

king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed, that whosoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present *Otanes* and his posterity with a *Median* vest, a mark of great distinction among the *Persians*, because he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rising of the sun on horse-back, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king; for the sun being the chief deity of the *Persians*, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of *Darius*'s horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Persians* repairing to the place pursuant to their agreement, *Darius*'s horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king [x].

The *Persian* empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors privileged in the same manner, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture [y].

Darius. Year of the Flood, 2477. Year before Christ 522.

Darius was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called in the writings of the modern *Persians Gushtasph*, and his father *Lohrasph*, and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius*, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the *Mage*, but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the *Mage*. Having thus confirmed his

[x] Herodot. a. 84—87. [y] Ezra vii. 14. Esth. i. 14, &c.

power,

power, he divided the whole empire into twenty ſatrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each diviſion, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Perſia* alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the *Ethiopians* and inhabitants of *Colchis* were enjoined to make only ſome preſents, and the *Arabians* to furniſh yearly ſuch a quantity of frankincenſe as was equal in weight to a thouſand talents. By this eſtabliſhment *Darius* received the yearly tribute of 14560 *Euboic* talents, beſides ſeveral other ſums of ſmall conſequence.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign put to death *Intaphernes*, one of the ſeven conſpirators, on the following occaſion. *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, purſuant to the agreement above mentioned, in vertue of which they were to have free acceſs to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with ſome of his wives, he was ſtopt by the door-keeper and a meſſenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes* not believing them drew his ſcymetar, and having cut off both their noſes and ears, faſtened their heads in a bridle, and ſo left them. In this condition they went in, and ſhewing themſelves to the king, acquainted him with the cauſe of the ill uſage they had received. *Darius* apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the ſix, ſent for them, one after another, and aſked whether they approved the action. But finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he cauſed him to be ſeized with his children and family, leſt his relations, whom he ſuſpected, ſhould raiſe a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made ſuch loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius* touched with compaſſion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the perſon. She after ſome deliberation choſe her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, aſked her, why ſhe had ſo little regard for her huſband and children, as to ſave the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily anſwered, that ſhe could get another huſband, and have by him other children if ſhe ſhould be deprived of thoſe ſhe had, but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but ſaved alſo her eldeſt ſon. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deſerts [z].

[z] Idem. c. 117.

In the beginning of the second year of *Darius*, the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* [a]; which the *Samaritans* understanding applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, that the *Jews* were not authorised to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances *Tatnai* accompanied by *Shethar-boznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*, and, after viewing the work, inquired of the elders by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular; and having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Shethar-boznai* enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* was entirely restored (R) [b].

Year of the Flood, 2482. Year before Christ 517.

About the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians*, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their

[a] Haggai, i. 1. [b] Ezra. vi.

(R) From the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 17th according to the *Babylonian* computation) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the 4th year of *Darius Hystaspes*, when the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, just seventy years passed according to the canon. So that sacred and prophane chronology exactly agree in this particular.

antient

antient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *Assyrians*. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of *Cambyses*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years, and at last broke out into an open rebellion, which drew *Darius* with all his forces to besiege the city. The *Babylonians*, seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the comsumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house [c].

Babylon revolts.

Darius, having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place, among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and having mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians* thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius* for adviling him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians*, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*, and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius* by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success *Zopyrus* acquired such credit, that the guard of the

[c] HERODOT. c. 150.

city

city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians* mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time *Zopyrus*, opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who without this stratagem could never have

Babylon taken. mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time, and *Darius*, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of these walls only *Strabo*[d] is to be understood to speak, where he tells us, that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send 50000 women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have become depopulated. As for *Zopyrus*, he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, rather than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without shedding many tears[e].

The Scythian expedition. AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the *Scythians*, inhabiting those countries which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in subjection for the space of 28 years, as we have related in the history of *Media*. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, to which his ambition alone and desire of extending his conquests prompted him. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*; from *Thrace* he advanced to the *Iller* or *Danube*, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the measures they

[d] STRAB. l. vi. [e] HERODOT. ibid.

should

ſhould take to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themſelves from the frontiers in proportion as the *Perſians* advanced, laying waſte the country and filling up the wells and ſprings. Purſuant to this reſolution they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and finding him diſpoſed to give them battle, they retired, drawing him from country to country, till his army was quite tired with ſuch tedious and fatiguing marches. At laſt he began to be ſenſible of the danger he was in of periſhing with all his forces, and having reſolved to give over that raſh enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and ſick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all poſſible expedition in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians*, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a conſiderable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had ſent expreſſes before-hand to perſuade the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they preſſed them to it more earneſtly, repreſenting to them, that as the time preſcribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapſed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to conſult among themſelves, whether or no they ſhould comply with the requeſt of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, having the public intereſt more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing ſo favourable an opportunity of ſhaking off the *Perſian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius*'s retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except *Hiſtiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who repreſented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, ſince it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depoſe them and recover their liberty, if the *Perſian* power ſhould ſink or decline. This ſpeech made a deep impreſſion upon the *Ionian* generals, and private intereſt prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for *Darius*, but in order to deceive the *Scythians* and prevent them from uſing any violence, they declared, that their deſign was to retire purſuant to their requeſt;

queſt; and the better to impoſe upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius*, and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* requeſt, but miſſed *Darius* who arrived ſafe at the bridge, repaſſed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyxus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to complete the conqueſt of that country. With the reſt of his troops he repaſſed the *Boſphorus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he ſpent the winter and the greateſt part of the year following to refreſh his army, which had ſuffered extremely in that raſh and unſucceſsful expedition [f].

Megabyzus, having brought all *Thrace* under ſubjection, diſpatched ſeven *Perſian* noblemen, that ſerved under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoyning him to acknowledge *Darius* for his Maſter by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their requeſt, but received them into his houſe and having prepared a ſumptuous feaſt enertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the *Perſians*, being heated with wine, deſired *Amyntas* to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the cuſtom of the country, the king, fearing to diſpleaſe them, did as they required. But the *Perſians* not obſerving a due decency on that occaſion, the king's ſon, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to ſee his mother and ſiſters treated in ſuch a manner, contrived to ſend them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the ſame time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he cauſed a like number of young men to be dreſſed like women, and armed with poinards under their garments. Theſe he brought into the room inſtead of the others, and when the *Perſians* began to uſe them as they had treated the women, they drew their poinards, fell upon the *Perſians*, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great ſearch was made by *Megabyzus* for theſe noblemen, but *Alexander* having with large preſents bribed *Bubares*, who was ſent to inquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter ſtifled [g].

The *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having paſſed the *Danube* laid waſte all that part of *Thrace* which had ſubmitted to the *Perſians*, as far as the *Helleſpont*, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any oppoſition.

[f] Herodot. l. iv. c. 102---144. [g] Idem, l. v. c. 17---21.

Darius,

Darius, having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the *Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards, and in order to facilitate his design resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia* a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river, till he arrived at the southern ocean; from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax* having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red-sea* by the straights of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his first setting out landed in *Egypt* at the same place, from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians*, who were in his service, to sail round the coast of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only says, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time [h] (S). *Conquers India.*

Darius, after his return to *Susa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace* and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time a sedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the populace, were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to *Aristagoras*, beseeching him to restore them to their country. *Aristagoras* at that time resided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Histiæus* (T), to whom he *The revolt of the Ionians.*

[h] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 44-- 94.

(S) This payment was made according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, the same with the *Attic*, and therefore, according to the lowest computation, amounted to one million and ninety five thousand pound sterling.

(T) *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis* after his unhappy expedition against the *Scythians*, being informed, that he owed his own safety

he was both nephew and son-in-law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxus*. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being powerful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxus*; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Ar-*

and that of his whole army to *Histiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to destroy the bridge on the *Danube*, sent for that prince, and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him. *Histiæus* desired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted he returned to *Miletus*, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for *Thrace*, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis* represented to *Darius*, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as *Histiæus*, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of *Persia* would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. *Darius*, being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Histiæus*, enjoining him to repair to *Sardis* in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending, that he wanted such an able councellor and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Histiæus*, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21).

(21) *Herodot.* l. v. c. 1.

taphernes

taphernes was ſo well pleaſed with theſe propoſals, that inſtead of the hundred ſhips, which *Ariſtagoras* demanded, he promiſed him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly having obtained the king's conſent he ſent the next ſpring to *Miletus* the number of ſhips which he had promiſed, under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Perſian* of the *Achæmenian* family. But his commiſſion being to obey the orders of *Ariſtagoras*, and the haughty *Perſian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a diſſention aroſe between the two generals, which was carried ſo far, that *Megabates*, to be revenged on *Ariſtagoras*, gave the *Naxians* ſecret intelligence of the deſign that was carrying on againſt them. Hereupon they made ſuch preparations for their defence, that the *Perſians*, after having ſpent four months in beſieging the chief town of the iſland, and conſumed all their proviſions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miſcarried, *Megabates*, threw all the blame upon *Ariſtagoras*, and his falſe accuſations being more favourably heard than the juſt defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to underſtand, that they would be exacted with the utmoſt rigour. As he was not able to pay ſo large a ſum, he foreſaw that this muſt end not only in the loſs of his government, but his utter ruin. This deſperate ſituation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himſelf from his preſent difficulties. No ſooner had he formed this deſign, but a meſſenger arrived from *Hiſtiæus* who confirmed him in it (U). *Hiſtiæus*, after ſeveral years continuance at the *Perſian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and deſirous to return to his country, thought this the moſt likely means to accompliſh his deſire. For he flattered himſelf, that if any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius* to ſend him thither to appeaſe them, as in effect it happened. *Ariſtagoras*, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of

(U) *Hiſtiæus* being deſirous to impart his deſign to *Ariſtagoras*, and finding no other means, by reaſon all the paſſages leading into *Ionia* were guarded, ſhaved the hair of one of his ſervants in whoſe fidelity he moſt confided, and having imprinted the meſſage on his head, kept him at *Suſa* till his hair was grown again. He then diſpatched him to *Miletus* without any other inſtructions, than that upon his arrival he ſhould deſire *Ariſtagoras* to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(22) *Herodot. ibid. c.* 36.

Histiæus, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking [i].

The next year *Aristagoras* to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, re-instated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year he went to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send him

[i] Idem, l. v. c. 35, 36.

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedemonians* and *Ionians* were countrymen; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the *Ionians* to their antient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a warlike People, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedemonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa* the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one may travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras*, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sunset,

him any ſuccours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the *Athenians* were diſpoſed to cloſe with any meaſures againſt the *Perſians*, being highly exaſperated againſt them on the following occaſion. *Hippias*, the ſon of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been baniſhed about ten years before, and tried in vain ſeveral other ways to bring about his reſtoration, at length applied himſelf to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*; and having inſinuated himſelf into his favour, did all that lay in his power to ſtir him up againſt them. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, ſent ambaſſadors to *Sardis*, deſiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their out-laws ſhould inſinuate to their diſadvantage. The anſwer of *Artaphernes* to this embaſſy was, that if they deſired to live in peace, they muſt recall *Hippias*. This haughty meſſage incenſed the *Athenians* to a great degree againſt the *Perſians*, and *Ariſtagoras* arriving there juſt at this juncture, eaſily obtained whatever he deſired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ſhips to be immediately equipped and ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Ionians*.

THE *Ionians* having at laſt drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ſhips and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the iſland of *Eubœa*, they ſet ſail for *Epheſus*, and having left their ſhips there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they eaſily made themſelves maſters of. As moſt of the houſes were built with reeds, an *Ionian* ſoldier having accidentally ſet one of them

ſet, for adviſing the *Spartans* to take a march into *Aſia*, not to be performed in leſs than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Ariſtagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of ſuppliants, followed him home to his houſe, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by preſents; but before he made any offer he deſired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him that he might ſpeak freely without apprehending any thing from ſo young a child, *Ariſtagoras* began with the promiſe of ten talents in caſe *Cleomenes* would comply with his requeſt, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the ſum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, elſe this ſtranger will corrupt you.* *Cleomenes* was ſo well pleaſed with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered *Ariſtagoras* that inſtant to depart his dominions (z3).

(z3) *Idem, l.* v. c. 51.

on

on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reimbark at *Ephesus*. But before they reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians*, who escaped, immediately hoist sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, *Remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis* the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece*[k]. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

The *Ionians*, though deserted by the *Athenians*, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the *Hellespont* and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they made a descent in *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of *Cyprus* likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Persians*. The *Persian* generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the *Phœnicians* to assist them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians*, as they were sailing to *Cyprus*, fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked, and dispersed them. But at the same time the *Persian* troops, that

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 99---105.

were

were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Oneſilus*, the ſon of *Cherſis*, author of their revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by ſea; for the whole iſland of *Cyprus* was again brought under ſubjection [1].

AFTER the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Dauriſes*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, three *Perſian* generals, and all ſons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways againſt the revolters. *Dauriſes* held his courſe to the *Helleſpont*, and from thence, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the revolted cities, marched againſt the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two ſucceſſive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuſcade he was ſlain with ſeveral other *Perſians* of diſtinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymees*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Myſia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coaſt, but falling ſick at *Troas* ſoon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes*, with the reſt of the *Perſian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the centre of the *Ionian* confederacy, reſolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would ſubmit of their own accord. Purſuant to this reſolution they entered *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where their main ſtrength lay, and took the city of *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyme* in *Æolia*, which was ſuch a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Ariſtagoras*, not finding himſelf in a condition after that loſs to make head againſt the enemy, reſolved to abandon *Miletus*, and conſult his own ſafety by retiring to ſome more diſtant place. Accordingly he embarked, with ſuch as were willing to follow him, and ſet ſail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he ſeized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Hiſtiæus*. But as he was beſieging a place ſituated beyond thoſe limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent citizen, who being informed, that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* deſigned to bend all their force againſt *Miletus*, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting it was agreed, that they ſhould not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and ſtore their city with all manner of proviſions for a ſiege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the *Perſians* at ſea, thinking themſelves, by reaſon of their ſkill in maritime affairs, moſt likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous

[1] Idem, l. vi. c. 1--5.

was

was *Lada*, a ſmall iſland over-againſt *Miletus*, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 ſail. At the ſight of this fleet the *Perſians*, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emiſſaries they had ſecretly corrupted the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert the common cauſe. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and ſeveral others, hoiſting ſail returned to their reſpective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not conſiſt of above 100 ſhips, they were quickly over-powered by the *Perſians*, and almoſt entirely deſtroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately beſieged both by ſea and land, and ſoon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the ſixth year after the revolt of *Ariſtagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Thoſe that ſtood out were treated as they had been threatened before-hand; the handſomeſt of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women ſent into *Perſia*; their cities and temples were reduced to aſhes. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themſelves, by ſeconding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men, *Ariſtagoras* and *Hiſtiæus* [m].

The latter had his ſhare in the general calamity; for being taken by the *Perſians* and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who haſtened his execution without conſulting *Darius*, leſt his affection for him ſhould incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let looſe, would not fail to create new diſturbances. It afterwards appeared, that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well grounded; for when *Hiſtiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expreſſed great diſpleaſure againſt the authors of his death, and cauſed his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a perſon, to whom he profeſſed infinite obligations. He was the moſt bold, reſtleſs, and enterprizing genius of his age; with him all means were good and lawful, that ſerved to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own intereſt and ambition, to which he ſacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his neareſt relations. But we ſhall have occaſion to bring him again upon the ſcene, in the hiſtory of *Ionia* and the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*.

His expedition againſt Greece.

The *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the iſlands on the coaſts of *Aſia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardonius* the ſon of *Gobryas*, a young *Perſian* noble-

[m] Idem, l. vi. 31--33.

man, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coaſts of *Aſia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* the burning of *Sardis*. *Mardonius*, having rendezvouſed his forces at the *Helleſpont*, marched, purſuant to his orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet firſt to reduce *Thaſus*, and then to coaſt along the ſhore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all the country, terrified at ſuch a mighty army, ſubmitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount *Athos* in order to gain the coaſt of *Macedonia*, was entirely diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed upwards of 300 ſhips and 20,000 men. His land army met at the ſame time with a misfortune no leſs fatal; for being encamped in a place not ſufficiently ſecured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night, broke into the camp, ſlew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himſelf, who, being diſabled by theſe loſſes to proſecute his deſign either by ſea or land, marched back into *Aſia*, without reaping any advantage for his maſter, or glory for himſelf in this expedition [n].

Darius hearing of the ill ſucceſs of *Mardonius*, and aſcribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his own nephew, being the ſon of *Artapher-nes* the king's brother, and late governor of *Sardis*. But before he would make any further attempts upon *Greece*, he judged it expedient firſt to ſound the *Greeks*, and try how thoſe different ſtates ſtood affected to, or were averſe from, the *Perſian* government. With this view he ſent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of ſubmiſſion. On the arrival of theſe heralds many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the power of the *Perſians*, complied with their demand; as did alſo the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a ſmall iſland over-againſt, and not far from, *Athens*. But at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with ſo favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their paſſion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were aſhamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to the king of *Perſia* at *Suſa*, to offer him what ſatisfaction he pleaſed for the affront they had

[n] Idem, l. vi. c. 43--45.

put upon his heralds. But *Darius*, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of [o].

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men [p], steering their course to *Naxus*, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all the temples both of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Eretria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who, as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians*, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The *Athenians* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire succours against the common enemy, which the *Lacedemonians* granted, but they could not set out till some days after, by reason of an antient and superstitious custom, which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the *Persian* armies struck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platæa* alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

The *Persian* army commanded by *Datis* consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the *Athenians* amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we

[o] Idem, l. vii. c. 133. [p] Plutarch in Moral. p. 829.

shall

ſhall have occaſion to mention often in the hiſtory of *Greece*. Theſe ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was aſſembled a diſpute aroſe among them, whether they ſhould venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Militades*, who declared, that the only way to raiſe the courage of their own troops, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance *boldly* and attack them with intrepidity. *Ariſtides*, convinced by the ſpeech of *Miltiades*, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it ſome of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewiſe, who had been very ſanguine at firſt againſt ſuch a raſh enterprize, fell in at laſt with *Miltiades*, and a reſolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all ſentiments of jealouſy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As ſoon as that came, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in ſtrength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not ſurround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees which he cauſed to be cut down for that purpoſe, and to render the *Perſian* cavalry uſeleſs. The *Athenian* forces were ſo drawn up that they were equal in front to the *Perſians*; but becauſe they had not a ſufficient number of men in the centre, that part was extremely weak, the main ſtrength of the army conſiſting in the wings. All things being thus diſpoſed, and the ſacrifice, according to the cuſtom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades*, without waiting the motions of the *Perſians*, commanded the ſignal for the battle to be given, when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy, with ſuch courage and reſolution as can hardly be expreſſed. The *Perſians* ſeeing the *Athenians* advance imputed their reſolution to folly and deſpair, being not only few in number, but entirely deſtitute of horſe, and without ſtirring prepared themſelves to receive them. After a long and obſtinate fight, the *Perſians* and *Sacæ* broke the centre of the *Athenians*, having made their greateſt efforts againſt that part. The centre was commanded by *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*, who with great intrepidity made head againſt the whole *Perſian* army, till, being born down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. But the *Athenians* and *Plateans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their centre, juſt as

The battle of Marathon. Year of the Flood, 2508. Year before Chriſt 491.

they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more. In this action several *Athenians* of great distinction were slain, and amongst others *Callimachus* and *Stasileus*, two of the chief commanders, with only 200 private men, whereas the *Persians* left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels. *Hippias* was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth [q]. Immediately after the battle, an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens* to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the public palace where the Magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet [r]. The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to *Marathon* in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous *Phidias* in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions [s] (X).

After

[q] Idem, l. vi. p. 102—120. [r] Plutarch. de glor. Athen. p. 347. [s] Paus. l. i. p. 62.

(X) *Justin* tells us (24) that the *Persians* lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by shipwreck, 200,000 men; but we choose to follow *Herodotus*, who flourished very near those times, and acquaints us, that in the battle were killed 6300 *Persians* and 192 *Athenians*. The whole *Persian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), consisted of 300,000 men. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate the same (26). *Justin* (27) and *Orosius* say, that they were in all 600,000 men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us, that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the *Athenians* there were 10,000

(24) *Justin. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 3. (26) *Plutarch in Paral.* (27) *Justin ubi supra.* (28) *Emil. Prob. in Milliad.*

AFTER this defeat the *Perſian* fleet, inſtead of ſailing by the iſlands in order to return to *Aſia*, doubled the cape of *Sunium* with a deſign to ſurpriſe *Athens* before the return of the army. But the *Athenian* troops, being appriſed of their deſign, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched with ſuch expedition, that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet, and by that means diſappointed their meaſures [t].

Datis and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Aſia*, that they might ſeem to have reaped ſome advantage from this expedition, ſent the *Eretrian* captives to *Suſa*. *Darius* had expreſſed great indignation againſt the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his priſoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Ciſſia* to inhabit, which was but a day's journey diſtant from *Suſa* [u]. Here *Apollonius Tyaneus* [w] found their deſcendants a great many ages after.

As ſoon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedemonians* began their march with two thouſand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched in ſo ſhort a time 1200 *Stades* [x]; ſuch was their eagerneſs to be preſent at the battle: but a ſilly and ridiculous ſuperſtition

[t] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [u] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 29. [w] PHILOSTRAT. l. i. c. 17. [x] ISOCR. in Paneg. p. 113.

10,000, and 1000 *Plateans*, ſay *Juſtin* and *Oroſius*; but *Probus* aſſures us, that the *Athenians* with their auxiliaries were in all but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29), upon the 6th day of *Boedromion* the third month in the *Attic* calender, after the ſummer ſolſtice, *Phænippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*, that is, in the third year of the 72d olympiad four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Severus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* paſſed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Moſt authors tell us that *Hippias* was ſlain in this battle; but *Suidas* ſays, that he eſcaped and died afterwards in the iſland of *Lemnos*. *Themiſtocles*, who became afterwards ſo famous, on this occaſion firſt entered the ſchool of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one *Cynegyrus* an *Athenian* ſoldier, who having firſt his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ſhips from putting off, took hold of it at laſt with his teeth.

(29) *Plut. de glor.* Athen. *p.* 349. (30) *Sever. Sulp. l.* ii. *ſacr. hiſt.* (31) *Thucyd. l.* i.

pre-

prevented their having a ſhare in the moſt glorious action recorded in hiſtory; for the battle was fought a day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy ſucceſs of the battle, they returned home [y].

Darius, upon the news of the unſucceſsful return of his army, was ſo far from being diſcouraged by ſuch a diſaſter, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive ſpurring him on to purſue the war with more vigour. He therefore reſolved to head the army in perſon, and iſſued orders to all his ſubjects in the ſeveral provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedion. But after he had ſpent three years in making the neceſſary preparations, a new war broke out, occaſioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs; however, as he was wholly bent on his expedition againſt *Greece*, he reſolved not to lay that aſide, but at the ſame time to ſend part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and with the reſt to march in perſon againſt his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y). But when he had prepared all things for theſe two expeditions, a great conteſt aroſe between his ſons concerning the ſucceſſion. According to an antient cuſtom among the *Perſians* the king was obliged, before he ſet out on any expedition, to name his ſucceſſor; a cuſtom wiſely eſtabliſhed to prevent the many inconveniences that attend an unſettled ſucceſſion. *Darius* thought himſelf the

[y] Idem, ibid.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) ſeems to inſinuate, that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he ſucceeded in the enterprize. That hiſtorian relates, that upon *Darius*'s deſiring to have his ſtatue placed before that of *Seſoſtris*, the chief prieſt of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* prieſt's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to ſurpaſs it. He adds further, that *Darius* had ſeveral conferences with the *Egyptian* prieſts upon matters of religion and government, and that having learned of them with what gentleneſs their antient kings uſed to treat their ſubjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Perſia*, to form himſelf upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only obſerves, that *Darius* reſolved to make war at the ſame time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in perſon, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

(32) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* i. *p.* 54 & 85.

more

more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas* his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accceſſion to the throne. Of the first *Artabazanes* was the eldest, of the latter *Xerxes*; and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged, that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand, *Xerxes* alledged that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one, who was a descendant of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus*, king of *Sparta*, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*, and hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius* a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedemonians*, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after their advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of opinion, that *Xerxes* was named to the succession, not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who in this matter was intirely governed by her authority [z] (Z).

THE

[z] Idem, l. vii c. 2, & 3.

(Z) *Justin* and *Plutarch* (33) place this dispute after the decease of *Darius*, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was absent when the king died, and *Xerxes* immediately took all the ensigns of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity.

(33) *Justin. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Plutarch. de frat. amo. p.* 448.

The ſucceſſion being thus ſettled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died in the ſecond year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice are greatly commended by the antients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ [a], as a favourer of God's people, a reſtorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worſhip at *Jeruſalem*. His kindneſs towards the *Iſraelites* was rewarded with a numerous iſſue, a long reign, and great proſperity. For though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unſucceſsful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only reſtored and entirely ſettled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much ſhaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyſes* and uſurpation of *Smerdis*, but alſo added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conqueſts, namely, *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the iſles of the *Ionian* ſea (A).

Xerxes, Year of the Flood, 2514. Year before Chriſt 485.

Xerxes ſucceeding his father employed the firſt year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his firſt acceſſion to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that which aſſigned them the tribute of *Samaria*, for furniſhing them victims to be offered in the temple [b].

In

[a] Ezra iv. Haggai and Zechar. [b] Joſeph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

ty. But upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and ſhewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanes* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquieſce, without any farther appeal, to his deciſion. During the whole time this diſpute laſted, all the demonſtrations of an entire and fraternal affection paſſed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not inſult, ſo the other did not repine or expreſs any diſſatisfaction at the ſentence, but immediately proſtrating himſelf before him, acknowledged him for his maſter, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his intereſt, and at laſt died in his ſervice in the battle of *Salamis*.

(A) The *Jews* (34) have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the laſt year of *Darius*, and that on their death the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed among the *Jews*,

(34) *Abraham Zacutus in Juchaſin. David Ganz in Zemachus. David. Seder, Olam, Zuta, &c.*

IN the ſecond year of his reign he marched againſt the *Egyptians*, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worſe condition of ſlavery than what they had felt under his predeceſſors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Suſa*. Puffed up with this ſucceſs againſt the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to aſſemble his council, and take the advice of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of his court. When they were aſſembled, he laid before them the deſign he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the ſame perſon who had been ſo unſucceſsful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping that the command of the army would be be-

which was the *ſealing up of viſion and prophecy* ſpoke of by *Daniel* (35). And miſled by the ſame tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of *Perſia* ended the ſame year; for they confound this *Darius* with the other who was conquered by *Alexander*, and will have the *Perſian* empire to have laſted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyſes*, according to them the *Ahaſuerus* who married *Eſther*, 32 years. This laſt *Darius* they take to be the ſame with *Artaxerxes*, who ſent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem*, to reſtore the *Jews* to their antient ſtate. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Perſian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to thoſe of *Egypt*. This ſhews how little they were acquainted with the *Perſian* hiſtory; and their countryman *Joſephus* ſeems to have been as much in the dark, with reſpect to *Perſia*, as they were.

(B) Theſe were, the deſire of following the footſteps of his predeceſſors, who had diſtinguiſhed their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who without any provocation had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the ſacred groves and temples; the eager deſire he had to wipe off the diſhonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and laſtly, the proſpect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conqueſt of *Europe*, the moſt rich and fertile country in the univerſe. He added, that this war had been reſolved on by his father *Darius*, and that he meant only to execute his deſigns He concluded his ſpeech with promiſing ample rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in this expedition, and deſiring them to deliver their opinions in the matter with freedom (36).

(35) *Dan.* ix. 24. (36) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 5, 6.

ſtowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to ſet forth the indiſpenſible neceſſity they all lay under of revenging the diſhonour done to the *Perſian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The reſt of the council, perceiving that the flattering diſcourſe of *Mardonius* pleaſed the king, durſt not venture to contradict it, but all kept ſilence for ſome time. At laſt *Artabanus*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addreſſing *Xerxes*, uſed all his endeavours to divert him from his preſent reſolution, and at the ſame time reproached *Mardonius* with want of ſincerity, and ſhewed how much he was to blame for deſiring raſhly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and ſelf-intereſted views could tempt him to adviſe. He concluded with theſe words: "If "a war be reſolved upon, let the king remain in *Perſia*, and "our children be depoſited in his hands. Then go on with "your expedition attended by the beſt forces you can chooſe, "and in what numbers you think fit. If the iſſue be favour-"able, I am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of "my children. But on the contrary, if the event be ſuch as "I have foretold, then let your children ſuffer death, and "you alſo, if ever you return". *Artabanus* expreſſed his ſentiments in very reſpectful and inoffenſive terms; but nevertheleſs *Xerxes* was extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if *Artabanus* were not his uncle he ſhould ſuffer that moment the due puniſhment for ſuch an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to ſtay at home among the women, whom he too much reſembled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him. However, when the firſt emotion of his anger was paſt, he owned, that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with ſuch harſh language; and was not aſhamed to repair his fault, by openly confeſſing, that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him treſpaſs againſt the regard that was due to a prince ſo worthy of reſpect as *Artabanus* e. At the ſame time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aſide the deſign of invading *Greece*, notwithſtanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his ſleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war (C). All the

e Idem, l. vii. c. 6, 7.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes*, reflecting in the night-time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded

the *Perſians*, who compoſed the council, were overjoy'd to hear the king ſpeak in that manner, and proſtrating themſelves before him, ſtrove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay *Artabanus* himſelf, the only man who had openly diſapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's diſpleaſure, became a moſt ſanguine and zealous promoter of the war [d].

Xerxes, being now reſolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the ſucceſs of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who were at that time the moſt powerful people of the

[d] Idem, ibid. c. 8, 9, &c.

cluded at laſt, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his reſolution he fell aſleep, and ſaw in a dream a man of an uncommon ſtature and beauty ſtanding by him, and uttering theſe words: Have you then changed your deſign of leading an army into *Greece*, after having ordered the *Perſians* to aſſemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your reſolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Reſume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The *Phantom*, having pronounced theſe words, diſappeared; and the next morning *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, ſummoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wiſhed them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the ſame *Phantom* appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war againſt *Greece*, he ſhould become little and contemptible in as ſhort a time as he had been raiſed to greatneſs and power. The king, terrified with this ſecond dream, ſent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to ſit on the throne, and paſs the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at firſt begged to be excuſed as not deſerving the honour of ſitting in the king's throne; but being preſſed by *Xerxes*, who was perſuaded, that if the dream was from the gods *Artabanus* would ſee the ſame viſion, he at laſt complied with his deſire and cloathed himſelf with the royal robes. As he ſlept in the king's bed, the ſame *Phantom* appeared to him, threatening him with the greateſt calamities, if he continued to oppoſe the king's intentions. This ſo terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's firſt opinion, believing, that there was ſomething divine in theſe repeated viſions, and the war againſt *Greece* was reſolved on (37).

(37) *Idem*, *l.* vii. *c.* 8, 9, &c.

weſt, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* ſhould fall upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raiſed what forces he could in *Afric*, but with the money ſent him by *Xerxes* hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; ſo that his army conſiſted of 300,000 men, beſides a proportionable number of ſhips for tranſporting his forces and the neceſſary proviſions[e]. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the prophecy of *Daniel*[f], having *by his ſtrength through his riches ſtirred up all* the nations of the then known *world againſt the realm of* Greece; that is, all the weſt under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the eaſt under his own banners, ſet out from *Suſa* to enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having ſpent three years in making vaſt preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-ſpeading empire. From *Suſa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coaſts of *Aſia Minor* towards the *Helleſpont*.

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the ſea-ſide; the one was a paſſage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great way into the ſea in the form of a peninſula, and is joined to the land by an iſthmus twelve furlongs over. The ſea in this place is very tempeſtuous, and the *Perſian* fleet had formerly ſuffered ſhipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like diſaſter *Xerxes* cauſed a paſſage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two gallies, with three banks of oars each, paſs in front. By this means he ſevered from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Clone*. Our author obſerves, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of oſtentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, ſince he might, with far leſs trouble, have cauſed his fleet to be conveyed over the *Iſthmus*, as was the practice in thoſe days * (D).

He

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 1. [f] Dan. xi. 2. * Herodot. ubi ſup. c. 34. & ſeq.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms; Athos, *thou proud and aſpiring mountain, that liſteſt up thy head to the very ſkies, I adviſe thee not to be ſo audacious as to put rocks and ſtones, that*

cannot

HE likewiſe commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Helleſpont*, for the paſſing of his forces from *Aſia* into *Europe*. The ſea, which ſeparates *Seſtos* and *Abydos*, where the bridge was built, is ſeven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no ſooner finiſhed it, but a violent ſtorm ariſing broke it in pieces, and diſperſed or daſhed againſt the ſhore the veſſels of which it was compoſed; which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into ſuch a violent tranſport of anger, that he commanded 300 ſtripes to be inflicted on the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining thoſe who *cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makeſt that oppoſition, I will cut thee intirely down, and throw thee headlong into the ſea* (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and moſt of them are of *Juvenal*'s opinion expreſſed in theſe words; *Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in hiſtoria.* The directors of this enterprize were *Bubaris* the ſon of *Megabyxus*, and *Artacheus* the ſon of *Arbæus*, both *Perſians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they firſt drew a line before the city of *Sana*, ſituated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themſelves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was conſiderably ſunk, thoſe who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions ſtanding on ladders, who handed it to ſuch as ſtood higher, till it was conveyed to thoſe that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author obſerves (39), that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen except the *Phœnicians* had double the labour, by reaſon the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was aſſigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and ſloaped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of juſtice and a market, furniſhed with corn and other neceſſaries brought from *Aſia*. This work does not ſeem to us ſo very ſurpriſing and incredible, as ſome would make it, when we conſider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were ſpent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Beſides, the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* ſeems to inſinuate, but, behind mount *Athos*, where the *Iſthmus* was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two gallies paſs in front.

(38) *Plutarch. de ira cohib. p.* 455. (39) *Idem, ibid. c.* 34.

were

were trusted with the execution of his orders to pronounce these words: *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance.* The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off [g].

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was compleated, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secured against the violence of the winds and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydos*. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect of the coast, seeing at one view both his fleet and landforces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydos*, with his troops quite down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which *Artabanus* perceiving asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the sorrows and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation *Xerxes* asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion and dissuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea

[g] Idem, c. 33—36.

and

and the land; the ſea, becauſe there were no ports capable of receiving and ſheltering ſuch a fleet, if a ſtorm ſhould ariſe; the land, becauſe no country could maintain ſo numerous an army. The king was very ſenſible of the ſtrength of his reaſoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made anſwer; that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into ſo nice a diſcuſſion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though ſubject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however ſafe; that great ſucceſſes are no otherwiſe to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſuch ſcrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the *Perſian* empire would never have attained to ſo high a degree of glory and grandeur [h].

ALL things being now in readineſs, and a day appointed, for the paſſing over of the army, as ſoon as the firſt rays of the ſun began to appear, all ſorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way ſtrewed with myrtle. At the ſame time *Xerxes* pouring a libation into the ſea out of a golden cup, and addreſſing the ſun, implored the aſſiſtance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, ſo great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmoſt limits of *Europe*. This done he threw the cup into the *Helleſpont*, with a golden bowl and a *Perſian* ſcymetar, and the foot and horſe began to paſs over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beaſts of burden paſſed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* ſea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each ſide, that the horſes and cattle might not be frightened at the ſight of the ſea. The army ſpent ſeven days and ſeven nights in paſſing over, though they marched day and night without intermiſſion, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the ſame time the fleet made to the coaſts of *Europe*. After the whole army was paſſed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces through the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* to *Doriſcus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace*; but the fleet ſteered a quite different courſe, ſtanding to the weſtward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes*, having encamped in the large plains of *Doriſcus*, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, diſpatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent ſhore, that he might

[h] Idem, ibid. c. 45. & ſeq.

take

take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, which together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand gallies and transports; on board of all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the *Hellespont* to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy *Greece*, in the shape of a *Persian* and under the name of *Xerxes*, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this side the *Hellespont*, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces, three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, was two millions six hundred and forty one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces: so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty [f] (E). Among these millions of men there was

[f] Herodot. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Isocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43), *Ælian* (44), and others fall far short of this number, making the army, which *Xerxes* led against *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. These probably mistook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the most antient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather, because we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; and the ac-

(40) *Plutarch. in Themist.* (41) *Isocr. in Panathen.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. (43) *Plin. l.* xxxiii *c.* 10. (44) *Ælian var. histor. l.* xiii. *c.* 3.

cour

was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comelineſs or ſtature, or that ſeemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompained with other qualifications. Accordingly *Juſtin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *but this vaſt body wanted a head.* Beſides the ſubordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the whole army was under the command of ſix *Perſi*- generals, *viz.* *Mardonius* the ſon of *Gobryas*, *Triatatæchmes* the ſon of *Artabanus*, *Smerdones* the ſon of *Otanes*, (the two latter were couſins to *Xerxes*), *Maſiſtes* the ſon of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*, *Gergys* the ſon of *Ariazus*, and *Megabyzus* the ſon of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thouſand *Perſians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Perſian* admirals, and likewiſe the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, having thus numbered his ſea and land-forces at *Doriſcus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Theſſaly* towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Wherever he came he found proviſions prepared before-hand, purſuant to the orders he had ſent, and each city was obliged to entertain him, which coſt im-

count of *Herodotus* beſt agrees with the verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe *Greeks* that were ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, where it is ſaid, that they fought againſt three millions, as we read the inſcription in *Herodotus*, or againſt two, as we find it in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Joſephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a paſſage out of *Chærilus* (47), where it is ſaid, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *People who uſed the* Phœnician *language, and dwelt in the* Solymæan *land on hills near a great lake.* As *Jeruſalem* was alſo called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabout was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Aſphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), underſtand thoſe verſes of the *Solymi* in *Piſidia*. However, *Salmaſius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to ſend their quotas of men, the *Jews* alone ſhould be exempted. Whether therefore thoſe mentioned by *Chærilus* were *Jews* or not, it muſt be allowed, that they alſo bore a part in this expedition.

(45) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. *p.* 26. (46) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* 10. (47) *Chæril. ibid.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad frag.* (49) *Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (50) *Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, Part II l.* i. *c.* 2. (51) *Salmaſ. in Linguæ Hellenisticæ oſſilegio.*

menſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes*'s moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day [g].

In the mean time *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent ambaſſadors to *Argos*, to *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire ſuccours and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedemonians* in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta*; but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the ambaſſadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſun-ſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* ambaſſadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigning to ſide afterwards with the conqueror. The people of *Crete*, having conſulted the oracle to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Theſpians* and *Plateans*, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance. The firſt thing they took care of in ſo critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all inteſtine diviſions and diſcords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Ægina*, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chooſing *Themiſtocles*, and the *Spartans* conferring the ſupreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas* one of their kings. The only thing that now remained was, to determine in what place they ſhould meet the *Perſians*, in order to diſpute their entrance into *Greece*. After various propoſals and diſputes it was reſolved, that they ſhould ſend a body of four thouſand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow paſs, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that

[g] Idem, ibid. c. 108—132.

divide

divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Attica*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself.

IN the mean time *Xerxes*, advancing near the straights, was strangely surprised to find that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedemonians* were, some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, *Xerxes*, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public-spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas*, in a style and with a spirit truly *Laconical*, answer-

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court, but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king, could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) *Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p.* 220.

ed him in a few words; *Come thyself and take them* [h]. *Xerxes* at this answer, transported with rage commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* to march against them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes*, not able to stand the shock of the brave *Greeks*, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author observes, that *Xerxes* had many men but few soldiers. In their room *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body which was called *immortal*, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to close with the *Greeks*, they succeeded no better than the *Medes* and *Cissians*, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the *Persians*, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the *Greeks* give way; on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the *Greeks* exerted itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army [i].

Xerxes, having lost all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs; when one *Ephialtes* a *Melian*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither with his select body of ten thousand *Persians*, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post. The *Phoceans*, who defended this pass, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes*, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those who defended the straights in the rear. *Leonidas*, being now apprised, that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but stayed himself with the *Thespians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedemonians*, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* should be destroyed or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained against their inclination, being de-

[h] Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 225. [i] Herodot. c. 210. Diodor. Sicul. p. 6. Ctesias in Persicis, c. 23.

tained

tained by *Leonidas* as hoſtages, for they were ſuſpected to favour the *Perſians*. The *Theſpians* with their leader *Demophilus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megiſtias*, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being preſſed by *Leonidas* to retire, ſent home his only ſon, but remained himſelf and died by *Leonidas*. Thoſe who ſtayed did not feed themſelves with any hopes of conquering or eſcaping, but looked upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves. And when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take ſome nouriſhment, ſaid, that they ſhould all ſup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they ſet up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet [k].

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the riſing of the ſun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been adviſed by *Ephialtes*. Upon their approach, *Leonidas* advanced to the broadeſt part of the paſſage, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch an undaunted courage and reſolution, that the *Perſian* officers were obliged to ſtand behind the diviſions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the ſea were drowned, others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of thoſe who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmoſt efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*, which *Abrocomes* and *Hyperanthas*, two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, obſerving, advanced with great reſolution to ſeize his body and carry it in triumph to *Xerxes*. But the *Lacedemonians*, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulſed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of diſtinction, and reſcued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous *Ephialtes*, advancing to attack the rear, they retired to the narroweſt place of the paſſage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, poſted themſelves on a riſing ground. In this place they made head againſt the *Perſians*, who poured in upon them on all ſides, till at length not vanquiſhed, but oppreſſed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who eſcaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and a traytor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominous nick-

[k] Idem 212. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 7. CTESIAS ubi ſupra. c. 24.

name

name of *Aristodemus the run-away* (G); but not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the *Lacedemonians* were *Alpheus* and *Maron*, both sons of *Orisiphantus*, among the *Thespians Dithyrambus*, but above all *Leonidas* and *Dieneces*; *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle that the army of the *Barbarians* was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes* enraged against *Leonidas*, to the last degree, for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross,

(G) Some say, as our author informs us (53), that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent distemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there some time in suspence whether they should return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylæ*, and there die with the rest of their country-men. At last *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Persians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But *Aristodemus* wanting courage staid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned safe to *Sparta*. Others say, that both *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus* had been dispatched some-whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred *Spartans*, by name *Pantites*, survived this action and returned to *Sparta*. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans* he laid violent hands on himself. As for the *Thebans* and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for some time to fight against the *Persians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no sooner saw the *Persians* descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the *Persians* with their arms stretched out, told them, that they had always favoured the *Persians*, that they had been the first among the *Greeks* to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylæ* against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the *Thebans* saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were by command of *Xerxes* branded with the royal mark as slaves, and among these was *Leontides* their general (54).

(53) *Herodot. ubi supra.* (54) *Idem, ubi supra.*

which

which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy than to the diſhonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylæ* in honour of thoſe brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inſcriptions, the one general and relating to all thoſe who died on this occaſion, importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponneſus* to the number only of four thouſand made head againſt the *Perſian* army conſiſting of three milions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was compoſed by the poet *Simonides* to this purport: *Go, paſſenger, and acquaint the* Spartans, *that we died here in obedience to their juſt commands.* At thoſe tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great ſolemnity, wherein none but the *Lacademonians* and *Theſpians* had any ſhare, to ſhew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylæ* [1](H).

Xerxes on this occaſion loſt 20,000 men; and being ſenſible that ſo great a loſs was capable of alarming and diſcouraging his friends, he cauſed all thoſe that were killed, except a thouſand, whoſe bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through *Bœotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had paſſed the *Helleſpont*.

THE very ſame day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylæ*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemiſium* a promontory of *Eubœa*. That of the *Greeks* conſiſted of 271 ſail; but the *Perſian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had loſt a few days before, in a violent ſtorm which continued four days, above 400 ſhips. Notwithſtanding this loſs they ſent 200 ſhips with orders to ſail round the iſland of *Eubœa* and encompaſs the *Grecian* fleet, that none of their ſhips might eſcape. The *Greeks*, having intelligence of this deſign, ſet ſail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having miſſed this ſquadron, they advanced to *Aphetæ* where the whole *Perſian* fleet lay, and after ſeveral encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained conſiderable advantages,

[1] Idem, ibid. c. 238. & ſeq.

(H) There was beſides theſe inſcriptions a third relating to the augur *Megiſtias*, expreſſed in theſe words: *Under this ſtone lies divine* Megiſtias *ſlain by the* Medes; *with an undaunted heart he ſaw his fate approaching, and refuſed to live, when the* Spartans *had reſolved to die* (55).

(55) *Idem, ibid. & ſeq.*

they

they came to a general engagement, which was very obſtinate, and the ſucceſs pretty equal. However, the *Greeks* found it neceſſary, their ſhips having ſuffered a great deal, to retire to ſome ſafer place to refit, and accordingly ſteered their courſe to the ſtraights of *Salamis*, a ſmall iſland very near, and over-againſt, *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemiſium* did not bring matters to an abſolute deciſion, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithſtanding their great number, were not invincible [m].

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themiſtocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to ſecure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Trœzene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were no-ways in a condition to defend. The *Perſians*, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens*, waſted the whole country putting all to fire and ſword. A detachment was ſent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich, by reaſon of the many offerings and donatives ſent thither from all the parts of the eaſt. If we may believe what *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Perſians* no ſooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnaſſus*, and cruſhed the greateſt part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens* found it deſerted by all its inhabitants, except a ſmall number of citizens, who, literally interpreting *Apollo*'s oracle, *That* Athens *ſhould be ſaved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and paliſadoes. They defended themſelves with incredible courage and reſolution, and at laſt, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatſoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Suſa*, with the agreeable news of his ſucceſs, to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whoſe hands he had left the government during his abſence [n].

In the mean time the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ſhips, which joined them from ſeveral parts of *Greece*, to the number of 300 ſail, *Eurybiades*, commander in chief of all the naval forces, ſummoned a council, in order

[m] Herodot. l. viii. c. 1—18. [n] Herodot. l. viii. c. 51.

to conſult about the meaſures that ſeemed moſt proper in the preſent ſtate of affairs. In this council a great debate aroſe among the commanders; ſome, and among theſe *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that paſſage under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themiſtocles* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, were for remaining at *Salamis*, the moſt advantageous place they could chooſe to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the ſtraights of *Salamis* the *Perſians* could not, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ſea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*, and conſequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm diſputes, *Eurybiades* with all the other commanders came over to the opinion of *Themiſtocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whoſe ſhips made up above one half of the fleet, would ſeparate from the allies, if they abandoned that poſt, as *Themiſtocles* in his ſpeech had inſinuated. It was therefore unanimouſly reſolved, that in the ſtraights of *Salamis* they ſhould wait for the *Perſian* fleet, and there engage them [o].

A council of war likewiſe was held on the ſide of the *Perſians*, in order to determine whether they ſhould hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, becauſe they knew this advice to be moſt agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemiſia* was the only perſon that oppoſed this reſolution. She was queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with five ſhips, the beſt equipped of any in the fleet, except thoſe of the *Sidonians*. This princeſs diſtinguiſhed herſelf on all occaſions by her ſingular courage, and ſtill more by her prudence and conduct; for our author obſerves, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* ſo good advice as this heroine. She repreſented, in the council of war we are ſpeaking of, the dangerous conſequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Perſians*, alledging, that the loſs of a battle at ſea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by ſpinning out the war and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealouſies and diviſions among their enemies, who would ſeparate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, make himſelf maſter of *Greece*.

[o] Idem, l. viii. c. 56. & ſeq.

This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimouſly reſolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to encourage his men with his preſence, cauſed a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might ſafely behold whatever happened, having ſeveral ſcribes about him to write down the names of ſuch, as ſhould ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies. The approach of the *Perſian* fleet, with the news that a ſtrong detachment from the army was marching againſt *Cleombrotus* who defended the *Iſthmus*, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Peloponneſians*, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to ſtay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to ſea and ſail to the *Iſthmus*, *Themiſtocles* privately diſpatched a truſty friend to the *Perſian* commanders, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their fleet round the iſland in order to prevent their eſcape. The ſame meſſenger aſſured *Xerxes*, that *Themiſtocles*, who had ſent him that advice, deſigned to join the *Perſians*, as ſoon as the battle began with all the *Athenian* ſhips. The king, giving credit to all he ſaid, immediately commanded a ſtrong ſquadron to ſail round the iſland in the night, in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning, as the *Peloponneſians* were preparing to ſet ſail, they found themſelves encompaſſed on all ſides by the *Perſian* fleet, and were againſt their will obliged to remain in the ſtraights of *Salamis*, and expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers with their allies. The *Grecian* fleet conſiſted of 380 ſail, that of the *Perſians* of 2000 and upwards. *Themiſtocles* avoided the engagement, till a certain wind, which roſe regularly every day at the ſame time and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As ſoon as he found himſelf favoured by this wind he gave the ſignal for battle. The *Perſians*, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great reſolution, but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeneſs and number of their ſhips embarraſſing them in a place ſo ſtrait and narrow, their courage ſoon abated; which the *Greeks* obſerving uſed ſuch efforts, that in a ſhort time, breaking into the *Perſian* fleet, they entirely diſordered them, ſome flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others ſaving themſelves in the harbours of the neighbouring iſlands. The *Ionians* were the firſt that betook themſelves to flight. But queen *Artemiſia* diſtinguiſhed herſelf above all the reſt, her ſhips being the laſt that fled, which *Xerxes* obſerving cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians* were

were ſo incenſed againſt her, that they offered a reward of ten thouſand drachmas to any one that ſhould take her alive; but ſhe in ſpite of all their efforts got clear of the ſhips that purſued her, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of *Aſia*. In this engagement, which was one of the moſt memorable actions we find recorded in hiſtory, the *Grecians* loſt 40 ſhips, and the *Perſians* 200, beſides a great many more that were taken with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king's cruelty made the beſt of their way to their reſpective countries. *Xerxes*, being under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt the conquerors ſhould ſail to the *Helleſpont* and there obſtruct his return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece* with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the reſt towards *Thrace* in order to croſs the *Helleſpont*. As no proviſions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardſhips during the whole time of his march, which laſted five and forty days. The ſoldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occaſioned innumerable diſtempers, that ſwept off the greater part of them. The king finding that his army was not in a condition to purſue the march ſo expeditiouſly as he deſired, advanced with a ſmall retinue, leaving the reſt behind; but when he arrived at the *Helleſpont*, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the ſtorms, and was reduced to the neceſſity of croſſing over in a fiſhing-boat. From the *Helleſpont* he continued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the enſuing year [P].

THE firſt thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle was, to ſend the firſt-fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the ſpoils of thoſe who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves above the reſt. It was a cuſtom in *Greece*, that after an engagement the commanding officers ſhould declare, who, in their opinion, had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the perſon that deſerved the firſt, and of him who deſerved the ſecond prize. On this occaſion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the firſt place, and in the ſecond the name of *Themiſtocles*, which plainly proved, that he deſerved the preference to all. And accordingly he was diſtinguiſhed with honours which to that time had never been beſtowed upon any

[P] Idem, c 130.

other, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Greece*[q].

About the ſame time that the actions of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis* happened, the formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, conſiſting of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by *Gelo* king of *Syracuſe*. We ſhall give a particular account of this victory in the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*.

[q] Idem, 117. Justin. l. ii. c. 13.

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Continuation of the Reigns of the Kings of Perſia.

ON *Xerxes*'s departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius*, having paſſed the winter in *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the ſpring into *Bœotia*. From thence he ſent *Alexander* king of *Macedon* with very advantageous offers to the people of *Athens*, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demoliſhed the year before in *Attica*; to ſuffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinſtate them in all their former poſſeſſions, and to add to them whatever other lands they ſhould deſire. *Alexander*, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity of reſettling their affairs, repreſenting, that they were not in a condition to ſtand out againſt ſo powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not by any means be prevailed upon to deſert the intereſt of

Greece. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched with all his army into *Attica*, waſting and deſtroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians*, not being in a condition to withſtand ſuch a torrent, retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and the ſecond time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demoliſhed whatever had eſcaped his fury the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bœotia*. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow paſſes. On his return into *Bœotia*, he encamped on the banks of the *Aſopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither under the command of *Pauſanias*, protector to *Pliſtarchus* king of *Sparta*, and of *Ariſtides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Perſian* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, conſiſted of 350,000, according to *Diodorus* of 500,000 men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of 110,000. *Mardonius* in order to try the courage of the *Greeks*, ſent out his cavalry, in which the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain ſuſtained the firſt onſet; but in ſpite of all their reſolution were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 *Athenians* with a ſmall number of bow-men advanced to their relief. *Maſiſtius*, general of the *Perſian* horſe, and one highly eſteemed in *Perſia*, ſeeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The ſhock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to ſhew by the iſſue of this encounter what might be the ſucceſs of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at laſt *Maſiſtius* being killed, the *Perſians* betook themſelves to flight. The death of *Maſiſtius* was greatly lamented by the *Perſians*, who, to ſhew their concern for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewiſe the manes of their horſes, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the ſpace of ten days, only looking at one another. At laſt *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to bear any further delays, and his proviſions being almoſt conſumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they ſhould give battle, or retire till ſuch time as they were ſupplied with freſh proviſions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great diſtinction and experience, was of opinion, that they ſhould not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they ſhould be

be in a condition to lay in ſtores of proviſion and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might caſt a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by ſending rich preſents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the ſame opinion; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the reſult of their deliberations was, that they ſhould give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came ſecretly about midnight into their camp, and informed *Ariſtides* of all that had paſſed [r].

THE *Greek* generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged *Pauſanias* thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might ſtand oppoſite to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he with his *Spartans* engaged the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* who ſerved in the *Perſian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius*, upon the intelligence he had of this new diſpoſition, made the like change, which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former ſtations; and the *Perſians* likewiſe ranged their army according to their firſt diſpoſition. Thus did all that day paſs without any action. In the evening the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was reſolved that they ſhould decamp, and retire to ſome other place more conveniently ſituated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haſte they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confuſion happened, ſome going one way, and ſome another, without obſerving any order in their march. At laſt they ſtopped near the little city of *Platæa*. *Mardonius*, being informed that the *Greeks* were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and purſued them with great ſhouts, as if he were not to fight, but to ſtrip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occaſion to inſult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the falſe notions he had conceived of the *Lacedemonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having paſſed the *Aſopus*, he came up with the *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeans*, who were ſeparated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. *Pauſanias*, finding himſelf thus attacked by the whole *Perſian* army, diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint

[r] Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & ſeq.

the *Athenians*, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themſelves on their march to ſuccour their diſtreſſed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented by thoſe *Greeks* who ſided with the *Perſians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the firſt who broke into the very centre of the *Perſian* army, and after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance put them to flight. *Mardonius*, mounted on a white horſe, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion, and, at the head of 1000 choſen men, made a great ſlaughter of the enemies; but he falling, the whole *Perſian* army was eaſily routed, which thoſe *Greeks*, who had engaged the *Athenians*, hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* maſters of the field. The *Perſians* fled to their former camp which they had fortified with an incloſure of wood. The *Lacedemonians* purſued them, but were not able to force the intrenchment, not being accuſtomed to beſiege towns or ſtorm fortified places. The *Athenians*, hearing that the *Perſians* were thus ſhut up in their camp, gave over purſuing the *Greeks*, and haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found buſied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than ſkill. Wherefore they took upon themſelves that labour, and ſoon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the *Lacedemonians*, they made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 ſcarce 3000 made their eſcape. *Artabazus*, who from *Mardonius*'s imprudent conduct had but too well foreſeen the misfortune that befel them, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived ſafe at *Byzantium*, from thence paſſed over into *Aſia*. During the whole engagement, the *Spartans* loſt but 91 men, the *Tegeans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with moſt courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Ariſtodemus*, who was the only one that had ſaved himſelf at *Thermopylæ*, and had now wiped off the blemiſh of his former conduct by a moſt glorious death. The ſpoil was immenſe, conſiſting in vaſt ſums of money, in gold and ſilver cups, veſſels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all ſorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pauſanias*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the preſent, but all future invaſions of the *Perſians*, who henceforward never more appeared on this ſide the *Helleſpont* [f].

[f] Idem, c. 88.

The

THE same day that this battle was fought at *Platæa*, the *Grecian* fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*, over the remainder of the *Persian* navy. For at the same time that the land-forces of *Greece* rendezvoused on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta* and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither ambassadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Persian* yoke. On this invitation they immediately set sail for *Asia*, steering their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other ambassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence, that the *Persian* fleet, which had wintered at *Cume*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*, but the *Persian* fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks* arriving at *Mycale* found all the enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the *Persians*, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the *Greeks* pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the *Persians* likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbouring hills. Before the engagment they had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two *Persian* generals *Mardontes* and *Tigranes* died in the field, with many other commanders

of

of great diſtinction. The *Greeks*, having made a great ſlaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the purſuit, ſet fire to their ſhips, burnt the whole camp, and ſet ſail for *Samos* loaded with an immenſe booty conſiſting of 70 cheſts of money, beſides many other things of an ineſtimable value [t], And thus ended all the great deſigns of *Xerxes* in a moſt miſerable diſappointment, a ſmall number of thoſe millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched ſo proudly over the *Helleſpont*.

The battle of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the ſame day, and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend, that the victory at *Platæa* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though thoſe two places were parted by the whole *Ægean*, a ſea of ſeveral days ſail. But *Diodorus Siculus* [u] clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides* obſerving his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Platæa*, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raiſe their ſpirits and courage, cauſed a report to be ſpread in the army, that the *Perſians* were defeated at *Platæa*, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes upon the news of theſe two overthrows left *Sardis*, with the ſame hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haſte he could towards *Perſia*, that he might get as far as poſſible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he ſet out he gave orders, that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould be burnt and demoliſhed; and his orders were ſo far executed, that not one temple was left ſtanding, except that of *Diana* at *Epheſus* (I).

[t] Idem, c. 102. [u] Diodor Sicul. l, xi. p. 28.

(I) He was prompted to this, not by any particular diſpleaſure againſt the *Aſiatic Greeks*, but by the inſtitutions of the *Mages*, in whoſe religion he had been thoroughly inſtructed by *Zoroaſtres*. For that religion expreſſing a great deteſtation of worſhipping God by images, its zealots were for deſtroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* ſteady in their party, not only ſeveral of the chief Doctors of the *Mages*, but *Oſtanes* himſelf, who was then at the head of the whole ſect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition (56). At their inſtigation, *Tully* informs us (57), that all thoſe temples were deſtroyed.

(56) *Clem. Alexander. in Protrept. Laert. in Prœm. Pocock. Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 148, 149. (57) *Cic. de legib. l.* ii.

The

THE *Grecian* fleet after the battle of *Mycale* steered their course first to *Samos*, and thence to the *Hellespont*, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had caused to be laid over those straights; but finding them broke by storms, *Leotychides* with his *Peloponnesian* forces sailed home. *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and their allies the *Ionians*, remaining there, made himself master of *Sestos* and the whole *Thracian Chersonesus*, where the army was inriched with an immense booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the *Greeks* obtained in this war. From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty [w].

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could by no solicitations be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta* this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes*, finding her virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on

[w] DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi.

when

when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes*, foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her disposal, which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. *Hamestris*, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better executing of her design she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion the king according to the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever she demanded. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctancy to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamestris*, impowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, *Hamestris* caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time *Xerxes* had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes* in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dis-

miſſed him. *Maſiſtes*, from this ſpeech apprehending ſome great misfortune, made all the haſte he could home to ſee what had paſſed during his abſence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have deſcribed, and being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, as the caſe deſerved, he immediately aſſembled all his family, ſervants, and dependants, and ſet out with all poſſible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, determined, as ſoon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt and revenge ſuch a barbarous uſage in the ſevereſt manner. But *Xerxes*, hearing of his ſudden departure, and ſuſpecting from thence his deſign, ſent a party of horſe after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no leſs cruel and impious related of *Hameſtris*. She cauſed fourteen children of the beſt families in *Perſia* to be buried alive, as a ſacrifice to the infernal gods.

UPON the death of *Maſiſtes Xerxes* appointed *Hyſtaſpes* his ſecond ſon to be governor of *Bactriana*, which, obliging him to live at a diſtance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be ſeen in its proper place [x].

Xerxes, being wholly diſcouraged by a continual ſeries of ſo many loſſes and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conqueſts, and never afterwards ſuffered his ſhips to appear in the *Ægean* ſea, or his forces on the coaſts. He gave himſelf entirely up to luxury and eaſe, minding nothing but the gratifying of his luſts and vicious inclinations. This diſſolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his ſubjects, which encouraged *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyrcania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conſpire againſt him. He prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conſpiracy, ane being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21ſt year of his reign while he was aſleep. He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third ſon, and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager deſire of aſcending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the ſame time, that he deſigned to cut him off next, in order to ſecure the crown to himſelf, and therefore he ought to guard himſelf againſt all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, raſhly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there,

Xerxes murdered. Year of the Flood, 2535. Year before Chriſt 464.

[x] HERODOT. l. ix. c. 107, 113.

being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him[y]. The next heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but as he was then in *Bactriana*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependants, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design; but while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes* being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom[z] (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the *Greeks Macrocheir*, that is *long-handed*, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but in scripture he bears the name of *Ahasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M).

Artaxerxes

[y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 52. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 53. Ctesias, c. 29. Justin, l. iii. c. 1.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of *Artaxerxes* are by *Eusebius* (58) assigned to *Artabanus*, perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(L) *Strabo* (59) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but, according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* Μακρόχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion, that *Darius Hystaspes* was the king *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that *Atossa* had four sons

(58) *Euseb. in Chron.* (59) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Usher. Ann.. at the year of the J. P.* 4193. (62) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii.

by

Artaxerxes having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one dangerous competitor, had still two great obstacles in his way, *viz.* Artaxerxes Longimanus.

by *Darius*, all born after he ascended the throne (63), and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he that king *Ahasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Ahasuerus* of scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion was, that *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther* (66) is said to have laid a tribute on the land and on the isles, and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus*, with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews, that *Darius* was there, by the mistake of the transcribers, put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name, and what is said there of *Darius* is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

Scaliger is of opinion (69), that *Xerxes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of scripture, induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a far stronger proof that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by *Herodotus* (70), that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Ahasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint* throughout the whole book of *Esther* translate *Ahasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The appocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther*'s husband *Artaxerxes*; and from several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain, that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Josephus* (72)

(63) *Idem*, *l.* vii. (64) *Esther* i. 3. (65) *Idem*, *ibid.* (66) *Esther* x. 1. (67) *Herodot. l.* iii (68) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (69) *Scal. de emendat. temp. l.* vi. (70) *Herodot. l.* ix. (71) *Esther* ii. 16. (72) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 6.

viz. his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactriana*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Those especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated, a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. *Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactriana*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, *Artaxerxes* drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, over-powered *Hystaspes*, and by a complete victory secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire [a]. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like

[a] Plutarch. in Artax. Ctes. c. 31. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54.

tells us in express terms, that *Esther*'s husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius* and many others, both antient and modern writers, fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews* beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them.

feast

feast in her apartment for the women; and here the history of *Hadassah* or *Esther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

IN the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign the *Egyptians* revolted, and, making *Inarus*, prince of the *Libyans*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance; who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, *Artaxerxes*, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to *Achæmenides* one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in *Egypt* at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the *Nile*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, having defeated the *Persian* fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, under the command of *Charitimis* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*. They afterwards attacked with joint forces *Achæmenides*, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third called the *White-wall*, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief [b].

The Egyptians *revolt.*

Year of the Flood, 2540. Year before Christ 459.

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it, sent ambassadors to the *Lacedemonians*, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the *Athenians*, and by that means oblige them to recal their troops to the de-

[b] THUCYD. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. CTES. c. 32. 35. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59.

(N) *Herodotus* (73) and *Diodorus Siculus* (74) confound *Achæmenides* brother to *Artaxerxes*, with *Achæmenes* brother to *Xerxes* and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to *Achæmenes*, who in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes* was governor of *Egypt*. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names, for *Ctesias* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* gave the command of the troops to the son of *Hamestris*, who could not be *Achæmenes*.

(73) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii. (74) *Diodor. l.* xi.

fence

fence of their own country. But the *Lacedemonians* rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending *Themistocles*, (who had taken shelter in the *Persian* court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of *Greece*) at the head of a powerful army to invade *Attica*. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died[c]. Upon his death *Artaxerxes* ordered *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White-wall*. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into *Egypt*, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. *Inarus*, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these *Persian* governors to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the *White-wall*, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* and *Athenians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place [d].

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of *Artaxerxes*, the *Persian* fleet being equipped, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail towards the *Nile*, while *Megabyzus*, at the head of the land-forces, marched to *Memphis*. On his arrival he not only obliged *Inarus* and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the *White-wall*, but in a pitched battle, entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the *Egyptians*, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the thigh by *Megabyzus*, retired with the *Athenians* and such of the *Egyptians* as were willing to follow him to the city of *Biblus* in the island of *Prosopitis*, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenians* stationed their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and a half. In the mean time the rest of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their obedience. *Amyrtæus* alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ruled many years, the *Persians* not being able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessibleness of

[c] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor Sicul. l. xi. Plutarch. in Themist. [d] Ctes. & Diodor. ubi supra p. 281.

the

the place. *Inarus* and his auxiliaries in the island of *Prosopitis* defended themselves with such vigour, that the *Persians*, despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the *Nile*, where the *Athenian* fleet lay, and by that means opened a passage for the whole army to enter the island. *Inarus*, seeing all was now lost, delivered up himself, the *Egyptians*, and about fifty *Athenians* to *Megabyzus*, on condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in battle array, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate, in imitation of the *Lacedemonians* that fell at *Thermopylæ*. The *Persians*, perceiving they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The terms were, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, deliverd up the island with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*; but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loss the *Athenians* sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty sail, being sent by them to relieve those who were besieged in the island of *Prosopitis*, arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* soon after their countrymen had surrendered; and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the same time attacked by the *Persian* fleet, and galled with such showers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some few who broke through the enemy's fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the *Athenians* had carried on for the space of six years in *Egypt*, and that kingdom was a new united to the *Persian* empire, and continued so during the remaining part of the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Inarus* and the other prisoners taken in this war were sent to *Susa* and *Sartamas* appointed governor of *Egypt*[c]. Egypt again reduced. Year of the Flood, 2546. Year before Christ 458.

THE *Athenians* having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* in pursuance to his orders took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island, and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of *Amyrtæus* in the fens of *Egypt*. *Artabazus* being then in those seas

[c] CTES. c. 34. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 58, & seq.

with

with a fleet of 300 ſhips, *Cimon*, as ſoon as his ſquadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took 100 of his ſhips, deſtroyed many others, and purſued the remainder to the coaſts of *Phœnicia*. Being fluſhed with this ſucceſs, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where finding *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, he marched againſt him, and having put him to flight with a great ſlaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph [f].

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſo great loſſes, reſolved, with the advice of his counſellors and miniſters, to put an end to ſo many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he ſent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the beſt terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens* to propoſe an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both ſides on the following terms. 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia* ſhould be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Perſian* ſhips of war ſhould enter thoſe ſeas that lie between the *Cyanean* and the *Chelidonian* iſlands, that is, from the *Euxine* ſea to the coaſts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Perſian* general ſhould come by land within three days march of thoſe ſeas. 4. That the *Athenians* ſhould not commit any hoſtilities in the territories of the king of *Perſia*. Theſe articles being ſworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had laſted from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians* fifty one years complete, and deſtroyed numberleſs multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Perſians* [g].

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that ſhe might ſacrifice them to the manes of her ſon *Achæmenides*, yielded at laſt to her unwearied ſolicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princeſs, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greateſt ſolemnity ratified, cauſed *Inarus* to be crucified, and the heads of all the reſt to be ſtruck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word that their lives ſhould be ſpared, looked upon this as a diſhonour done him, and therefore retiring to *Cyria*, of which province he was governor, raiſed there an army and openly revolted. The king imme-

Inarus crucified.

Megabyzus revolts.

Year of the Flood, 2552.

Year before Chriſt 447.

[f] Plutarch, in Cimon. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. xi. p. 73.

[g] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i.

diately

diately ſent *Oſiris*, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of two hundred thouſand men to ſuppreſs this rebellion. But *Megabyzus* in a general engagement wounded him, took him priſoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken, ſent a meſſenger to demand him, and *Megabyzus* generouſly releaſed him as ſoon as his wounds were cured [h].

THE next year *Artaxerxes* ſent another army againſt him under the command of *Menoſtanes*, ſon to *Artarius* the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better ſucceſs than the other; for he was in the ſame manner defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* maſter of the field and all the baggage. The king, being ſenſible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, ſent his brother *Artarius* and his ſiſter *Amytis* who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to perſuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, fired with zeal and affection for his ſovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king ſtill retaining ill will againſt him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in ſhooting firſt at the lion, commanded his head to be ſtruck off; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that *Amytis* his ſiſter and *Hameſtris* his mother prevailed upon him to change the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment. *Megabyzus* was therefore ſent to *Cyrta*, a city ſtanding on the *Red-ſea*, and ſentenced to lead the reſt of his life there under confinement. However five years after he made his eſcape from thence, and under diſguiſe got ſafe to his own houſe at *Suſa*, where by the interceſſion of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinſtated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened ſome years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the beſt counſellor and greateſt general of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and his crown at his firſt acceſſion to the government. But it is of dangerous conſequence in a ſubject to have too much obliged his ſovereign; for this was the true ſource of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus* [i].

IN the 34th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes* a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, commonly

[h] CTES c. 35. [i] CTES. 37——39.

called the *Peloponnesian* war, both parties sent ambassadors to the king imploring his assistance [k]. But we do not find, that *Artaxerxes* returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an ambassador to the *Lacedemonians* named *Artaphernes* with a letter written in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a *Persian* to let them know, that if they had any propofals to-make they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This ambassador arriving at *Eion* on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the *Athenians* being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master [l]. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the *Athenians* to put to sea, they sent back the ambassador in one of their own ships at the expence of the public, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* with the character of ambassadors. But when they landed at *Ephesus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the *Athenians*, not thinking it advisable to proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes* and returned to *Athens* [m].

Artaxerxes favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Persia*, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people, as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded

Xerxes II. by *Xerxes* the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Ctesias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having drank immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of, and, being let into the bed-chamber by *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, slew him, after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom [n].

Sogdianus. Scarce was *Sogdianus* seated on the throne, when he put to death *Bagorazus*, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the queen, *Xerxes*'s mother, who had

[k] Thucid. l. ii. [l] Idem, l. iv. p. 285, 286. [m] Idem, ibid. p. 322. [n] Ctes. c. 47. Diodor. l. xii. p. 115.

died

died the ſame day as her royal conſort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the *Perſian* kings, he found on his return *Sogdianus* in poſſeſſion of the crown, with whom he had formerly had ſome ſmall difference. This *Sogdianus* remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrel with him ſomething relating to the obſequies of his father, cauſed him to be ſtoned to death. By theſe two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous leſt ſome of his brothers might treat him as he had treated *Xerxes*, he ſent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly ſuſpected, with a deſign to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrcania*, and being well appriſed of his brother's deſign, under ſeveral pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Perſia*, openly declaring, that he deſigned to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and ſeveral governors of provinces, who, being highly diſſatisfied with the cruelty and ill conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the *Tiara* on *Ochus*'s head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus*, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who having him in his power cauſed him to be thrown into aſhes (O), where he died a cruel death °.

Ochus, being ſettled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius* inſtead of *Ochus*, and is by hiſtorians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the Baſtard* (P). Ochus.

Arſites,

° CTES. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 322.

(O) This puniſhment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Perſia*. *Ochus* had ſworn, that *Sogdianus* ſhould not die by the ſword, by poiſon, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new ſort of puniſhment; it is deſcribed in the 13th chapter of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with aſhes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life and his empire, after he had reigned ſix months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy*'s canon as the immediate ſucceſſor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* according to the ſtyle of that canon, which conſtantly aſcribes to the predeceſſor the whole year in which he

(75) ii. *Maccab. c.* 13. *Val. Max. l.* 9. *c.* 2.

Year of the Flood, 2575. Year before Christ 424.

Arsites, seeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto and assisted by *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals, against *Artyphius*, while he marched in person against his brother *Arsites*. *Artyphius*, with the assistance of his *Greek* mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been sent against him. But, these being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and being reduced to great straits surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Parysatis* his wife and sister. She was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greatest importance. The counsel she gave him on this occasion was, to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that, by such usage of a rebellious servant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his mercy, and then dispose of them both as he pleased. *Darius* followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed. For *Arsites*, being informed of the gentle usage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded, that he, as a brother, should be treated at least with the same indulgence and good nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king and surrendered himself into his hands. *Darius*, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by *Parysatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death by suffocating them in ashes [P].

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquil-

[P] Idem, c. 49.

dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and these did not reach to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

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lity he expected; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by *Pisuthnes* governor of *Lydia*, who setting up for himself raised an army of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes*, appointing him at the same time governor of *Lydia* in his room. *Tissaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who served under *Pisuthnes*, and induced both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon *Pisuthnes*, not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered upon promise of pardon. But the king the instant he was brought before him sentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king's order, suffocated in ashes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised; for his son *Amorgas* with the remainder of the army still opposed *Tissaphernes*, and for two years continued to infest the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, till he was at length taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tissaphernes*, who put him to death [q].

Darius had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and we may say, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*. These he consulted, and followed their advice in all the momentous affairs of the government. But *Artoxares* was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne; and accordingly formed a design of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the *Persians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death [r].

The Egyptians revolt. Year of the Flood, 2586. Year before Christ 418.

BUT the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius*, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of *Egypt*, which broke out the same year that *Pisuthnes* rebelled. For though *Darius* got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce *Egypt*. *Amyrtæus*, who had reigned in the

[q] Idem, c. 51. [r] Idem, ibid.

sens

fens of *Egypt* ever since the revolt of *Inarus*, being apprised of the discontents of the *Egyptians*, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, sallied out of his fens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the *Persians* quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all *Egypt* by the total expulsion of the *Persians*, he resolved to attack them in *Phœnice* too, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this undertaking. News of this being brought to the court of *Persia*, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the *Lacedemonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions [r].

WHILE *Darius* was carrying on the war against the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case [t]. *Darius* seems to have been likewise successful against the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of six years, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us [u], in the kingdom with the consent of the *Persians*, which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*.

Cyrus the younger appointed governor of Asia Minor.

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested *Cyrus* his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power; for being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother *Paryssatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter [w]. On his receiving his commission he was ordered to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who, by sometimes helping one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harrass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common

[r] THUCYD. l. viii. init. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 2. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 160. [t] XENOPH. Hellenic. l. i. HERODOT. l. ix. [u] HERODOT. l. iii. [w] XENOPH. Hellen. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Artax. & Lysandro. Justin. l. v. c. 5. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 368.

enemies

enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* ſoon diſcovered the weakneſs of the king's politics. For the *Lacedemonians* having, with the aſſiſtance given them by *Cyrus*, ſoon overpowered the *Athenians*, ſent firſt *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at laſt *Ageſilaus* their king to invade the *Perſian* provinces in *Aſia*, where they made great conqueſts, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by diſtributing large ſums of money among the demagogues or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*, which obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recall their troops for their own defence [x].

Cyrus having put to death two noble *Perſians*, ſons to a ſiſter of *Darius*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their ſleeves, as was cuſtomary among the *Perſians* in the preſence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indiſpoſed and deſired to ſee him. *Cyrus*, well knowing how great an aſcendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he ſet out he ordered ſuch large ſubſidies to be ſent to *Lyſander* general of the *Lacedemonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats river* on the *Helleſpont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power and the *Peleponneſian* war, after it had laſted twenty ſeven years [y]. *Darius* was highly incenſed againſt *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but becauſe he had preſumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore deſigned to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but uſed all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reaſon he was born after his father's acceſſion to the throne, which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; but, however, bequeathed him the government of thoſe provinces, which he ruled before. Not long after *Darius Nothus* died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and was ſucceeded by *Arſaces* his eldeſt ſon by *Paryſatis*, who on his aſcending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the *Greeks Mnemon*, that is *Rememberer*. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he deſired to be informed by what art he had ſo happily managed the government, that by following the ſame

Darius Nothus *dies*. Year of the Flood 2594. Year before Chriſt 405.

[x] XENOPH. DIODOR. JUSTIN. ibid. THUCYD. l. ii. PLUT. in Lyſandro. [y] XENOPH. Hellen. l. ii. PLUTARCH. in Lyſandro. Diodor. l xiii.

rule

rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that *he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* [z].

Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Upon the death of *Darius* his son *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Persian* custom by the priests of *Bellona*. He was no sooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information *Cyrus* was seized and sentenced to death. But his mother *Paryſatis* prevailed upon the king, not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him [a].

Artaxerxes was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiastes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hydarnes* a *Persian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arsaces*, falling in love with her, married her, and at the same time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius* and sister to *Arsaces*, by reason of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to succeed him in his government. But falling in love with his own sister *Roxana*, no ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*, that he might without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife *Hamestris*, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom. *Darius* being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged *Udiastes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him, and to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of *Zaris*, and openly revolting declared for the son of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of

[z] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. l. v. c. 8, & 11. Athenæus, l. xii. [a] Plutarch. in Artax. Xenoph. de exped. Cyri. l. 5. Justin. l. 1, c. 5, 11.

Zaris,

Zaris, and with him the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*; all the reſt of the family of *Hydarnes* were apprehended and delivered to *Paryſatis* to execute her revenge upon them, for the ill uſage done or intended againſt her daughter. That cruel princeſs began with *Roxana*, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of all this miſchief, and cauſed her to be ſawed in two, the others were all beheaded except *Statira*, whom ſhe ſpared at the earneſt entreaties and through the importunate tears of her huſband *Arſaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her that ſhe would afterwards have occaſion to repent it. Thus the caſe ſtood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arſaces* was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiaſtes* into her hands; whereupon ſhe cauſed his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His ſon *Mithridates* ſhe appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had ſhewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Paryſatis*, bitterly reſenting this fact, poiſoned the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herſelf, as we ſhall hereafter relate [b].

Cyrus returning to his government of *Aſia Minor* full of reſentment for the ſentence of death, which his brother had pronounced againſt him, reſolved to revolt and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed *Clearchus* a *Lacedemonian* general to raiſe a body of *Greek* troops for his ſervice, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedemonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, being well appriſed of the true end for which theſe levies were made, paſſed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with a deſign to proceed from thence to the *Perſian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole ſcheme. Had he arrived there, a diſcovery of ſuch importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-eſtabliſhment of his country. But the partiſans of the *Lacedemonians*, at *Athens*, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of ſo ſuperior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death, whereby the *Athenians* loſt the great hopes they had conceived of ſpeedily recovering their former ſtate [c].

THE cities that were under the government of *Tiſſaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the ſecret practices of that prince, gave birth to *Cyrus deſigns a war againſt his brother.*

[b] CTES. in PERS. [c] XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. l. 1. PLUT. in Artax.

Year of the Flood, 2596. Before Christ, 403.

a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming against *Tissaphernes*, assembled troops openly, and to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being deceived by these appearances, believed, that all *Cyrus*'s preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased [d].

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of *Greece*, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The *Lacedemonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. But they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother they might justify themselves to him for what they had done [e].

The army which *Cyrus* had raised, consisted of 13000 *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Acheans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Beotians* were under *Proxenus*, a *Theban*, and the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedemonian*, and 25 commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet [f]. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks* except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprize might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. *Proxenus*, between whose family and *Xenophon*'s an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries [g]. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis* directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be employed:

[d] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plut. in Artax. [e] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch. ibid. Justin. l. v. c. 11. [f] Xenoph. ubi supra, p. 252. [g] Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294.

ployed: For *Cyrus* had only given out, that he was marching againſt the *Piſidians*, who with frequent incurſions harraſſed his province. However, *Tiſſaphernes*, judging theſe preparations to be too great for ſo ſmall an enterprize, ſet out with all poſſible expedition from *Miletus* to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes*, being now well appriſed of his brother's deſigns, aſſembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus* advancing with long marches arrived at the ſtraights of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syenneſis*, king of that country, prepared to diſpute his paſſage; wherein he would have eaſily ſucceeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important paſs, to defend his own territories againſt *Tamos* and the *Lacedemonian* fleet which appeared upon the coaſt [h].

WHEN they arrived at *Tarſus* the *Greeks* refuſed to proceed any farther, ſuſpecting that they were marching againſt the king, and proteſting, that they did not enter into the ſervice upon that condition. *Clearchus* at firſt made uſe of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill ſucceſs; and therefore deſiſting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and adviſed them to ſend deputies to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth againſt whom they were to be employed. By this artful evaſion he appeaſed the tumult, and was himſelf choſen for one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, anſwered that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march diſtance encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly ſaw that this was not his true deſign, but nevertheleſs ſhewed themſelves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increaſed. This *Cyrus* willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindneſs and humanity, he at laſt declared that he marched againſt *Artaxerxes*. Upon this ſome complaints were heard at firſt, but they ſoon gave way to expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, occaſioned by that prince's magnificent promiſes to the army [i].

Cyrus arriving, after a long march, in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes* with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to ſtand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refreſh themſelves. *Clearchus* adviſed *Cyrus* not to charge in perſon, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice

[h] Idem, l. i. p. 248—261. [i] XENOPH. & PLUT. ibid.

Cyrus rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them, was at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed *Artagerses*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards observing they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot, and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus*, was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates* a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's left wing commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The *Greeks* under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither *Cyrus* himself nor any messenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of

Cyrus *slain.*

Year of the Flood, 2598. Year before Christ 401.

his

his death, or the defeat of the reſt of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greateſt part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their proviſions taken, which obliged them to paſs the night in the camp without any ſort of refreſhment. The next morning, as they were ſtill expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the ſad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they ſent deputies to *Ariæus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors the crown of *Perſia* in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to ſet out early the next morning on his return to *Ionia*, adviſing them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of *Clearchus* began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they ſet out on their return to *Greece* [k]. They were at a vaſt diſtance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Perſian* empire, ſurrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greeee*, but by forcing their retreat through an immenſe tract of the enemies country. But their valour and reſolution maſtered all theſe difficulties; and in ſpite of a powerful army, which purſued and harraſſed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got ſafe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* ſea. This was the longeſt march and moſt memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it at firſt, but he being cut off by the treachery of *Tiſſaphernes*, *Xenophon* was choſen in his room, and to his valour and wiſdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got ſafe into *Greece*. As the ſame *Xenophon* has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle to their own country, we ſhall refer the reader to that inimitable performance, and return to what paſſed in the court of *Artaxerxes* after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

As he believed that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the moſt glorious action of his whole life, to diſpute that honour with him was wounding him in the moſt tender part. Being therefore informed, that the *Carian* ſoldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he cauſed him to be delivered to *Paryſatis*, who had ſworn the deſtruction of all thoſe who were any ways con-

[k] XENOPH. ibid, 272—292. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 255 257.

cerned

eerned in the death of her ſon. She made that unhappy wretch ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent during ten days, and then put him to a moſt cruel death. *Mithridates* likewiſe, having boaſted that it was he who gave *Cyrus* his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have deſcribed, where we ſpoke of the puniſhments uſed among the *Perſians*. *Maſabates* one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus* being delivered to *Paryſatis*, was flayed alive, and his ſkin ſtretched before his eyes upon two ſtakes prepared for that purpoſe. Nor did the cruelty and reſentment of *Paryſatis* ſtop here; for having conceived an implacable hatred againſt *Statira* for reproaching her, as if ſhe had countenanced her ſon *Cyrus*'s revolt againſt his brother, that revengeful woman poiſoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. *Paryſatis*, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to ſupper, and a certain bird being ſerved up, which was a great rarity among the *Perſians*, ſhe divided it between *Statira* and herſelf with a knife which was poiſoned on one ſide only: the ſound part ſhe immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her guard, to eat the other; whereupon ſhe was that inſtant ſeized with horrible convulſions and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes* being greatly afflicted for the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuſpecting his mother, cauſed all her domeſtics to be put to the rack, when *Gygis*, one of her confidants diſcovered the whole. *Artaxerxes* cauſed *Gygis*, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling her, that he would never ſet his foot within the gates of that city while ſhe was there; but at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire ſubmiſſion to his will, ſhe regained his favour, and bore a great ſway at court to her death [1].

The Lacedemonians *make war upon the* Perſians. Year of the Flood, 2599. Year before Chriſt 400.

After the death of *Cyrus*, *Tiſſaphernes* being ſent back to his former government, and moreover inveſted with the ſame power which had been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harraſs and oppreſs the *Greek* cities, that were within the verge of his authority and had ſided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they ſent ambaſſadors to the *Lacedemonians* imploring their aſſiſtance and protection. The *Lacedemonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Perſians*, and ſent *Thimbro* with an army againſt them,

[1] Plutarch. in Artax.

which

which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissaphernes*. But *Thimbro* being soon recalled upon some complaints and sent into banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of *Æolis* and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus*, fearing he might invade *Phrygia* the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the *Persian* court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes*, for concluding a peace with *Dercyllidas* instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him, that as *Conon* was the best sea-commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it [m].

In the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided. For the *Lacedemonians*, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither. This *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no sooner heard but they united against *Dercyllidas*, whom they came up with in so disadvantageous a post, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him, but *Tissaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus *Dercyllidas* and his

[m] DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 417. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Atticis.

army

army were ſaved from utter deſtruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing elſe could have delivered them [n].

In the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, receiving accounts from *Aſia*, that the king of *Perſia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coaſts of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and ſuppoſing it to be deſigned, as it truly was, againſt them, reſolved to ſend *Ageſilaus*, one of their kings, into *Aſia*, in order to make a diverſion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Ageſilaus* ſet ſail with a conſiderable body of troops, and arrived at *Epheſus* before any of the king's officers had the leaſt intimation of this deſign; with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Ageſilaus* upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, and, finding no body in a condition to oppoſe him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tiſſaphernes* ſent a meſſenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Aſia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Ageſilaus* replied, that he was come to aſſiſt the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and reſtore them to their antient liberty. *Tiſſaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, aſſured *Ageſilaus*, that his maſter would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hoſtility till the return of an expreſs which he had ſent to court. *Ageſilaus* believed him, and a truce was agreed on and ſworn to on both ſides. But *Tiſſaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other uſe of this truce than to aſſemble troops on all ſides, and ſend to the king for more forces, and as ſoon as he received them, he ſent word to *Ageſilaus* to depart *Aſia*, denouncing war againſt him in caſe of refuſal. This meſſage greatly alarmed the *Lacedemonians* and their confederates, as not believing themſelves in a condition to oppoſe the now numerous army of *Tiſſaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Perſian* empire. As for *Ageſilaus* himſelf, he heard *Tiſſaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and eaſy air, and deſired them to tell their maſter, that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to *Perſia*, and friends to *Greece*. Having with this anſwer diſmiſſed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as ſoon as he underſtood, that *Tiſſaphernes* had cauſed all his troops to march into that province, he turned ſhort and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he

Ageſilaus *paſſes into* Aſia. Year of the Flood 2603. Before Chriſt, 96.

[n] Diodor. ibid. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii.

over-

over-ran great part of the province without any oppoſition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immenſe booty, marched back by the ſea-coaſt into *Ionia*, and wintered at *Epheſus* [o].

EARLY in the ſpring *Ageſilaus* took the field, and gave out that his deſign was to invade *Lydia*. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who had not forgot the ſtratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But *Ageſilaus* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tiſſaphernes* recalled his forces from their former rout, with a deſign to relieve the place. But *Caria* being a very mountainous country and unfit for horſe, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horſe behind on the borders of that province. Whence on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis*, the horſe being ſome days march before the foot, *Ageſilaus* took the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* were routed at the very firſt onſet, and *Ageſilaus*, becoming by this victory maſter of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of the conquered *Perſians* [p].

THE loſs of this battle greatly incenſed the king againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and encreaſed the ſuſpicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had ſomething elſe in view beſides his maſter's intereſt. At the ſame time *Conon*, arriving at the *Perſian* court, heightened the king's diſpleaſure with new complaints againſt him; for he had deprived the ſoldiers on board *Conon*'s fleet of their pay, and thereby diſabled him from doing the king any ſervice. Queen *Paryſatis*, actuated by an irreconcileable hatred againſt all thoſe who had any ſhare in the death of her ſon *Cyrus*, did not fail on this occaſion to aggravate the charges brought againſt him. Hereupon the king reſolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reaſon of the great authority he had in *Aſia*, he charged *Tithrauſtes*, captain of the guards, with that important commiſſion, giving him at the ſame time two letters; the one directed to *Tiſſaphernes*, and impowering him to purſue the war againſt the *Greeks* in what manner he thought beſt; the other was addreſſed to *Ariæus* governor of *Lariſſa*, commanding him to aſſiſt *Tithrauſtes*, with his counſel and all

Tiſſaphernes put to death.

[o] XENOPH. HELLENIC. l. iii. PLUT. & Cor. Nep. in AGESILAO. [p] XENOPH. ibid. p. 501—657. PLUT. in ARTAX. p. 1022. & in Ageſil. p. 601.

his forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Ariæus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of *Tithrausstes*, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Parysatis*, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper [q].

Upon the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithraustes*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agesilaus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the *Lacedemonians* required when they first began the war. *Agesilaus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*. However, as he was willing to give *Tithraustes* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved [r].

Agesilaus, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of *Pharnabazus* in great affluence. From thence he marched in to *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the king.

[q] Xenoph. ubi supra. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 220. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii. [r] Pausan. in Laconicis. Xenoph. & Plutarch. ubi supra.

There

There he concluded a league with *Cotys* king of that country, and returning into *Phrygia* took the ſtrong city of *Daſcylium*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to ſupply his army with all ſorts of proviſions [r]. *Tithrauſtes*, finding that *Ageſilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Aſia*, ſent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with large ſums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war againſt the *Lacedemonians*. This ſtratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recal their king, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. In the beginning of the next ſpring as *Ageſilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus*, after expatiating on the ſervices he had done the *Lacedemonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude, ſince, in return for ſo many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Daſcylium*, which were his hereditary eſtate. As what he ſaid was true, *Ageſilaus* and the *Lacedemonians* that attended him, were to ſuch a degree aſhamed in ſeeing themſelves ſo juſtly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to anſwer, nor how to excuſe ſuch an ungenerous proceeding. However to make him the beſt amends they could, they obliged themſelves by a ſolemn promiſe not to invade any of the provinces under his government, ſo long as there were other into which they might carry the war againſt the *Perſian* king [s]. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with a deſign to invade the upper parts of *Aſia*, and proſecute the war in the very heart of the *Perſian* empire. But while *Ageſilaus* was projecting this expedition, a meſſenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him, that the *Ephori* recalled him to defend his own country, againſt which ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* had formed a ſtrong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haſte thither he could, complaining at his departure, that the *Perſians* had driven him out of *Aſia* with thirty thouſand archers, alluding to the *Perſian Darics*, which were pieces of gold ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an archer [t].

Ageſilaus *recalled.* Year of the Flood 2608. Before Chriſt 594.

[r] PLUT. in Ageſil. Xenoph. Hellenic. l. iv. p. 507. 510.
[s] XENOPH. ubi ſupra. p. 513. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604.

Conon, on his return from the *Persian* court, having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemies. The *Persian* fleet consisted of 90 vessels and upwards; that of the *Lacedemonians* was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Asia Minor*. *Conon*, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of *Athens* by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotamos*, or the *Goats river*, was determined to use his utmost efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, *Pisander* was desirous to justify by his conduct and valour the choice which *Agesilaus* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But *Conon* having boarded his ship and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. *Conon* pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in those parts. The consequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of *Sparta*; some declaring for the *Athenians*, and others resuming their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the *Lacedemonians* declined daily, till at length the overthrows, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, compleated their downfal [u].

The Lacedemonians *defeated at* Cnidos.

After this victory *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* being masters at sea sailed round the islands and coasts of *Asia*, reducing the cities, which in those parts were subject to the *Lacedemonians*. *Sestus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out against them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving *Conon* to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the *Hellespont*, against the ensuing spring [x].

Conon having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and steering his course thro' the islands, landed in *Melos* the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedemonians*, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the mari-

[u] Xenoph. ubi supra. p. 518. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin, l. vi. c. 2, 3. [x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 534. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 441.

time

time places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair to *Athens* with 80 ships and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having first convinced him, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of *Sparta*, than putting *Athens* again in a condition to rival its power. He no sooner arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was seconded by the zeal of all those that were well inclined to the *Athenians*, was soon compleated, and the city not only restored to its former splendor, but rendered more formidable than ever to its enemies. Thus *Athens* was rebuilt by the *Persians*, who had destroyed it, and fortified at the expence and with the spoils of the *Lacedemonians*, who had dismantled it. *Conon*, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and those which led from the former to the latter, and were called the *Long-walls*, distributed the 50 talents, which he had received of *Pharnabazus*, among his citizens, and offered the gods a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, in thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of his native country [y].

Conon *rebuilds the walls of* Athens. Year of the Flood, 2606. Year before Christ 393.

THE *Lacedemonians* could not behold without great concern so glorious a revolution, and finding themselves unable to maintain a war, with men as brave as themselves assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with *Artaxerxes* upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of *Greece*, in alliance with the *Athenians*, sent at the same time their deputies, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms, which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other ambassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedemonians*, bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus* of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them anew to the republic of *Athens*. Upon these accusations *Tiribazus* seized him, and, having supplied the *Lacedemonians*

[y] XENOPH. & DIODOR. ibid.

underhand

underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms which the *Lacedemonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations which the *Lacedemonians* had brought against *Conon*. Whereupon he was, according to some writers[z], sent to *Susa* and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event [a].

While *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Suthras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the *Lacedemonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedemonians* to send *Thimbro* into *Asia* to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia* after the battle of *Cnidos* being but faint struggles of a declining power. In the mean time *Tiribazus* returning from *Susa* summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros* should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name; however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the

The peace of Antalcidas.
Year of the Flood, 3612.
Year before Christ 387.

[z] Cornel. Nep. in Cononc. [a] Xenoph. ubi supra. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 442.

Greeks

Greeks ſettled in *Aſia*, for whoſe liberty *Ageſilaus* had ſo long contended [b].

Artaxerxes, being now quite diſengaged from the *Grecian* war, turned his whole power againſt *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before deſigned to drive out of that iſland, but had never been at leiſure to put his deſign in execution. *Evagoras* was deſcended from the antient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the iſland of *Cyprus*. His anceſtors had held that city for many ages in quality of ſovereigns; but were at laſt driven out by the *Perſians*, who, making themſelves maſters of the whole iſland, reduced it to a *Perſian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in ſubjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine* for the king of *Perſia*, and took poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the laſt, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time *Conon*, by means of *Cteſias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief phyſician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*, the latter promiſing not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of his ſmall kingdom. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himſelf with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himſelf maſter, in a manner, of the whole iſland of *Cyprus*. The *Amathuſians*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, alone of thoſe iſlanders, held out againſt him. Theſe had recourſe to *Artaxerxes*, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wiſe prince, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport. But being employed elſewhere, he could not perform his promiſe ſo ſoon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force againſt *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the iſland. The *Athenians*, notwithſtanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Perſians*, and the many favours received at the king's hands, could not forbear aſſiſting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occaſions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they ſent them, with all poſſible expedition, under the command of *Philocrates* to aſſiſt him. But the *Lacedemonian* fleet, commanded by *Teleutias* brother to *Ageſilaus*, falling in with them near the iſle of *Rhodes*, ſurrounded them, ſo that not one ſhip could eſcape [c]. The *Athenians*, determined to

[b] XENOPH. l. v. p. 548—551. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. p. 447.
[c] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 459.

aſſiſt

aſſiſt *Evagoras* at all adventures, ſent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a conſiderable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new ſupply arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time obliged the whole iſland to ſubmit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Perſians* attacked with all their forces the iſland of *Cyprus*, not doubting, but they ſhould ſoon reduce it, ſince no ſupplies could be ſent thither from *Greece*. The king's army conſiſted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ſhips. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* ſon-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the ſon of *Tamus*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the ſea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, ſeeing himſelf threatened with ſo dreadful a war, had recourſe to all thoſe princes who were at enmity with the *Perſians*, receiving ſupplies, both of men and money, from the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Beſides, as he had amaſſed immenſe treaſures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many ſmall veſſels, he intercepted all the enemies ſhips that brought proviſions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the iſland, to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to mutiny, and killed ſeveral of their officers. But the whole *Perſian* fleet putting to ſea, the army was again plentifully ſupplied from *Cilicia*. At the ſame time *Evagoras* likewiſe received a great ſupply of corn and fifty ſhips from *Egypt*, which, together with thoſe he had fitted out himſelf, making up a fleet of 200 ſail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the *Perſians*. At firſt he had the advantage, and took or deſtroyed ſeveral of the enemies ſhips; but *Gaus* advancing with a few ſhips attacked him with ſuch vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Perſian* fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at laſt obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ſhips into their harbours. *Evagoras* with a few ſhips eſcaped to *Salamine*, where he was immediately cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in perſon to acquaint the king with the ſucceſs that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained 2000 talents for the uſe of the army, he returned with that new ſupply to carry on the war more vigorouſly than ever. During his abſence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon *Pythagoras*, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ſhips and ſailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Acharis*, king of that country, to join him with

The Perſians *invade* Cyprus *with* 300,000 *men*. Year of the Flood, 2613. Year before Chriſt 386.

all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the laſt extremities, and himſelf deſtitute of all means of raiſing the ſiege, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were; that he ſhould abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he ſhould hold of the king, as a ſervant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to conſent to that of holding *Salamine*, as a ſervant under his maſter, and perſiſted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwiſe than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the leaſt alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretenſions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die ſword in hand rather than yield to ſuch terms, broke off the conference, and applied himſelf entirely to the defence of the city [d].

IN the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the ſuperiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intruſted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the ſucceſs that attended him, wrote ſecretly to court, accuſing him amongſt other things of forming deſigns againſt the king's intereſt, and holding a private correſpondence with the *Lacedemonians*. Upon the receipt of theſe letters, *Artaxerxes* immediately diſpatched orders to *Orontes* to ſeize *Tiribazus* and ſend him priſoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. But the army being very much diſſatisfied with the change, many left the ſervice, and others refuſed to obey their new commander. Whereupon *Orontes* was obliged to renew the treaty with *Evagoras*, and conclude it upon terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he conſented, that he ſhould hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a ſmall tribute to the king of *Perſia*. Thus the ſiege was raiſed, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras*, after a war which had coſt the *Perſians* above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money [e]. For the elogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to *Iſocrates*.

THE peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in thoſe parts. For *Gaus*, reſenting the unjuſt uſage of *Tiribazus*, whoſe daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the ſame proſecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare ſuſpicions, ſent deputies to *Achoris* king

[d] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [e] ISOCRAT. in Evag.

of *Egypt*, and having concluded an alliance with him againſt the king of *Perſia*, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, moſt of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewiſe ſolicited the *Lacedemonians* to come into the league, aſſuring them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them maſters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy ſuch an opportunity of making war upon the *Perſians*, being highly diſſatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But, before matters were ripe for execution, *Gaus* was treacherouſly ſlain by one of his own officers, and *Tachos*, who took upon him to carry on the ſame deſign, ſoon died; whereby the vaſt preparations they had made came to nothing; and the *Lacedemonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Aſia* [t].

Artaxerxes *invades the* Caduſians *with ill ſucceſs.* Year of the Flood, 2615. Year before Chriſt 384.

Artaxerxes had no ſooner finiſhed the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another againſt the *Caduſians*, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are ſilent as to the occaſion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in perſon againſt them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horſe: But, the country by reaſon of its barrenneſs not affording proviſions ſufficient to maintain ſo numerous an army, they were ſoon reduced to feed upon the beaſts of burden which accompanied the army; and theſe became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was ſold for 60 drachmas. The king's proviſions too began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained. In this ſad poſture of affairs, *Tiribazus* contrived a ſtratagem which ſaved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a priſoner, being in diſgrace by reaſon of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have ſaid above. The *Caduſians* had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed in the enemy's camp, found that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that the jealouſy and miſtruſt, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he adviſed the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himſelf the whole management of it, went in perſon to one of the kings, and ſent his ſon to the other. Each of them informed the king, to

[t] Diodor. l. xv.

whom-

whom he applied, that the other had ſent ambaſſadors to treat ſeparately with *Artaxerxes*, and adviſed him to loſe no time, but make his peace as ſoon as poſſible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the deſired effect, and both princes were brought ſeparately to ſubmit to the king, which ſaved both him and his army from impending deſtruction [g] (Q).

THE king loſt in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his beſt troops, and all his horſes. Among others who loſt their lives on this occaſion was *Camiſſares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was ſucceeded in that government by his ſon *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner. *Datames* was the greateſt commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius Nepos*, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldneſs, and abilities for contriving and executing military ſtratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occaſioned his ruin, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter.

ON the king's return to *Suſa*, the eminent ſervice which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cauſe thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpoſe he appointed three commiſſioners, who were all of eminent rank and diſtinguiſhed probity. Theſe, after an impartial diſcuſſion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king reſtored to his former honours, and *Orontes* his accuſer with diſgrace baniſhed the court [h].

Artaxerxes, being now at leiſure from all other engagements, reſolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Achoris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, fore-

[g] PLUT. in Artax p. 1023, 1024. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 462.
[h] DIODOR. ubi ſupra, p. 463.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the *Caduſians* were deſcended from the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Aſſyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the ſimilitude between the words *Caduſian* and *Kedushim*, which ſignifies *Holy People*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) *Fuller Miſcel* l. ii. c. 5.

seeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, sent ambassadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to serve against the king of *Persia*, with whom the state of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, who at that time had a great dependence on the *Persian* king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was sent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* army. On his arrival having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Achoris*, king of *Egypt*, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by *Psammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherotes* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebes*, the first of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years [i].

Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, sent ambassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*; and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*, refused to conform to it [k].

His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt.

At length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian* army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general rendezvous. In a

[i] Euseb. Chron. Syncell. p. 257. [k] Diodor. l. xv. p. 355.

review

review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 *Persians* under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* led by *Iphicrates*. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 gallies, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*; but *Nectanebes*, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*; for the *Nile* at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garison. But the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without any great opposition, carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword. After this action *Iphicrates* was for reimbarking the troops without loss of time, and attacking *Memphis* the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed, before the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion and the blow already received had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all *Egypt*. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would undertake nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus*, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For *Nectanebes* having lodged a sufficient garison in *Memphis*, with the rest took the field and so harrassed the *Persians*, that they could not advance farther into the country; and the *Nile* at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the *Persians* were obliged to return into *Phœnice*, having lost great part of their army in this unsuccessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless

Year of the Flood, 2625. Before Christ, 374.

fruitless an attempt. The only effect that it produced was, an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*, and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*; but being well apprized, that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens*, accusing him of making the *Egyptian* expedition miscarry, and requesting the republic to punish him according to his demerit. The *Athenians* made no other answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he deserved. But it seems they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole admiral of their whole fleet [1].

Twelve years after this expedition, *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt*, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had succeeded *Nectanebes*, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedemonians*, who were at that time exasperated against *Artaxerxes*, for obliging them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, to send a good number of troops under the command of *Agesilaus*. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of *Agesilaus*, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of *Sparta*, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a *Barbarian*. However, *Agesilaus*, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for *Tachos* had promised to make him commander in chief of all his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for *Egypt*. On his landing he was met by *Tachos*, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantageous ideas of him, that he ever after slighted his counsels and despised his person. For both he and his *Egyptian* generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aspect, and dress

Year of the Flood, 2637. Year before Christ 362

[1] Diodor. l. xv. p. 478.

in

in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward shew. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of *Tachos*; for he would allow *Agesilaus* no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of his aversion to *Tachos*. The charge of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias*, reserving to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the *Egyptians* and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into *Phœnice*, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. *Agesilaus*, being appriſed of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, adviſed him againſt it, remonſtrating, that his affairs were not so well settled in *Egypt* as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. *Tachos* despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event shewed, that *Agesilaus*'s advice was the result of a very prudent forecast; for, while *Tachos* was in *Phœnice*, the *Egyptians* revolting set up *Nectanebus* his cousin, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, his son, in his stead. *Agesilaus*, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment againſt *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of *Egypt*. The dethroned prince fled first to *Sidon*, and from thence to the *Persian* court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with the command of the troops againſt the rebels [m] (R).

[m] DIODOR. l. 15. 397,—401. PLUT. in AGESIL. p. 616, 618. CORN. NEP. in Ages. c. 8.

(R) *Plutarch* condemns *Agesilaus* as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms againſt the prince who had hired him. But *Agesilaus* alledged in his justification, that he had been sent to assist the *Egyptians*, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms againſt *Tachos*, he could not serve againſt them without new orders from *Sparta*. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for *Nectanebus*. Thus *Agesilaus* pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says *Plutarch*; but if we remove that delusive blind of the public good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). *Xenophon* endeavours to palliate his conduct by saying, that *Agesilaus* joined that king who seemed the best affected to *Greece* (78).

(77) *Plut. in Agesil.* (78) *Xenoph. de reg. Agesil.* 663.

Tow

Towards the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, *viz. Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared *Darius* the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the *Tiara*, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus* to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arsames*. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus*, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For *Ariaspes* being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that, expecting every moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But *Arsames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with

Artaxerxes Mnemon *dies.*

with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign [n]. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniencies that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive; by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians, however, most frequently call him *Ochus*, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history. Year of the Flood 2640. Before Chr. st, 359. Ochus.

IT was no sooner known that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were *Ariobarzanes*, governor of *Phrygia*, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Autophradates* governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other; and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor* on withdrawing their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen *Orontes* for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising those forces and maintaining

[n] DIODOR. l. 15. p. 397—401. PLUT. in Artax.

of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rheomitres*, another of the chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt* to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50 ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was without striking a blow settled on the throne [o]. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos* [p] and *Polyænus* [q], it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*. For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their

[o] Diodor. l. xv. p. 506. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii. [p] Corn. Nep. in vita Datam. [q] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vii.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diodor. l. xv. p. 400.*

arrows.

arrows [r]. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Sysigambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*. For *Q. Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused 80 of her brothers, together with their father to be massacred in one day. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

BUT all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by *Chares* and his *Athenians* all cut in pieces. *Artabazus*, in reward of so great a service, gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and as they were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians*, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece* [r].

Artabazus, being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, had recourse to the *Thebans*, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans* and their commander [s]. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. *Artabazus* thus destitute of all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with *Philip* of *Macedon* [t].

THIS rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*. The *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through *Phœnice*, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of *Egypt*. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian* to join

Year of the Flood, 2648. Year before Christ 351.

[r] JUSTIN. l. x. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. [s] DIODOR. l. xvi. p. 527., 528. [t] DIODOR. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 438.

them, in hopes of making *Phœnice* a barrier to *Egypt*, and keeping the war at a distance. The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia* that were sent to reduce them, they drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories [w].

The *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance [x]. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* an *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, (T) to make a descent on the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land [y].

Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into *Phœnice*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who was then at *Sidon* with the *Greek* mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. *Ochus* glad of this proffer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the *Egyptian* war, as being thorough-

[w] Idem. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533. [x] Idem, ubi supra. p. 532.
[y] Idem, ibid.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians* in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(80) *Isocrat. in Evag. & Nicol.* (81) *Diodor. l.* vi. *p.* 532.

ly

ly acquainted with the country. And accordingly *Mentor*, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged *Tennes*, king of *Sidon*, in the same treacherous design, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* up to the *Persians*. The *Sidonians*, seeing themselves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects, for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country as we have related elsewhere [z]. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* [a].

Sidon *betrayed by* Mentor *the* Rhodian.

But before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* 3000 commanded by *Nicostratus*; the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* excused themselves, telling the king's ambassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours [b]. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*. For *Ochus* from *Sidon* marched into *Judæa*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrcania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea [c].

Ochus at the same time put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*. He willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments [d].

Ochus, having thus settled the affairs both of *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, set out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he lost a great many men, drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*,

[z] Vol. II. p. 335.
[a] DIODOR. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c.
[b] Idem. ibid. p. 533.
[c] SOLIN. c XXXV. SYNCELL. ex Africano, p. 256. OROS. l. xxxi. c. 7. JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion.
[d] DIODOR. ibid. p. 534.

which

which lies between *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, and extends about thirty miles. When the south wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desert, in such manner, that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus*'s army, for want of good guides, were lost in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the same fate [c]. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Persian* and a *Greek* general. The first was led by *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the second by *Nicostratus* the *Theban*, and *Arijtazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near *Pelusium*, with a design to watch there the event of the war. In the mean time *Nectanebus* drew together an army of 100,000 men, consisting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece* as many from *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*; but they did not all amount to a third of the *Persian* army. With some of these he garisoned his frontier towns, and with the others he guarded the passes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The first *Persian* detachment, under the command of *Lachares*, sat down before *Pelusium*, garisoned by 5000 *Greeks*. While the siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* with his detachment embarked on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, and sailing up the *Nile* landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a strong encampment. Hereupon all the garisons of the neighbouring castles, taking the alarm, joined *Clinius* of the island of *Cos* in order to dislodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the *Egyptians* were put to flight, having lost *Clinius* with above 5000 of his men; the rest were utterly broken and dispersed, which, we may say, determined the fate of this war. For *Nectanebus*, fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the *Nile* with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, hastened thither, and left open the passes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The *Greek* mercenaries, who garisoned *Pelusium*, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted, entered the country;

[c] Idem, 534, 535.

and

and giving out, that *Ochus* would graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted, and utterly deſtroy ſuch as reſiſted, treating them as he had treated the *Sidonians*, both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* ſtrove which ſhould firſt make their ſubmiſſion. *Nectanebus*, ſeeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treaſures he could carry, and withdrew into *Æthiopia*. *Ochus*, having thus reduced all *Egypt*, diſmantled their ſtrong holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immenſe treaſures [f]. Henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Perſia*, till *Alexander* overturned that monarchy, and delivered the *Egyptians* from the *Perſian* tyranny.

Egypt reduced by Ochus. Year of the Flood, 2649. Year before Chriſt 350.

Ochus, having ended with ſuch ſucceſs the *Egyptian* war, ſent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their reſpective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conqueſts were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he diſtinguiſhed him above all the reſt, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other preſents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coaſts of *Aſia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was ſtill carrying on againſt ſome provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. Theſe, what by cunning and ſtratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and reſtored the king's authority in all the parts of that vaſt empire.

ALL the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace eſtabliſhed throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himſelf up to eaſe, luxury, and pleaſure, leaving the adminiſtration of public affairs entirely to his miniſters. The chief of theſe were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Aſia*, and the latter thoſe of the lower [g]. *Bagoas*, being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conqueſt of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but, in ſpite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the ſacred records that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion ſlew the god *Apis*, that is, *the ſacred bull*, which they worſhipped under that name.

This irreligious behaviour *Bagoas* deeply reſented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great ſum of money, and ſent them back into *Egypt*; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwiſe at-

[f] Idem, ibid. [g] Idem, p. 537.

toned

Bagoas *the eunuch poisons* Ochus *and raises* Arses *to the throne.* Year of the Flood 2661. Before Christ 338.

toned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly with poison in the twenty first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it; and because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of the *Apis*, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his own hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest of the dead king's sons on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the whole power and authority of the government [h].

Arses did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Bagoas*, who, finding that the king, well apprized of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign [i].

Darius Codomannus. Year of the Flood, 2663. Year before Christ 336.

The throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed on it *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before his accession to the crown he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose grandson *Arsanes* marrying his own sister *Sysigambis* had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*, the son of *Darius Nothus* and father to *Arsanes*, was put to death by *Ochus* on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons [k]. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an *Astanda*, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family [l]. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*, towards the latter end of his reign, one of these *Barbarians* having challenged the whole *Persian* army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, *Codomannus* accepted

[h] Diodor. p. 564. Ælian. var. Hist. l. iv. c. 8. Severr. Sulpit. l. ii. [i] Diodor. ibid [k] Diodor. ibid. Plut. in Artax. [l] Plut. de vita & fortuna Alexandri.

the

the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and ſlew the *Caduſian*. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia* [m], and thence raiſed to the throne by *Bagoas* in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the ſovereign power, when *Bagoas*, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, reſolved to remove him in the ſame manner as he had done his predeceſſor; and accordingly provided a poiſonous potion; but *Darius* being acquainted with his deſign, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himſelf drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he ſettled himſelf on the throne, without any further difficulty or oppoſition [n]. Authors repreſent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous diſpoſition, of great perſonal valour, and for his ſtature and ſhape far preferable to any of the whole *Perſian* empire. But having ſuch a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able with all his good qualities and perſonal courage to withſtand him; and he was ſcarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, having ſettled his affairs in *Macedon*, and uſed all imaginable precautions, to prevent any troubles that might ariſe there during his abſence, ſet out for *Seſtus*, and thence paſſed over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, in the ſecond year of *Darius*'s reign. A war againſt the *Perſians* had been reſolved on ſome time before, in a general aſſembly of the *Amphictyons*, to revenge the many injuries, which *Greece* had received from the *Barbarians* during the ſpace of 300 years; and *Philip* king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces deſtined for this expedition. But *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his ſon *Alexander* ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the ſtates and free cities of *Greece* to meet at *Corinth*, and having prevailed with them to chooſe him in his room, he obliged each city to furniſh its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the higheſt account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horſe. But they were all choſen men, well diſciplined, and inured to the toils of war, moſt of them having ſerved under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in ſeveral expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry; *Philotas* his ſon had the command of 1800 horſe, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*,

[m] DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 564. Juſtin. l. x. c. 3. [n] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Thessalian* cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of his own nation. With this army he crossed the *Hellespont*, as we have hinted above, and pursuing his march, arrived at the river *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with a design to dispute his passage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coasts of *Asia*, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arsites*, governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting, that he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic counsel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be desirous of spinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself [o].

The *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front in order to oppose *Alexander*, wherever he should attempt a passage; and the foot consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. *Parmenio*, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised [illegible]*nder* to incamp on the opposite banks of the river, th[illegible] might have time to rest; and not to attempt the cros[illegible] till the next morning, the river being deep, the b[illegible] craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and [illegible] of the enemies quite fresh, as having been incamped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least impression on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the *Hellespont*, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet; for so, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus* [p].

The battle of Granicus. Year of the Flood, 2665. Before Christ, 334.

The two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians*

[o] Arrian. l. i. c. 13. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. [p] Diodor. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt. ubi supra.

(U) *Justin* and *Orosius* tell us, that the *Persian* army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; *Arrianus* makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We have chosen to follow *Diodorus*'s account, which to us seems the most rational.

waited

waited till the *Macedonians* ſhould enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to croſs in, which they no ſooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a ſtrong detachment of horſe to advance into the river, he himſelf following with the right wing, which he commanded in perſon, the trumpets in the mean time ſounding, and loud ſhouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Perſians* let fly ſuch ſhowers of arrows, againſt the detachment of the *Macedonian* horſe, as cauſed ſome confuſion, ſeveral of their horſes being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank a moſt bloody engagement enſued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Perſians* puſhing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his ſons, the firſt ranks of the *Macedonians* were entirely cut off, and the reſt, after having with the utmoſt difficulty gained the ſhore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them cloſe, obſerving the confuſion they were in, headed them himſelf, and, landing in ſpight of all oppoſition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, to give way. However, *Spithrobates*, governor of *Ionia*, and ſon-in-law to *Darius*, being ſurrounded by forty *Perſian* lords, all of them his relations, ſtill maintained his ground, and did all that lay in [illegible] to lead the *Perſians* back to the charge. *Alexander* [illegible]ing in how gallant a manner he ſignalized himſelf, [illegible] full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline t[illegible]ſet, and both were ſlightly wounded at the firſt encounter. *Spithrobates*, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced ſword in hand againſt *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to diſcharge a blow with his ſcymetar. But *Roſaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander* at the ſame time ſo furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and ſlightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus* with one ſtroke of his ſcymetar cut off *Roſaces*'s head, and by that means ſaved the life of his ſovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Perſian* horſe with new vigour, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, firſt gave ground, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not purſue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot, who, ſeeing themſelves attacked at the ſame time by the cavalry and the *Macedonian*

phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the king's own troop fell in the first attack; whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Dio*, a city of *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 70 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king excempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens[q].

This victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great Joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they sailed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the

[q] Plut. in Alex. Diodor. p. 503. Justin. l. xi. c. 6. Arrian. l. i. c. 17.

town,

town, the beſieged ſuſtaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At laſt the town being almoſt quite diſmantled, and the beſieged tired out with the hard ſervice, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and ſurrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Mileſians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmoleſted; but the *Perſians* were either put to the ſword or ſold for ſlaves [r].

HAVING thus poſſeſſed himſelf of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria*, in order to beſiege the city of *Halicarnaſſus*, which refuſed to ſubmit. The place was both by nature and art one of the beſt fortified in all *Aſia*; and beſides *Memnon* had thrown himſelf into it with a conſiderable body of choſen men, reſolved to ſignalize, in the defence of ſo important a place, his courage and attachment to the intereſt of *Darius*. And accordingly he made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, being ſeconded by another general of great proweſs, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the art of war, was practiſed on this occaſion, both by the beſiegers and the beſieged. After the *Macedonians* had, with the utmoſt difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demoliſhed in an inſtant, and the engines ſet on fire by the beſieged. No ſooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raiſed in its ſtead, the *Macedonians* finding themſelves no farther advanced after an immenſe labour, than they were when they firſt ſat down before the place. The city held out ſo long, and the beſiegers had ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with, that any general beſides *Alexander* would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to purſue the undertaking, by thoſe very difficulties, which would have diſheartened others; and their patience at laſt proved ſucceſsful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the ſea was open, he placed a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel, which was ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and going on board the *Perſian* fleet, whereof himſelf was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the iſland of *Cos*, not far diſtant from *Halicarnaſſus*. *Alexander*, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to beſiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was deſtroyed [s].

[r] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 19. [s] DIODOR. ARRIAN. ibid.

AFTER

After the reduction of *Halicarnassus*, all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out wherever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view, but of freeing them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year of this war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

In the mean time *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* advised him to carry the war into *Macedon*; and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedemonians* and several other *Greek* states, that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Asia*, and return to the defence of his own country. *Darius*, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for *Memnon* was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Persian* interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of *Cos*, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of *Chios* and *Lesbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he designed to pass over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the seat of the war, but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befal the *Persian* empire, having defeated the wise measures which he had proposed; for *Darius*, not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at *Babylon*, and having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors[t].

[t] Vide Plut. in Alexand. Arrian. l. ii. c. 6. Justin. l. xi. c. 9. Curt. l. iii. c. 8.

The

THE news of *Memnon*'s death confirmed *Alexander* in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Accordingly he marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*, and arriving at a place called *Cyrus*'s camp (whether from *Cyrus* the Great, as *Curtius* tells, or from the Younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain), about fifty stades distant from the straights of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in person at the first watch to surprize them; but the *Persians*, having intelligence of his design, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass, which *Alexander* entered; and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered with large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a numerous army. From the straights of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*, where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction [u].

IN the mean time, *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia*. Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous part of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement [w].

THE order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars *the sacred and eternal fire*, as they called it, attended by the *Mages*, singing hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses, and

[u] ARRIAN. l. ii. CURT. l. iii. c. 8. [w] ARRIAN. & CURT. ibid.

followed

followed by one of an extraordinary ſize, whom they called *the horſe of the ſun*; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten ſumptuous chariots, enriched with curious ſculptures in gold and ſilver; and then the van-guard of the horſe, compoſed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horſe was followed by another of foot, called by the *Perſians immortal*, becauſe if any of them died, his place was immediately ſupplied by another; they were ten thouſand in number, and remarkable for the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tiſſue, having large ſleeves garniſhed with precious ſtones. About 30 paces diſtance came the king's relations or couſins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and ſurpaſſing even the *immortal* body in the pomp and richneſs of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's couſins, and poſſibly ſeveral of the king's relations were in this body. After theſe came *Darius* himſelf, attended by his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was ſupported on both ſides by the gods of his nation caſt in pure gold*; from the middle of the beam, which was ſet with jewels, roſe two ſtatues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, and both ſhaded with the wings of a ſpread-eagle of the ſame metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple ſtriped with ſilver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious ſtones; and the ſcabbard of his ſcymetar, as our author tells us, was made out of a ſingle precious ſtone. On either ſide of the king walked 200 of his neareſt relations, followed by 10,000 horſemen, whoſe lances were plated with ſilver, and tipt with gold; after theſe marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and laſtly 400 led horſes belonging to the king. At a ſmall diſtance followed *Syſigambis*, the king's mother, and his conſort, both ſeated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horſeback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who were charged with the care of their education. Next to theſe were the royal concubines to the number of 360, all attired like ſo many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen; the march was cloſed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by ſome companies of foot lightly armed[x]. One would

* See Vol. iv. p. 497 in the note. [x] Arrian. & Curt. ubi ſupra.

take

take this to be the deſcription of a maſquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that *Darius*'s chief care was not to provide for his own ſafety, but to ſet out his glory and riches, as though the *Macedonians* were to be dazzled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

Alexander, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates* in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio* to poſſeſs himſelf of another narrow paſs (W), leading from *Aſſyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himſelf, he marched from *Tarſus* to *Anchialos*, and thence to *Soli*, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refuſed at firſt to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Caſtabala*, a ſmall city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius* with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of *Sochos* in *Syria*, within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* ſummoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army ſhould march the next day, and wait for *Darius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*; which they did accordingly, encamping on a ſpot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two ſmall armies to act in, reduced both in ſome degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Perſian* camp, that *Alexander* had halted in the midſt of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders who ſerved in *Darius*'s army, adviſed him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Meſopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the ſame time, and ſurround the enemy; whereas, within thoſe ſtraights, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Perſians* not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counſel, they then adviſed him to divide his army into ſeveral bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverſe fate did not ſuffer him to follow ſo wholeſome an advice; nay, the courtiers traduced thoſe who had ſuggeſted it, as trai-

(W) For the clearer underſtanding of *Alexander*'s march and that of *Darius*, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtraights; the firſt leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the ſecond leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took poſſeſſion of; and the third called the ſtraights of mount *Amanus* lying to the north of the paſs of *Syria*; through this *Darius*'s army from *Syria* entered *Cilicia*.

tors, telling *Darius*, that they adviſed him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after ſuch a ſeparation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever ſhould be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condeſcended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that *Alexander* was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march forward with all poſſible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in thoſe ſtraights, leſt he ſhould make his eſcape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the *Perſian* generals, that they ſhould engage the enemy in the narrow paſſes, the gods, ſays our hiſtorian [y], blinded that prince, that they might pave a way to the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire. *Darius*, having ſent his treaſures and moſt valuable moveables to *Damaſcus* in *Syria* under a ſmall convoy, led the main body of the army towards the ſtraights of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Iſſus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great diſorder into *Syria*. In the city of *Iſſus* he barbarouſly put to death the ſick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, ſparing only a few, whom he diſmiſſed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witneſſes of the immenſe number of his forces. Theſe brought *Alexander* word of *Darius*'s approach, which he could ſcarce believe, though he deſired nothing more earneſtly. However, having offered a ſacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a ſpot of ground near the city of *Iſſus*, bounded on one ſide by the mountains, and by the ſea on the other. Here *Darius*, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians*, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, could diſpoſe of his great army no otherwiſe, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the *Macedonians* ſoon breaking the firſt line, and that recoiling upon the ſecond, and the ſecond again upon the third, and ſo on, the whole *Perſian* army was put in diſorder; and the *Macedonians* purſuing the advantage by preſſing forward, the confuſion was increaſed to ſuch a degree, that even the braveſt among the *Perſians*, who were deſirous to ſignalize themſelves, could neither ſtand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, which was made in the flight of ſo numerous an ar-

The battle of Iſſus. Year of the Flood, 2666. Year before Chriſt 333.

[y] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii. c. 11.

my,

my, was very great, thoſe who fell that day were for the moſt part trampled to death, by their own men, as they preſſed to eſcape. *Darius*, who fought in the firſt line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horſeback, and purſued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his ſhield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him by the *Greek* mercenaries, who, charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Seleucus* with 120 officers of diſtinction, beſides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in perſon, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty reduced to eight thouſand; they retired then in good order over the mountains towards *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where finding the tranſports, that had conveyed them from *Leſbos*, lying on the ſhore, they fitted out ſuch a number as ſuited their purpoſe, and ſailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the reſt to prevent their being purſued. *Alexander* no ſooner ſaw them put to flight than he haſtened after *Darius*; but growing weary of the purſuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. *Syſigambis*, *Darius*'s mother, and his wife, who was alſo his ſiſter, with his ſon *Ochus* not full ſix years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and beſides ſome noblemens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken priſoners. The reſt had been ſent to *Damaſcus*, with part of *Darius*'s treaſure and all the rich furniture, which the *Perſian* monarchs uſed to carry with them into the field; ſo that in the camp they found only three thouſand talents of ſilver; but the reſt of the treaſures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio* at his taking the city of *Damaſcus* [z]. In this engagement the *Perſians* loſt, according to *Arrian* [a], 10,000 horſe, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horſe; but as to the foot they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, ſome making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and ſome to 120,000, adding, that 40,000 were taken priſoners, while *Alexander*, according to the higheſt computation, loſt in all but 300 men [b].

THE next day *Alexander*, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the dead to be buried with great pomp in the preſence of

[z] PLUT. in Alex. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. l. xvii.
[a] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [b] DIODOR. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank, and allowed *Darius*'s mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were, says *Plutarch* [c], in *Alexander*'s camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius*'s consort and her two daughters were princesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander* after the first visit resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians* who had abused the wives of some captives. In short, he used them with such respect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune [d].

Alexander, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius*'s treasures were lodged, with the *Thessalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general headed, the *Persians*, who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow, the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus* or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his

[c] Plut. de fortuna Alexandri. [d] Plut. ibid.

son

ſon *Ilioneus*; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coaſt; three daughters of *Mentor*; the wife and ſon of *Memnon*, that illuſtrious and renowned commander; inſomuch, that there was ſcarce one noble family in all *Perſia* which did not ſhare in this calamity. Beſides the immenſe treaſures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 priſoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The *Theſſalian* horſe had the beſt ſhare of this booty, having been ſent by *Alexander* on this expedition, that they might enrich themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy a city, in regard they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt in the late engagement [e]. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius* [f].

AFTER this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, moſt of the cities of that country voluntarily ſubmitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius*'s governors and commanders delivering themſelves and their treaſures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathus*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he ſtiled himſelf king without beſtowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than entreated him to aſk what ſum he pleaſed for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their diſpute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties ſhould bring an equal number of troops; but if he were ſtill capable of wholeſome counſel, he would adviſe him to be contented with the kingdom of his anceſtors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right; that for the future they ſhould live in friendſhip and amity, and that he was ready to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe articles, and receive *Alexander*'s oath. This letter, which was wrote with ſuch an unſeaſonable pride and haughtineſs, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who therefore in his anſwer began thus; *Alexander the king to Darius*; he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had ſuffered from the *Perſians*, reproaches that nation with the baſe and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*, and *Darius* in particular with ſetting a price upon his own head; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggreſſor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his

[e] PLUTARCH. de fort. Alex. & CURT. l. iii. c. 25. [f] CURT. ibid.

country;

country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of *Asia*, and defeated the mighty host of the *Persians* in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, assuring him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. *Therssippus* was ordered to carry this letter [g].

Alexander marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Byblus* opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, whose city *Ochus* had laid in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the *Persian* name, that they were over-joyed at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and indeed were the first in *Phœnice* who submitted to *Alexander* by their deputies, in opposition to *Strato* their king who was in the *Persian* interest. *Alexander* deposed him, and permitted *Hephæstion* to elect in his room whomsoever of the *Sidonians* he should judge worthy of so exalted a station [h], as we have elsewhere related at length [i].

While *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle of *Issus*, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the assistance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians* to recover *Lydia*; but were in several engagements routed, and at last intirely dispersed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the *Macedonian* fleet sailing from *Greece* fell in with that of the enemies commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellespont*, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped [k].

All *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*; which he besieged and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice* [l].

[g] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [h] Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [i] Vol. II. p. 336. [k] Curt. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Vol. II. p. 348.

While

WHILE *Alexander* was carrying on the ſiege of *Tyre* he received a ſecond letter from *Darius*, who at laſt condeſcended to give him the title of king; he offered him ten thouſand talents by way of ranſom for the captive princeſſes, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Euphrates*; he put him in mind of the inconſtancy of fortune, and ſet out in moſt pompous terms the vaſt number of troops he could ſtill bring into the field; he repreſented the difficulties he might meet with in croſſing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaſpes*, which were ſo many barriers to the *Perſian* empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of ſhutting himſelf up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, ſome time or other, to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be aſhamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* ſummoned a council, in which *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring, that he would agree to them were he *Alexander*; and ſo would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he anſwered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer poſſeſſed, nor pretend to diſpoſe of what he had already loſt; that if he was the only perſon who did not know which of the two was the beſt commander, a battle would ſoon determine it; that he ſhould not be frightened with rivers after having croſſed the ſea, and would not fail to purſue *Darius*, and come up with him at laſt to what place ſoever he ſhould think proper to retire [m]. *Darius*, upon the receipt of this letter, loſt all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

The city of Gaza *beſieged and taken by* Alexander.

Alexander having reduced *Tyre* marched from thence to *Jeruſalem*, and from *Jeruſalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a ſtrong gariſon under the command of *Betis*, or, as ſome call him, *Babemeſis* [n], one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his ſovereign, reſolved to hold out againſt *Alexander* till he was reduced to the laſt extremities. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not paſs thither till he was become maſter of it, and therefore was forced to beſiege it. But notwithſtanding his men behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmoſt of military ſkill, yet it coſt him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The

[m] PLUT. in. Alex. p. 681. CURT. l. iv. c. 5. ARRIAN l. ii. p. 101. [n] JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xi. c. ult.

ſtop

stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector*'s dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune [o]. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra* and his friends; and having left a garison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and in seven days arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under; and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis*, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither

[o] Curt. l. iv. c. 10. Arrian. l. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

(X) This *Amyntas*, having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*; from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe

thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Perſians*. *Alexander* therefore no ſooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them ſecure protection, which they could not promiſe themſelves from *Amyntas*; and on this conſideration they openly declared, without reſerve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazaces*, who commanded in *Memphis*, ſeeing he was not in a condition to oppoſe this general inſurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in poſſeſſion of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture [p]. Thus *Alexander*, without any oppoſition, became maſter of all *Egypt*.

Egypt *ſubmits to* Alexander.

AT *Memphis Alexander* formed a deſign of viſiting the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and in his way thither built *Alexandria*, which ſoon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he ſettled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence in the beginning of the ſpring to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice* he ſtaid ſome time at *Tyre*, that he might there ſettle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he ſet out to make new conqueſts; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his

[p] CURT. l. iv. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. xi. c xi. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 104 — 110. DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 526——529.

ſafe to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where he embarked, as we have related above, and ſailed firſt to *Cyprus*, and then to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*; which city he ſeized, making the gariſon believe that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces*, who had been killed in the battle of *Iſſus*. As ſoon as he found himſelf poſſeſſed of this important place, he threw off the maſk, and declared his deſign of ſeizing *Egypt* for himſelf, and driving the *Perſians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Perſians*, readily joined him; and he having formed a conſiderable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Perſians* in a pitched battle, and ſhut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his ſoldiers to ſtraggle up and down the country in queſt of booty, the *Perſians* ſallied out upon them thus diſperſed, and cut them all to pieces with *Amyntas* their leader (82).

(82) *Arrian. l.* ii. *Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Diodor. l.* xvii. *p.* 587, 588.

whole army arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius* in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at *Babylon* an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Issus*, (for it consisted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards *Nineveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates* commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus* governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, *Alexander* having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army to his tent, commanded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses; but, without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer, being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander*, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left [q]. At day-break the scouts, he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which, as the *Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who having defeated that body and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it

[q] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 24.

down

down at *Alexander*'s feet, telling him, that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold; *Alexander* replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine [r]. Not long after *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by *Darius* to the *Greeks*, soliciting them with great promises either to kill or betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in a full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks* as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forwards [s]. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira Darius*'s wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where *Sysigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence; which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander* [t]. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals offered him all the provinces of *Asia* as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellespont* and the *Euphrates*, that is, whatever *Alexander* was already master of, and offered 30,000 talents by way of ransom for his family. *Par-*

[r] ARRIAN. l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 23. PLUT. in Alex. [s] CURT. l. iv. c. 25. [t] CURT. & PLUTARCH. ibidem.

menio again advised *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellespont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*; and that the *Persian* prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the ambassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if *Darius* had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him, with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which *Darius* still enjoyed, wherein whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine; he concluded by telling the ambassadors, that he was come into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if *Darius* would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals [u]. The ambassadors returned back, and told *Darius*, that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called *Gaugamela*, in a large plain, at a considerable distance from the city of *Arbela*, having beforehand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and palisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day; and arriving at a rising ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in

[u] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. Justin. l. xi. 12.

doubt

doubt whether he ſhould encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* adviſed him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might eaſily be defeated, if taken by ſurprize and in the dark; but the king anſwered, that it did not become *Alexander* to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the ſame order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repoſe the remaining part of the night; but, being under no ſmall concern, he could not ſleep till towards the morning, ſo that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly ſurpriſed to find that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio*, after waiting ſome time, thought fit to call him, and ſeeming amazed that he ſhould ſleep ſo ſound, when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of *Aſia*; *Alexander* told him, that *Darius*, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might purſue them into different countries [w]. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horſeback, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very ſmall diſtance.

BOTH armies were drawn up in the ſame order, the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings; *Darius*'s front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with ſcythes, and 25 elephants. Beſides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had poſted the *Grecian* infantry near his perſon, believing this body alone capable of oppoſing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater ſpace of ground than *Alexander*'s, his deſign was to ſurround and charge them at the ſame time in front and flank; which *Alexander* ſuſpecting, ordered thoſe who led the wings to extend them as wide as poſſible without weakening the centre. His baggage and the captives, among whom were *Darius*'s mother and children, were left in the camp under a ſmall guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemies ſhould advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, *Darius* himſelf charging in the firſt line. *Arrian* and *Curtius* [x] deſcribe this battle at length; they tell us, that the *Per-*

[w] JUSTIN. l. xi. c xiii. CURT. l. iv. c. 3—31. PLUT. in Alex. [x] ARRIAN. l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 25. & ſeq.

ſians

sians were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that *Alexander*'s rear was put in disorder and the baggage taken; that both kings wrought wonders, &c. But after all, *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain; whereas of the *Persians* there fell 40,000, says *Curtius*, 300,000 according to *Arrian*, and 90,000, if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians* at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians* pursued them: for had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which *Darius* brought into the field, thrown each one dart or stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the *Macedonians* were in the greatest danger, *Aristander* the soothsayer, cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and in concert with *Alexander* to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a sure omen of victory; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the soldiers believing him, and some even fancying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever. We are told, that *Darius*, seeing his numerous army put so shamefully to flight, drew his scymitar, and was some time in suspence whether he should lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner; but at last resolved to save himself by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the same night (Y).

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela* near the river *Bumelus*, as *Ptolemy Lagus* and *Aristobulus*, who were present, aver; they are followed both by *Strabo* (83) and *Plutarch* (84); nevertheless because *Gaugamela* was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying the *camels house*, the battle is said to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in those parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a considerable distance from each other; for between the river *Bumelus*, on which stood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was situated, *Curtius* reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to *Strabo*'s description of those places *Arbela* in *Ptolemy*'s fifth map of *Asia* ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(83) *Strabo, lib.* 26. p. 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l.* 6 *p.* 101. *Strabo, ubi supra.* (86) *Curt. l.* iv. c. 22. (87) *Vide Strab. l.* ii. p. 79.

After

After he had paſſed the *Lycus*, ſome, who attended him in his flight, adviſed him to break down the bridge in order to ſtop the enemy's purſuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were haſtening to paſs over the ſame bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a purſuing enemy, than ſhut it to a flying friend [y] (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together; and acquainted them that he deſigned to leave all for the preſent to *Alexander* and fly into *Media*, from whence and from the reſt of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* purſued him as far as *Arbela*; but, before his arrival there, *Darius* was, by the quickneſs of his flight, got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by ſome of his relations, and a ſmall body of guards called *Melophori*, becauſe each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their ſpear. In *Armenia* he was joined by 2000 *Greek* mercenaries, who, under the command of *Paron* a *Phocæan* and *Glaucus* an *Ætolian* had eſcaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he ſeized on immenſe ſums of money, with all *Darius*'s rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army ſome days of reſt, he ſet out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the ſcattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of *Alexander*'s victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppoſe him; marching therefore out to meet him he delivered the city and himſelf with his children into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes* governor of the caſtle, where all *Darius*'s treaſures were lodged, did the ſame; and *Alexander* entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching againſt an enemy. After a ſtay of 30 days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province; but giving the command of the caſtle and gariſon to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Suſa*,

[y] CURT. l. iv. c. 36, 37. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14.

(Z) In *Juſtin* we read, inſtead of *Lycus*, *Cydnus*; which laſt river runs through the city of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Oroſius*, who ever follows *Juſtin*, was led into ſo groſs a miſtake as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarſus* (88).

(88) *Oroſ. l.* iii, c. 17.

where

where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew near the city, *Abulites* governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treasures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and, using him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaspes*, where *Abulites* himself met him with presents worthy of so great a prince; among other things he presented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which *Darius* had sent for out of *India*. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 talents in bullion, and 40,000 in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent to *Athens*, where they were still standing in *Arrian*'s time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to *Sysigambis* together with some others curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of *Macedon*, adding in his message to her, that if she liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would send her those who had wrought them, that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amusement. At these words she could not help betraying some concern and uneasiness, it being looked upon by the *Persian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of that nature; which when *Alexander* understood, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that she would not consider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the *Persian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands [z].

Alexander having thus comforted *Sysigambis*, took his leave of her, and, leaving a strong garison in the city of *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis*. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the *Pasitigris*, which river he crossed with 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Susiana* to the frontiers of *Persis*, and was governed by one *Medathes* who had married the niece of *Sysigambis*. *Medathes*, who was not, like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and with this design retired into a strong hold, in

[z] Curt. l. v. c. 8.

the

the midſt of craggy mountains, and ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep precipices. Here he held out for ſome time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by aſſault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, ſeeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he ſent 30 deputies to *Alexander* to treat of a ſurrender. The king, who was greatly provoked againſt *Madates*, would not at firſt hearken to any propoſals; but in the mean time receiving letters from *Syſigambis*, wherein ſhe entreated him to pardon her relation, he not only complied with her requeſt, but ſet all the priſoners at liberty, reſtored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their antient liberty and priviledges [a].

HAVING reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio* with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himſelf, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Perſia*. The fifth day he arrived at the ſtraights of *Perſia*. Theſe *Ariobarzanes* held with 40000 foot and 7000 horſe, which he had poſted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. As ſoon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Perſians* from the tops of the mountains rolled down ſtones of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that they cruſhed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the paſs, where he lay encamped ſome time, not knowing how to advance, and being aſhamed to return; but in the mean time a *Greek* deſerter coming to his camp offered himſelf readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might eaſily ſo annoy the *Perſians*, as to oblige them to abandon the ſtraights and leave an open paſſage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander*, at the head of ſome choſen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemies were poſted; which they obſerving betook themſelves to flight; and at the ſame time *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtraights. *Ariobarzanes* with part of the cavalry, breaking through the *Macedonians* with great ſlaughter both of them and his own men, made his eſcape over the mountains, with a deſign to throw himſelf into *Perſepolis*; but, finding all the paſſes leading

[a] CURT. l. v. c. 9.

to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that pursued him, and was killed with all those that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians* [b].

Being now possessed of the straights, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Persis* or *Persia*, properly so called. When he was at some distance from *Persepolis*, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder *Darius*'s treasures with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of *Europe*, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in a most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong holds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war [c].

During his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, *Thais*, a famous *Athenian* courtezan, and at that time mistress of *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*, proposed the burning of *Darius*'s palace, telling *Alexander*, with a gay air, that it would be

[b] Curt. Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra & Polyænus, l. iv. Stratagem. [c] Curt. l. v. c. 13. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

matter

matter of inexpreſſible joy to her, were ſhe permitted to burn the ſtately palace of *Xerxes*, who had burnt *Athens*, and ſet it on fire with her own hands, that it might be ſaid in all the parts of the world, that the women, who had followed *Alexander* in his expedition to *Aſia*, had revenged more ſeverely the many calamities *Greece* had ſuffered from the *Barbarians*, than all the generals that had been employed againſt them. As the whole company was drunk, the propoſal was received with general applauſe, and the king himſelf, riſing from table, and taking a torch in his hand, followed *Thais*. The reſt of the *Macedonians*, crowding at this noiſe to the palace, armed themſelves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and ſurrounding the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be ſtopt, down to the ground [d]. Thus the moſt ſtately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken ſtrumpet, reduced to aſhes.

FROM *Perſepolis Alexander* marched early in the ſpring to *Paſargada*, reſolved to purſue *Darius* who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had ſtill an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the laſt. Beſides theſe he had 4000 ſlingers and 3000 horſe, moſt of them *Bactrians*, and commanded by *Beſſus*, governor of *Bactria*. When he heard, that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city with a deſign to retire into *Bactria*, and there raiſe another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his reſolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the neceſſary preparations for the engagement, *Beſſus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, a *Perſian* lord of great diſtinction, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, propoſing to ſeize his perſon, and, if *Alexander* purſued them, to gain his friendſhip and protection by betraying their maſter into his hands; but if they eſcaped, their deſign was to murder him, uſurp the crown, and renew the war. They eaſily won over the troops by repreſenting to them, that *Darius* was dragging them to deſtruction, that they were no ways in a condititon to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably periſh if they followed *Darius*, cruſhed under the ruins of an empire which was ready to fall. Though theſe practices were carried on with great ſecrecy, yet they came to *Darius*'s ear, but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earneſtly en-

[d] CURT. l. v. c. 15. DIODOR. PLUT. in Alex. ARRIAN. l. iii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

treated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after *Darius* had occasion to repent his not following *Patron*'s advice; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*,, seizing his person, bound him, out of respect to the royal dignity, in chains of gold, and, shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody [e]. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief in *Darius*'s room by the *Bactrian* horse; but *Artabazus* and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron* retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthyene* [f]. In the mean time *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed, that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Thessalians* shewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any farther, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them, over and above their full pay: to such as were willing to continue in his service he gave three talents apiece [g]. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the castle of *Ecbatan* the remaining part of the treasures; which, according to *Strabo* [h], amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians* that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander* with the rest of his army pursued *Darius*, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch that, on his arrival at *Rages*, he could muster but 60 horsemen [i]. Finding, that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already passed the *Caspian* straights,

[e] Curt. l. v. c. 18. 22, 23. Arrian. l. iii. p. 67. [f] Curt. l. v. c 23. Arrian. l. iv. p. 68. [g] Curt. l. vi c. 3. Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex. [h] Strabo, l. xv. p. 741. [i] Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

he

he ſtaid five days at *Rages* in order to refreſh his army, and ſettle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the firſt day at a ſmall diſtance from the *Caſpian* ſtraights, which he paſſed the next without any oppoſition. He had ſcarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagiſthenes* a *Perſian* nobleman, that *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* had conſpired againſt *Darius*, and deſigned to ſeize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a ſmall troop of horſe lightly armed; and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village where *Beſſus* with his *Bactrians* had encamped the day before. Here he underſtood, that *Darius* had been ſeized by the traitors, that *Beſſus* had cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cloſe cart, which he had ſent before that he might be the ſurer of his perſon, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Beſſus* and acknowledged him for their general. This was a freſh motive for *Alexander* to haſten his march; taking therefore along with him a ſmall body of light-armed horſe, for the others could not poſſibly proceed any farther, he ſet out again the ſame night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes* two *Perſian* officers, who in deteſtation of the treachery of *Beſſus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he ſet out again the ſame night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the ſon of *Mazæus* formerly governor of *Syria*; who informed him, that *Beſſus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in diſorder, and might eaſily be ſurpriſed and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at laſt came in ſight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival ſtruck the *Barbarians*, though far ſuperior in number, with ſuch terror, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight; and becauſe *Darius* refuſed to follow them, *Beſſus* and thoſe that were about him diſcharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. This done they ſeparated and took different routs, *Beſſus* flying towards *Hyrcania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that by this means they might elude the purſuit of the enemy, or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horſe, the reſt, now deſtitute of leaders, diſperſing themſelves up and down the

Darius Codomannus *ſlain* Year of the Flood 2668. Year before Chriſt 331.

the country, as fear or hope directed their steps. *Alexander*, seeing what confusion the enemies were in, sent *Nicanor* with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians*. *Nicanor* put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes*, which *Alexander* observing sent him orders to give quarter to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horses, that drew the cart in which was *Darius*, halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by *Bessus*, near a certain village about four furlongs from the high-way; whither *Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself, at a fountain not far from the place where they stopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw *Darius* lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However, he had strength enough to call for some water; which *Polystratus*, being by a *Persian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius* after drinking turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children; and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe: he added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander* to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give *Alexander*, said he, your hand, as I give "you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge "I am able to give in this condition of my gratitude and "affection". Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander* coming up a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius*'s body, burst out into tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sysigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs. Thus died *Darius* in the fiftieth

fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Smerdis*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes* I. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes* II. *Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, *Darius Codomannus* [k]. Upon the death of *Darius* all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he distinguished *Artabazus*, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes*, who together with *Bessus* had murdered *Darius*. But *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria*, and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander* in the beginning of the next spring marched against him: but his march out of *Persia* into those northern countries is by authors described with great confusion; for after they had told us, that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria*, they make him take the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence wander northwards into the country of the *Mardi*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and after subduing the *Mardi* cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*. Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long and tedious march in *Bactria*; and having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against and reduced *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but 8000 *Bactrians*, who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus*, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were unsurmountable to that conqueror; who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides, which

[k] CURT. l. v. c. 25. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 15. ARRIAN. p. 69. PLUT. in Alex.

covered

covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Catanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety by delivering him up to *Alexander*; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*, and carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp. *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder [l]; *Plutarch* [m] has left us an account of this execution; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural position, flew back with such violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Bessus* suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery; and at his death *Alexander* saw himself in quiet possession of the whole *Persian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians of the best account, concerning the affairs of the antient *Persians*: In the following section we shall hear the *Orientals* on the same subject.

Bessus *put to death.* Year of the Flood 2669. Before Chr. st, 330.

SECT.

[l] Curt. l. 7. c. 12. Arrian. l. 3. Diodor. l. 17. [m] Plut. in Alex. & Diodor. l. 17. p. 554. Arrian. l. iv. c. 7. Curt, l. 7. c. 10.

In stating the times of the *Persian* empire we have followed all along *Ptolemy*'s canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors. For the *Jews* own such kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the *Old Testament*; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Persian* empire, from the building of the temple in the second year

SECT. V.

The History of PERSIA *according to the* Oriental *Writers.*

What degree of certainty may be expected in the following history.

WE have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from *Eastern* authors censured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Persian* writers is strictly fact; that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of *Persia*, as written by *Oriental* authors, than we find in the history of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they stiled all the rest of the world *Barbarians?* It is sufficient for our purpose, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Persian* history from *Eastern* writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as antient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. *In the first place*, we are told by *Moses* [a], that there were kings in *Persia* in the age immediately following that, in which the *Persian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that these writers are not wrong in making their kingdom so antient as they do. But *secondly*, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon as, or within a small time after, the settling of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems, were also introduced.

[a] GENES. xiv. 1, 9.

year of *Darius Hystaspes*, flourished only 34 years. *Josephus* acknowledges only the following kings of *Persia*; *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*; this *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomannus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*

This was the custom in all places, at least as far as we are able to trace things back. First, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society, successive kings cherished and encreased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. *Moses* hath preserved two fragments of an *Amoritish* poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung so early the praises of *Sihon* [b], why might not the *Persians* have persons among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? *Thirdly*, it is universally allowed, that the present *Persians* have not only quick wits but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conservation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and ancient *Persians* are not one and the same people; but hereto it may be replied, that the *Persees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present *Persians* [c]. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentic histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm, I say we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof; but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this assertion, that the antient *Persians* kept authentic records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, *viz.* sacred and prophane. The authors of the books of [d] *Ezra* and [e] *Nehemiah* speak frequently not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of public acts and registers. In the book of [f] *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to prophane writers, [g] *Herodotus* and [h] *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wisdom and virtue of the antient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

How the antient histories have been preserved.

Supposing it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how

[b] Numb. xxi. 37. [c] Chardin. tom iii. p. 130. [d] vi. 2. [e] ii. 7. [f] ii. 23. vi. 1. [g] Clio, p. 25. [h] Cyropædia.

these

theſe can be reaſonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached theſe diſtant times. Of this, however, we are not poſitive ourſelves; all that we can ſay is this, that the *Perſians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Yezdegherd*, there ſeems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their hiſtories were frequent among them; for tho' the *Macedonians* might burn and deſtroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they ſhould deſtroy all the books in the empire; beſides, we know that the modern *Perſees* have the *Zend* or original *Code* of *Zerduſht* among them, with many other antient books; now it being generally agreed, that *Zerduſht* flouriſhed in the days of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, it will be hard to aſſign a reaſon, why ſome of their antient hiſtories might not be preſerved, as well as theſe books of their law. But farther ſtill, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandſchah* commonly called *Mirkhond*, or *Mirkhound*, with other modern *Perſian* authors, conſtantly and uniformly aſſert, that they write from ſuch authorities, and therefore we have no juſt reaſon to doubt them, unleſs we could ſhew the contrary (A).

On what authorities this hiſtory is founded.

IT is from the author beforementioned that we take, for the moſt part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the *Oriental* hiſtory of *Perſia*. He is allowed to have been a perſon of great learning and judgment by ſuch as are well verſed in oriental hiſtory, and his works are e-

(A) This famous hiſtorian is quoted by various names, and thoſe names have received ſome alteration from the different orthographies uſed in oriental appellations; ſometimes he is called *Mirchond*, ſometimes *Mirkhond*, and ſometimes *Chondemir*; he wrote a general hiſtory from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*; he was a perſon of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well ſkilled in the *Perſian* antiquities, and wrote from the beſt hiſtories extant in his time (1); for this reaſon we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. *Hyde* (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on *Perſian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, publiſhed in *Spaniſh* by *Texeira*, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, and ſhall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) *D'Herbelot tit. Mirkhond.* (2) *Hyde rel. vet. Perſ. cap.* viii. 152. (3) *Les Eſtats, Empires, & Principautez du Monde. Paris 4to, 1662. p.* 999.

steemed as oracles throughout the east. We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without further introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A Table of the kings of Persia, to the time of Alexander the Great, according to Mirkhond.

The first Race,

Or the Dynasty of the Pischdadians.

1	*Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath*	40
2	*Siamek*	
	Kejomaras resumes the kingdom	
3	*Hûshangh, or Houschenk*	50
4	*Tahmurash*	30
5	*Gjemshîd, or Giamschid*	
	Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk	
6	*Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun*	
7	*Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz*	120
8	*Nodar*	7
9	*Apherâsiab, or Afrasiab*	12
10	*Zab, Zaab, or Zoub*	

The second Race,

Or the Dynasty of the Kaianites.

1	*Kaikobad*	100
2	*Kaikaus*	150
3	*Kaikhosru*	60
4	*Lohrasp or Lohorasb*	120
5	*Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasp*	120
6	*Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman*	112
7	*Queen Homai*	32
8	*Darav* 1.	4
9	*Darav* 2.	14

A Table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

1	*Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath*	560
	Siamek slain after a short reign	

Kejo-

	Kejomaras resumes the Kingdom, and reigned	30
	An Interregnum	200
2	*Hushang, or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdad*	50
3	*Tahmuras*	700
4	*Giemshid, or Giamschid*	30
5	*Dahâc, Zahâc, Zoak*	1000
6	*Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun*	120
7	*Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz*	500
8	*Nodar*	7
9	*Apheraſiab or Afraſiab*	12
10	*Zab, Zaab, or Zoub*	30
11	*Guſtaſp ſon of Zoub*	30

The ſecond Race,

1	*Kaikobad*	120
2	*Kaikaus*	150
3	*Kaikhoſru*	60
4	*Lohraſp, or Loboraſb*	120
5	*Guſhtâſp, or Guſtaſp, or Kiſchtaſp*	120
6	*Ardſchir, ſurnamed Bahaman*	112
7	*Queen Homai*	32
8	*Darav* 1.	14
9	*Darav* 2.	

The nature thereof in point of ſtyle, &c.

IT is evident enough from the years ſet down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of theſe princes reigns; but there may notwithſtanding this be a great deal of truth in theſe relations, and, by comparing them with what the *Greek* and other writers of the *Perſian* affairs have given us of the ſame times it may be very poſſible to extract a better idea of the antient *Perſian* empire, than could have been had without conſulting the oriental writers at all. Reaſon will be everlaſtingly the ſupreme judge of facts, and if a hiſtory be attended with continual improbabilities or abſurdities, men of ſenſe will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the eaſt, or in the weſt. On the other hand, where a hiſtory is compoſed of a ſeries of mixt facts, ſome probable and ſome romantic, the candid reader will receive thoſe, though he throw away theſe, and will not deſtroy the wheat, becauſe there are tares amongſt it. As to the ſtyle of the following hiſtory, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Perſian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourſelves with the utmoſt plainneſs and perſpicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our

our power lay, to reſcue truth out of thoſe metaphoric clouds, which often obſcure the writings of the eaſtern hiſtorians. Farther remarks of the ſame nature we leave to the diſcernment of our readers.

Keyomaras.

Keyomaras, or *Cajoumarath*, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the firſt king of the firſt race, ſurnamed the *Piſchdadians*, from *Piſchdad*, which ſignifies a juſt judge, and was the ſurname given to *Huſhangh* the ſecond king of this race, however, afterwards attributed to them all. The manner wherein *Keyomaras* aſcended the throne was this. In the province of *Aderbayagjan* the inhabitants feeling the ſad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleaſed, they unanimouſly reſolved to elect one who ſhould be obeyed by all, and to whoſe judgment they would ſubmit as to an irreſragable law. His conſpicuous virtues determined them on this occaſion to *Keyomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, inveſted him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *Tagi* on his head, kiſſing his feet in token of ſubmiſſion, which cuſtoms laſt mentioned were preſerved in uſe by his ſucceſſors [i]. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himſelf to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of juſtice; he taught men to build houſes and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, ſuch as the making of woollen cloth, and ſpinning, and weaving ſilk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wiſdom, juſtice, and goodneſs, that dignity, which, out of modeſty and a foreſight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refuſed [k]. The happineſs enjoyed by ſuch as lived under ſo excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themſelves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the ſame means that it began, *viz.* through an opinion of his worth; and he upon their ſubmiſſion treated his new ſubjects with the ſame care and kindneſs as he had always ſhewn to his old. He ſent his brother to take a view of theſe new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himſelf. In the province of *Choraſan* he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of *Balch* where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which ſignifies *to embrace*. He was alſo the founder of abundance of other cities of *Perſia*, particularly

[i] Mirkhond, Proœm. Hiſt.

[k] Tarik Montekheb, i. e. ſelect chronicle.

Kabulſtan

Kabulstan, *Sigistan*, *Gom*, &c [l]. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Keyomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings [m]. The other son of *Keyomaras*, or rather his grandson, was *Siamek*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born *Keyomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that *Keyomaras* was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

Siamek proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle, and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Keyomaras* by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased son with great magnificence; the next to take vengeance on those who had slain *Siamek*; after which he reigned for many years with great applause. Siamek.

THERE is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him *Adam*, and because he was the first

[l] MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. 1. Oriental. tit. CAIUMARATH.

[m] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth.

king,

king, would needs have him to be the firſt man alſo; but men of better judgment and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a miſtake, and that the ancient *Perſians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary ſurname, ſignifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as *Adam* of mankind. The moſt judicious among the *Perſian* writers believe him to have been the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, and that he choſe to erect the ſeat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat* and the countries firſt planted after the flood. His religion is another diſputable point, ſome holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his ſon *Siamek* gave birth to the *fire-worſhip* aſcribed to the *Magians*. But if we may credit graver authorities, *Keyomaras*, like moſt antient kings, was at once both *prince* and *prophet*, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the exiſtence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thouſand years of life, and ſay, that of theſe he reigned five hundred and ſixty. How long he reigned before he reſigned his throne to *Siamek* is uncertain, but from his reſuming the ſceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years [n].

Huſhang. *Huſhang*, or *Houſchenk*, ſurnamed *Piſchdad*, was a perſon of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the eaſt, for the extent of his knowledge and his mighty feats of valour. He is ſaid to have given a regular body of laws to his ſubjects, whence he was called *Piſchdad*. He alſo divided his country, and eſtabliſhed governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented moſt of the inſtruments of agriculture, as alſo the art of conveying water through ſubterraneous paſſages, for the moiſtening of their grounds; to him likewiſe they aſcribe the taming of leopards and other beaſts of chace, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flouriſh through his wiſdom, ſo he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountains of *Damavend*, by an army of *Barbarians* who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of *Chuſiſtan* the ſeat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Suſa* or *Shuſhan* [o].

[n] Sharistani ap. Hyde rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxv. p. 175.
[o] Leb Tarik. Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. 3.

There

THERE is hardly an antient prince in the world whoſe name is more famous in romance than that of *Huſhang*, there is a *Perſian* book which bears the title of *Huſhang Nameh*, i. e. *Huſhang*'s hiſtory, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been tranſlated into the *Turkiſh* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero beſtrid a monſtrous animal, called *Rakhſche*, which he found in the dry iſland, or new world, being the iſſue of a male *Crocodile* and a female *Hippopotamus*; this ſteed fed upon nothing but the fleſh of *Serpents* and *Dragons*. After once *Huſhang* had made this animal ſubmit to the ſaddle, there was no giant ſo terrible, no monſter ſo frightful, but he attacked and ſubdued; amongſt the reſt of his conqueſts he reduced the people of *Mahiſer*, ſo famous in the eaſtern romances for their having fiſhes heads, and thence eſteemed a race of formidable monſters. The truth ſeems to be, that this prince ſubdued that people on the *Perſic* gulph, called by the *Greeks Ichthyophagi* from their living upon fiſh, whence the fruitful imagination of eaſtern poets deduced a people with fiſhes heads. The ſame fabulous writers aſcribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. *the wiſdom of all times*; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very antient, and has been tranſlated into various languages, particularly into *Arabic*, by the ſon of the vizier of the *Caliph Almamon*, and into *Turkiſh* under the title of *Anvar Sohaili*, it has alſo been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itſelf a very excellent treatiſe, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, ſo famous for giving laws and teaching wiſdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatiſe beforementioned at the bottom of the page [P] (B).

Tahmuraſh

[P] D'HERBELOT. Art. HOUSCHENK.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthuſiaſm natural to eaſtern writers; there are in it, however, ſome very fine ſentences, amongſt others theſe which follow:

"Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the attributes of "power, wiſdom, and mercy, in a ſuperior degree, with reſpect to "private perſons, as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this, "however, encourage them to uſe their ſubjects with rigour. "Thunder is ſeldom heard, but the ſun ſhines every day; we ſee "ten thouſand inſtances of God's goodneſs, for one extraordinary "act of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing all the good "they can, and always remember, that though death is in their "power, yet life is not; they may order a man to be cut into a

Tahmuraſb.

Tahmurasb, ſurnamed *Diùbend*, i. e. *the humbler of the devil*, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſon, by others the grandſon, of *Huſhang*, and by a third party his couſin, ſucceeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predeceſſor had introduced both poverty and confuſion in his dominions, he to remedy the firſt remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order made new laws, and took care that the magiſtrates ſhould every where put them in execution. He is the firſt *Perſian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime miniſter; it is very poſſible, that the diſorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make uſe of ſuch an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of *Perſia* to prevent ſudden invaſions, and ſhewed ſo happy a mixture of wiſdom and valour in his diſpoſition, that ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, ſtruck with the felicity of his ſubjects, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to him, and acknowledged him for their ſovereign. At laſt, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a peſtilence, which raged throughout his dominions and deſtroyed with equal rapidity both man and beaſt, cut the thread of his life at *Balch*, to the great grief of his ſubjects [q].

[q] Mirkhond. Hiſt. Sect. iv. D'Herbelot tit. Tahmuraseb.

" thouſand pieces, but there their dominion ends, they cannot call
" him into being again; beware therefore of ſudden judgments,
" and of penitence coming too late.

" Miniſters are as the hands or inſtruments of kings; men look
" not for an account of their actions from them, but from their
" maſter; a king therefore ſhould look well to his miniſters; for
" it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes upon them, when
" the people riſe in rebellion, as it would be for a murderer to tell
" the judge, that it was not he but his ſword that killed his neigh-
" bour. Bad princes have ſometimes had good miniſters, but good
" princes never have bad ones long.

" The paſſions of men may by long acquaintance be thoroughly
" known, but the paſſions of women are inſcrutable; therefore they
" ought to be ſevered from men, leſt the mutability of their tem-
" pers ſhould infect others. Their natures, humours, and conſti-
" tution, require reſtraint; large and coarſe ſtones are employed
" in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaſter in palaces; but
" diamonds we lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or com-
" mon, of ſmall value or of great price, we ſet them to ſhew, or
" ſhut them up cloſe (4).

(4) *Humaioun Nameh. ap. Beauchamp's Eſſays, Sect. iii.*

Gjemſhid,

Gjemshid, or *Giamschid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name being *Gjem*, to which *Schid* as a surname was added, because of his wonderful beauty, *Schid* in the *Persic* language signifying *the sun*, his eyes having such a lustre that none could look him steadily in the face, though some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson, but all agree that he was of the family of *Keyomaras*, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a *Jew*, says our author *Mirchond*, whose name was *Facl Issuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores* i. e. *Pythagoras*; but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of these times, yet it is easy to discern from the circumstances of things, that *Gjemschid* flourished at a considerable distance from *Pythagoras*; but such errors as these are not infrequent among *Oriental* writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of *Greece*, of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of these wise counsellors, *Gjemschid* divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artisans [r]. In his time music, vocal and instrumental, and astronomy were first introduced in *Persia*. He was also the first who built granaries in *Persia*, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in case of any deficiency in their harvests famine might not be felt. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman, who was much in *Gjemschid*'s good graces was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of *Gjemschid* were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which compleated her cure; this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the

[r] MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. v.

court, every body began to regard wine as an universal medicine, capable of removing the most stubborn diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastic year, in which there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated [f] (C). He likewise instituted the *Nauruz*, *i. e.* the solemn observation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its rise thus; king *Gjemschid* going in progress through his provinces arrived in *Aderbayagjan*, and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is *Nauruz*, i. e. the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein, besides the presents made to the prince, 'twas usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all sorts of people, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know that it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried; to

[f] Hyde, rel. vet. Persar. c. xiv.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was settled by *Gjemschid*; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, *viz* when we come to speak of the æra of *Yezdegherd*, we thought it needless to interrupt the series of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. *Hyde*'s book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (5).

(5) *Relig. vet. Persar. c. xiv.*

which

which the youth anſwered, *I am Al Manſur*, i. e. *Auguſt*; *my name is Al-Mobarek*, i. e. *the Bleſſed*; *I came hither from God, bearing the new year.* Then he ſat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a ſilver veſſel, in which were wheat, barley, peaſe, vetches, pulſe, a ſugar cane, and two pieces of gold freſh from the mint. Out of this baſon firſt the *Waſir* or *Vizier*, then the treaſurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his ſilver veſſel to the king. At the concluſion of the ceremony a very great loaf made of ſeveral kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eating ſome of it himſelf, intreated ſuch as were preſent to eat the reſt in theſe words, *This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other.* Then riſing up in his royal robes he ſolemnly bleſſed his nobility, beſtowing on them rich gifts[c]. The evening of this day the *Perſians* called *Phriſtaph*, on which they did every thing that might teſtify joy and ſtrong hopes of ſeeing a pleaſant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemſchid* remained in *Segjiſtan*, thinking it the propereſt province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the eaſt were thoroughly ſettled; then he changed it for the proper *Perſia*, where he erected the noble city of *Eſtechar*, which moſt take to be the *Perſepolis* of the *Greeks*, though ſome believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the antient *Perſian* writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Eſtechar* be true, *viz.* that it contained a ſquare of twenty four leagues, then it is poſſible that both opinions may be true; but if we meaſure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, ſuch as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was ſkilled in the occult ſciences, and poſſeſſed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may ſafely reſtrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, eſpecially for thoſe times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the ſpace they have aſſigned it. It is univerſally allowed, that *Gjemſchid* gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of the arts of reigning, and ſome ſay, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by conſidering the tranſactions among the bees, and that he drew many cuſtoms from the hive into the court of *Perſia*. Among other inventions the ſignet ring is aſcribed to him, and that mode, which ſtill prevails throughout the eaſt, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable; he likewiſe directed,

[c] CASWINI, ap. Hyde, p. 237.

that

that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable from their garb; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing and his people happy, in which he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes; for having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, sent pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. This madness soon lost him the hearts of the people, so that the province of *Segjistan*, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king, and whose name was *Abad*, took arms, and, when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of *Zoâk* or *Dahâc* towards *Schiras*, where *Gjemschid* met him with a powerful army which he had raised; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end *Gjemschid* was defeated and taken prisoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately sawn asunder, which was performed in *Zoak*'s sight. This is the account given by *Mirkhond* and the best *Arabian* histories; others say, that he escaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son whose name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun* of three years old, whom his mother *Phranak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of *Persia* [a].

Dehoc. *Dehoc*, *Dahâc*, *Zahak*, *Loâk*; some authors affirm, that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the *Persians*, viz. *Deh-ak*, signifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was *Piurasb*. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; some report, that he was lineally descended from *Siamek* the grandson of *Keyomaras*; others that he was an *Arabian*, the son of *Uluan*, descended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth seems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's side, but descended of the house of *Keyomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false; the one supposes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other that he was descended from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the scriptures. It is very likely, that all these stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened

[a] D'Herbelot. tit. Gjemschid.

pened through ſome miſtakes in reading or tranſcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his ſword, ſo he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his ſubjects. He was, however, a perſon of great genius, and deeply ſkilled in the occult ſciences, in one word, he is repreſented to us as a compleatly wicked man; one whoſe abilities anſwered the evil intentions of his ſoul, and whoſe perſon ſtruck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid viſage, eyes wild and ſparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the ſame time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural ſourneſs of his temper was irritated by a ſharp and incurable diſeaſe, conſiſting in two painful ulcers, one on each ſhoulder, the anguiſh of which reſembled the pain following the bite of a ſerpent, whence the ſtory inſerted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at laſt as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiſs his ſhoulders, which being granted, an ugly ſerpent immediately took poſt in each, and gnawed itſelf a den in his fleſh. Either ſome ſorcerer, or the devil in a dream, ſuggeſted to *Zoak* an inhuman remedy for this evil, *viz.* that of waſhing theſe ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others ſay, applying to them the brains of men newly ſlain. At firſt the tyrant put to death criminals of all ſorts; but when there were no more of theſe, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The prieſts and other perſons in authority had recourſe to all the arguments they could uſe to engage him to have recourſe rather to the blood or brain of ſheep, but to no purpoſe; thoſe, however, who were intruſted with the care of theſe unhappy wretches deſtined to ſlaughter for the tyrant's eaſe, often out of mere pity let them ſlip through their fingers, ſo that flying to the mountains in order to preſerve themſelves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themſelves into a particular nation, called ſince the *Curdes* *. All his reign long *Zoak* cauſed *Phridun*, the ſon of his predeceſſor, to be ſearched for, but to no purpoſe, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak* and his other enemies. However, the tyrant diſcharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he ſuſpected inclined to the intereſt of the young *Phridun*. The chief cauſe of theſe proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; theſe he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two looſened his girdle,

* MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. vi.

dle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavand*. Having applied to the moſt ſkilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this ſignified, they unanimouſly agreed, that it portended the loſs of his kingdom and of his life, becauſe amongſt the *Perſians* the girdle is a mark of dignity; now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun* and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, were the ſons of a certain ſmith, whoſe name was *Gao*, or, as others write it, *Kaoh*. This man, driven to madneſs at the ſight of his childrens blood, ran up and down the ſtreets, crying out for juſtice and help againſt the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a ſtandard. In a ſhort time the army he got together became very formidable, ſo that he made himſelf maſter of various ſtrong forts and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capital of *Choraſan*, where he ſtaid for ſome time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, aſſuring them amongſt other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as ſoon as he had reſtored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the ſovereignty to him, which he as poſitively refuſed, telling them, that as the ſenſe he had of his own injuries had put him upon firſt taking arms, ſo he would never conſent to injure others; that *Phridun* the ſon of *Gjamſchid* was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are eaſily turned; the army on this ſpeech grew as loyal to *Phridun* as they had been grateful to the ſmith. *Phridun* obſerving the ſpirit of his people, and being informed that *Zoak*'s army was by no means hearty in his intereſt, marched with the utmoſt expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a briſk action *Zoak*'s troops abandoned him, and he was taken priſoner, whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavand*, and gave directions for his being impriſoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Perſians* inſtituted a feaſt in memory thereof, which they called *Mihirgian*, or rather *Mihragjan* [y] (D).

Phridun,

[y] Hyde, rel vet. Perſ. c viii p. 158. D'Herbelot. biblioth. Orient. art Feridoun, Gaoh.

(D) The hiſtory of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Perſian* romances;

Phridun, *Aphridun*, or *Feridoun*, this prince proved one of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt ſucceſsful monarchs that ever ruled in the eaſt; his firſt act, after being quietly ſeated on the throne, was to make *Kaoh*, the ſmith, general of his armies; after which he ſent him towards the weſtern parts of his dominions in order to reduce ſuch provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke. Phridun.

romances; what is related in them of him being to us abſurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpoſe to ſwell out a note with ſuch ſtories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the moſt invidious characters of him they could deviſe, and heightened all the miſchievous things he did with the utmoſt force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourſelves poets writing with this view, and at the ſame time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loſs for all the ſtrange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the firſt authors of them to have been men of good ſenſe too. Metaphors well underſtood, alluſions readily apprehended, and allegories eaſily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at leaſt as circumſtances, of fact in ages which ſucceed; and hence it comes to paſs, that a ſtroke of poetic ſatyr, or the rhetorical flouriſh of an author is miſapprehended for a ſtrict aſſertion, and ſo delivered by hiſtorians, who come after, and tranſcribe all they find, without weighing or conſidering how or in what manner it was wrote. The firſt hiſtorians in all countries were poets, the ſecond race proſe-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that antient hiſtories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be underſtood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Perſia*? But fiction, though it may obſcure, yet it does not abſolutely deſtroy truth. *Zoak* was in all probability an *Arabian* invader, who, after making himſelf maſter of *Perſia*, uſed his new ſubjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be born, and then they did what a people may always do, *viz.* threw them off their ſhoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be underſtood to mean no more than that he was kept there in ſome ſtrong caſtle. Theſe mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and conſequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the ſame licence here allowed them elſewhere, have feigned, that *Tahmurah* after overcoming the *Divs* or evil *Genii*, impriſoned them in theſe grottoes, and by degrees theſe expreſſions grew ſo frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily ſent to the mountains of *Damavand* as among our common people ghoſts are *chained*, or, to preſerve the true phraſe, *laid* in the bottom of the *Red-ſea*.

Kaoh spent twenty years in this enterprize, in which space he added many fine countries to the *Persian* empire; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years with equal satisfaction to the people and to his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who to do honour to his memory gave all his estates among his relations, and then taking his sons into his own court, bred them up there in a most honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired [a]. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which *Kaoh* had hung upon a stick at the beginning of the insurrection, the royal standard of *Persia*, calling it *Dirfesch Kaviani*, i. e. *the standard of Kaoh*, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such an inestimable value, that being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadesia*, it enriched the whole army [a]. As *Phridun* was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons, not only of great parts but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also with a view of interest only the daughter of his predecessor *Zoak*, by whom he had two sons *Salm* and *Tur*, but these proving like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a *Persian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named *Irege*, equally wise and courteous, so that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on till *Phridun*, feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know which of his sons they wished he should make his successor; those lords unanimously answered, that if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have *Irege* for their prince, to which *Phridun* assented; but to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to *Tur* all the eastern provinces of his empire, to *Salm* the provinces on the other side, and restrained *Irege* within the compass of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*. From this division came the names of *Turon* and *Iran*, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of *Persia*, and the other *Persia* itself and the provinces dependent thereon [b]. As

[a] Mirkhond. hist. sect. vii. [a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Dirfesch. [b] Hyde, rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.

for

for *Tur*, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name *Turon*, and the country *Turqueſtan*; this city was ſeated in the province of *Mauaralnahar* in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks* [c]. However large thoſe ſhares might be which *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they ſtill hated him and their brother *Irege*, whoſe ruin they concerted together. Things being at laſt ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*, and, having joined their armies, they ſent a ſort of manifeſto to their father, wherein they ſet forth, that with juſt reaſon they were diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which he had ſhewn *Irege*, whom they ſtiled a baſtard, and declared at the ſame time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was depoſed from the ſovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his poſſeſſion. *Phridun*, juſtly diſpleaſed at this undutiful behaviour, ſent immediately his orders to *Irege* to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march againſt his brethren. *Irege*, however, deſired the king to have recourſe to milder meaſures, in hopes of preſerving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. *Irege*, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him ſome of his wiſeſt counſellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if poſſible amicably to adjuſt the differences between them. They, who wiſhed for nothing more, immediately ſeized him and ſtruck off his head, which having ſtuck on a pole, they inſolently ſent to their father. *Phridun* was exceſſively grieved at his ſon's misfortune; he reſolved, however, to carry on the war againſt *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his ſon *Manugeher*, who immediately marched with an army againſt his uncles. They deſpiſing his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and loſt their lives by the hand of *Manugeher*, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun*, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeher*, he aſked who it was that preſumed to enter his preſence in ſuch a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandſon* Manugeher, *the avenger of the blood of* Irege, *who hath ſlain* Salm *and* Tur *with his own hand.* *Phridun*

[c] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ubi ſupr.

then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the *Tagi* or *Tiara* from his head and put it on that of *Manugeber* or *Manugjahr*, declaring him thereby sovereign of *Persia*, appointing at the same time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his vizier [d]. Within a short space after this *Phridun* died, full of years and glory (E).

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the *Solomon* of *Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a man-

[d] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Soham.

(E) The oriental writers are universally agreed, that the terms *Touran* and *Iran*, expressive of the two great empires on the other and on this side the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihon*, took rise at this time. It may seem strange, that such large tracts of country should receive appellations from persons who lived and governed them so short a time; for it appears, that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a small space after the partition of his dominions amongst them. But when this is more thoroughly considered, the wonder will cease. The monarchs of these extensive kingdoms were, through a long course of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestors to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjahr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks* will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*, and yet many of them admit, that *Turquestan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless, and at the same time improper for us to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was stiled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side of the river, *i. e.* the *Euphrates*. Such difficulties amuse weak minds, but men of solid understandings easily pass by these doubts, knowing that there is little more of certainty to be found in searching for the rise of denominations of far later date.

ner,

ner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a ſtate of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happineſs to thoſe whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worſhipper of the true God, and took ſuch care to repreſs *Zabiiſm*, that ſome *Mohammedan* authors have not ſcrupled to aſſert that he was a muſſulman. It is alſo recorded of him, that he left this advice with his ſucceſſor.

Believe, my ſon, that the days of your reign are ſo many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have ſeen by poſterity [c]. Many other wiſe ſayings of this great prince are ſcattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to inſert here. Some *Perſian* writers think, that *Phridun* was cotemporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortes* of *Heredotus* [f]; it would take up too much time to diſcuſs this controverſy here, and beſides we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject hereafter, and to conſider the opinions of the critics on oriental hiſtory all at once; in the mean time let us purſue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun*'s grandſon (F).

Ala-

[c] D'HERBELOT. Art. FERIDOUN. [f] HYDE, relig. vet. Perſar. c. viii.

(F) The reader will eaſily perceive from the characters he has already ſeen drawn in this hiſtory, that among the oriental nations wiſdom as well as valour is thought neceſſary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous amongſt them, as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongſt us; and for the ſame reaſon; becauſe he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preſerve with as great care the wiſe ſayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conqueſts. We have excuſed ourſelves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this ſort in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will in all probability be pleaſed with the following ſpecimens of his ſapience, becauſe they contain rules eaſily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man ſhould weigh well the nature of himſelf,
The varying frailneſs, of this flatt'ring world,
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;
Then would he this deſpiſe, and truſt in him.
The world deceives us all —In God is truth.
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail
To ſwell thy boſom with conceits of pride;

Look

Manugjahr.

Manugjahr or *Manugeher*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of these opinions is true [g], certain it is, that he was a prince wise and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, *viz.* the vizier *Soham* beforementioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeher*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*; he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeher* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To incourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apheraſiab* the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeher*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabreſtan*; some authors

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Manugeher.

Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink;
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattress thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey (5)?

(5) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.*

say,

say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apheraſiab*, and that *Manugeher* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of *Perſia* withdrew into a fortreſs, and prepared to defend himſelf there againſt the attempts of his enemy. *Apheraſiab* beſieged him with all his army, but to no purpoſe; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk*, being afraid leſt his own men ſhould deſert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commiſſioners were diſpatched on both ſides, and a treaty concluded on theſe terms; that *Apheraſiab* ſhould poſſeſs all the country eaſt of the river *Gihon*, and that he ſhould leave *Manugeher* without moleſtation in poſſeſſion of *Perſia* and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no leſs than the ſubverſion of the monarchy of *Perſia* [h]. As ſoon as *Apheraſiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeher* began to provide againſt ſuch invaſions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quota's of troops; but theſe meaſures alarming *Apheraſiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Perſia*; but the *Turk* had not the ſame ſucceſs in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeher* perfectly anſwered his end, ſo that the enemy were not only repulſed wherever they made their courſes, but alſo loſt a great number of their ſoldiers who were taken priſoners. *Apheraſiab* therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeher* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wiſe and good prince made the city of *Segjiſtan* for a time his royal ſeat, and when by his preſence he had put all things on that ſide in good order, he ſent thither his vizier *Soham* to preſerve all things in quiet, and went himſelf to reſide in the centre of his empire, where he applied himſelf, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and ſciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. *Soham* managed all things in the province of *Segjiſtan* ſo as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midſt of his happineſs an accident fell out which ſurpriſed him not a little: his wife was brought to bed of a ſon with long yellow hair, *Soham* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zer*, i. e. *golden hair*; this young man when he grew up to years of diſcretion, gave manifeſt tokens of an exalted genius, inſomuch, that *Manugeher* ſent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the ſight of the young nobleman augmented the eſteem and gratitude *Manugeher*

[h] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. Sect. ix.

had

had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Soham* and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it so happened, that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kablustan*, dependent on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Persian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had such an effect on the mind of *Roudabah* his daughter, that she fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was incamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of *Roudabah*, the daughter of *Meherab*, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and sweet dispositions of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into so warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep, till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the best use of their time, that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received, and after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of *Segjistan*. Almost as soon as he came home he acquainted *Soham* with all that had happened, and that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Persian* to espouse a *Turk*. However, the many services of *Soham* and the great merit of *Zal-zer*, prevailed so far over *Manugeher*, that he at last yielded to all they

they deſired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence; the inhabitants of *Segjiſtan* and *Kablouſtan* vying with each other in their expreſſions of joy on this occaſion; nor were the conſequences of this match leſs happy than its concluſion was ſplendid; for at the end of nine months the lovely *Roudabah* was brought to bed of a ſon who was named *Ruſtan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances [i]. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illuſtrious pair came to find a place in the *Perſian* hiſtory. Let us now return to *Manugeher*, who ſpent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the beſt order imaginable, with reſpect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to baniſh luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition ſo happy, as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The perſonal qualifications of this monarch have been already in ſome meaſure diſplayed; it remains, however, that we do him juſtice in one particular of greater importance than all the reſt; he was a moſt zealous worſhipper of the true GOD, of which we have the moſt ſhining inſtances in the hiſtory of his life and reign, written by *Tabari* [k] an antient *Perſian* author. By him we are informed, that as ſoon as this prince heard of the *Turks* paſſing the river *Gjeihon* in order to drive him out of his dominions, he aſſembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himſelf in theſe words; "The moſt holy and high God delivered to me this king-"dom, that I might render him praiſe and glory by my ac-"tions as a prince, preſerving my people in plenty and eaſe, "and impartially diſtributing juſtice, that thereby the glori-"ous gift of God might in my hand be ſtrengthened and en-"creaſed. If contrary to this my duty I had acted ungrate-"fully towards my creator, then I ſhould juſtly have de-"ſerved to loſe my kingdom here, and to ſuffer everlaſting "puniſhment for my wickedneſs hereafter. The moſt holy and "high God having cauſed me to be born of royal blood, and "in right thereof beſtowed a kingdom upon me, let us not "my friends baſely throw it away, or tamely ſuffer it to be "taken from us; conſider well of the ſtate we are in, and to "morrow I will more largely inform you as to my ſentiments "of the matter." The next day accordingly the nobles of *Perſia* aſſembled again, and the king being ſeated in his throne of ſtate with his royal crown upon his head, and the

[i] MIRKHOND, Hiſt. Sect. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. MANOUCHEHER.

[k] Apud. HYDE, Relig. vet. Perſ. c. viii. p. 156.

Mubad Mubadan, or *high-prieſt*, ſeated near him in his golden chair, he roſe up and ſpoke as he had done the day before, aſcribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of *Perſia* was his gift; he then obſerved, that all things depended alike on the will of the ſupreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permiſſion. He ſaid further, that God had long indulged the *Perſian* nation in the full enjoyment of many bleſſings, in conſequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper uſe of the good things beſtowed on them. He added, that as to the point at preſent before them, *viz.* the invaſion of the *Turks*, it came not but by the permiſſion of God, wherefore to him they ought firſt to apply themſelves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be conſtant in prayer, to exert their courage and their underſtandings, in the defence of their country, and to reſt ſtedfaſtly in the hope that the Almighty would not forſake them, but reſtore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They ſay likewiſe, that the death of *Manugjahr* was like his life majeſtic and ſerene, that he called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his ſubjects moſt affectionately to his care [1].

Nudar. *Nudar* or *Naudar* ſucceeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy. He was ſcarce ſeated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties and to create ſeditions in his empire, which weakened it ſo much, that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long ſet their hearts on. With this view *Paſhangh* at that time king of *Touran*, the direct deſcendant of *Tour* the ſon of *Phridun*, called his ſons together; and having expatiated, firſt on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Perſia*; and ſecondly of the low ſtate the *Perſian* affairs were then in; he told them, that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to aſſert the pretenſions derived to him from his anceſtors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other ſide of the *Gjeihon*. *Apheraſiab* his eldeſt ſon, ſtung

[1] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi ſupra.

with

with ambition, and desirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himself to raise an army in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horse and foot, and with this prodigious army entered *Segjistan*. *Nudar*, as soon as he was informed of this, caused his best troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to *Soham* the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march slowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him so much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleasing to *Apheraſiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. *Nudar*, not doubting that *Soham* and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where, on a sudden and before he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite to each other, a *Turkish* champion, whose name was *Basmon*, challenged any of the *Persian* warriors to a single combat, which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad* the grandson of *Kaoh*, of whom we have said so much in the life of *Phridun*. The combat terminated in favour of the *Persian*, who having slain his antagonist spoiled him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The *Turks* were prodigiously incensed at this accident, and resolved with themselves to revenge it speedily on *Nudar* and his army. Accordingly, having possessed themselves of all the posts about it, they attack the *Persians* in their camp, where a most obstinate battle was fought, till at length there happened such a prodigious shower of rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that *Nudar* laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his sons *Thus* and *Gustam*, who were at the head of separate bodies, to march speedily to his relief, which they did, accompanied by *Karen* the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasures out of *Segjistan*, and to send them to a place of safety. *Apheraſiab* observing the measures taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to spin out the war, he, to prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been destructive to his troops, sent an officer of his, whose name was *Karahon*, with positive orders to attack *Karen*, and the body of *Persians* under his command, which accordingly he did, killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after *Apheraſiab* attacked *Nudar* in his camp, and, after obtaining a signal victory, took that monarch prisoner in his flight with many *Persian* nobles. As soon as they came into his presence

Apheraſiab ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wiſdom, hindered him, and prevailed on him to content himſelf with putting them in priſon, to which with much ado he yielded. The next ſtep after this victory was to poſſeſs himſelf of the court and treaſures of *Nudar*, in order to which *Apheraſiab* inſtantly detached a body of 30,000 men; they entering the province of *Segjiſtan* made themſelves maſters of the capital and of the royal palace, the *Perſians* being every-where ſo intimidated that they durſt not ſtir, but ſubmitted tamely to the yoke, which conqueſt had impoſed upon them. *Meherab*, it ſeems, after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer*, had retired into *Perſia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this ſudden overthrow of the empire threatened him as well as the reſt of its inhabitants. *Meherab*, being a man of great policy, bethought himſelf of a means to divert immediate danger by ſending a meſſenger to *Apheraſiab*, with very rich preſents, and a letter to this purpoſe; "That though he "lived in *Perſia*, he was by nation a *Turk*, and not only ſo, "but in ſome meaſure allied to him in blood, being lineally "deſcended from *Zoak*, wherefore he hoped his family and "this early teſtimony of obedience would be ſufficient to "recommend him to his ſpecial protection." Having thus amuſed the victor, he gave notice to his ſon-in-law *Zal-zer*, who aſſembling, as privately as he could, ſeveral ſmall bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he himſelf joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt ſomewhat againſt the common enemy, he began to act offenſively, and in a ſhort time drove the Turks out of the province of *Segjiſtan*. Of which when *Apheraſiab* received intelligence, it provoked him ſo much, that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar*'s head to be ſtruck off in priſon, which was accordingly put in execution without the leaſt regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided, ſome making it ſeven, others enlarging it to nine years. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince contemporary with *Joſhua*, others place him much higher; we ſhall not determine here who are in the right [m].

Apheraſiab. *Apheraſiab* or *Afraſiab*, notwithſtanding this rebellion, or rather inſurrection, looking upon himſelf as monarch of *Perſia*, ſent an account to his father *Paſhangh* of the happy ſucceſs with which his expedition had been crowned. But it

[m] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. NAUDHAR.

was

was not long before he had news of another nature to send him; for the *Persians*, universally detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of the kingdom; nay, their aversion engaged them in steps which carried their intrigues farther, and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of *Apheraſiab*, who had at first saved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him first assistance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Segjistan* in the spring, assuring them, that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that *Apheraſiab* gained intelligence of them, and immediately set all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he caused his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising of troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer*, being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young *Turkish* prince, openly excited the *Persians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears His discourses by degrees had such an effect, that the inhabitants of *Persia*, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himself at the head of a very formidable army [a]. *Apheraſiab*, who had his spies every where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the *Persian* captain a grea deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing *Apheraſiab* to a battle; it was very bloody, and so obstinate that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither side had any reason to boast of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any decisive action, whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous pestilence, which, falling at once into both camps, filled *Apheraſiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that *Apheraſiab* should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation and retire into *Touran*, while *Iran* and all its dependencies should remain under

[a] MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.

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the protection of *Zal-zer*; this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised himself to the throne of *Persia*; but he scorning to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, sought out *Zab* or *Zoub* the lawful heir of the house of *Keyomaras*, and put the crown upon his head [o].

Zab. *Zab*, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithstanding a tolerable share of health and spirits; he applied himself to the restoring, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of *Persia*; the more effectually to do this he associated with him in the empire *Gherschasp* his nephew, whom some have called *Kischtasp*, and have made him not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor, of *Zab* or *Zoub*; but this seems to be a mistake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherschasp* being called *Kischtasp*. But to return to *Zab*; he sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses after the wretched depredations committed by *Apheraslab* and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treasury, and as often as any sums were paid in there, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, *viz.* that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various sorts of sauces and broths, unknown before in these regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor. *Mirkhond* makes him expressly the last of the first race of kings, who from the surname of *Hushangh* were called in general *Pischdadians*, though to us it seems more probable, that they received this appellation, because during the several reigns of these princes the laws and constitutions of *Persia* were thoroughly settled [p]. According to other authors *Gherschasp* or *Kischtasp* succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of *Zab* or *Zoub*; his mother is said to have been a *Jewess* of the tribe of *Benjamin*; he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to restore the *Persian* diadem to its ancient lustre. *Apheraslab*, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the disorder the kingdom was in,

Gherschasp.

[o] Khondemir, in Khelassat Alakbar. D'Herbelot. Art. Afraziab, Zab. Zoub. Mirkhond. hist Sect. 10. [p] Mirkhond. hist. Sect. 11. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Naubehar.

to

to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of various provinces. The new king fought under great diſadvantages, but in ſpite of theſe he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands; at laſt, however, he fell into the error of many of his predeceſſors, that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he loſt, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign ſome ſay of ſix, others of thirty years; but whether the latter may not include the reigns of *Zab* and of this prince too, or whether the fomrer ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire of the *Piſchdadians* ended, and that *Apheraſiab* the deſcendant of *Tour* became a third time abſolute lord of *Perſia*; how he afterwards loſt the poſſeſſion of this empire will be ſhewn in its proper place [q]. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to inſert here ſome remarks on the foregoing period, in order to juſtify the obſervation we have ſo often made, that oriental hiſtory, though mixed with fables, is not altogether uſeleſs.

IN the courſe of this work our method has been to ſpeak firſt of the chronology, and afterwards of the hiſtory of each country; in the preſent caſe it was impracticable, unleſs we had tormented the reader with needleſs repetitions and nauſeous tautologies. We have therefore choſen to give the ſeries of the *Perſian* hiſtory relating to the kings of the firſt race, as it lies in *Mirkhond* and other authors; and, after laying down theſe facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we eſteem the true ſtate of the ancient *Perſian* empire. In the firſt place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medians* by deſcent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Keyomaras* to have been at firſt ſovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in alſo a part of *Armenia*, ſo that in all probability it was one of the firſt peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we ſuppoſe that territories were aſcertained and ſet out immediately after the flood. Within this province ſtands the little town, that is, conſidering it in its preſent condition, *Nakſhivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the firſt town built after the flood; and indeed in the *Armenian* language the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the firſt place*, or *firſt habitation* [r]. Thus

[q] D'HERBELOT. Art. GHERSCHTASB, KISCHTASB. [r] TAVERNIER. Voyag. tom. i. p. 43. CHARDIN. Voyag tom. i. p. 250.

the

the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and conſiſtent with the moſt antient accounts ſacred and prophane. As the power of *Keyomaras* increaſed, he extended his territories towards the eaſt, and towards the ſouth; for it is agreed that he made himſelf maſter of *Irak-agemi*, afterwards *Parthia*, and in proceſs of time joined thereto the province of *Phars*, or *proper Perſia*, where ſome hiſtorians affirm he founded the city of *Iſtachr*, afterwards called *Perſepolis*, though others deny it, and ſay it was built later. The ſucceſſors of this prince conquered *Khirman* and *Segjiſtan*, and afterwards many other countries on the eaſt of the preſent *Perſian* empire. It was *Phridun* or *Feridoun* who ſettled the dominions of *Perſia* in pretty near the ſame order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore, that the kings of the firſt race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extenſive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Keyomaras*, ſome think it was at *Balch* in *Choraſan*, others at *Iſtachr*. Perhaps he might firſt fix his reſidence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Huſhang* reſided again at *Balch*, *Gjemſchid* ſettled himſelf at *Iſtachr*, and is by moſt of the *Perſian* authors eſteemed its founder. In the reigns of ſucceeding kings, though their royal reſidence might ſometimes be changed, yet *Iſtachr* remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the *Perſian* monarchs. *Kiſchtaſp* the laſt of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have ſuſtained through the courſe of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards ſo famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Perſepolis*, began, as we obſerved in our deſcription of *Perſia*, under the firſt race of kings [f]. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are ſtill remaining, we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of the princes of the ſecond race; in the mean time let it be remembered, that ſeveral princes of the dynaſty of *Piſchdadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, eſpecially in the days of *Manugeher*, who is particularly famous in the oriental hiſtory for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we ſay, there were any artiſts capable of carving in ſtone, they might have employed their time in cutting ſome of thoſe wonderful hiſtories in *Baſſ-relief*, which are yet viſible in the living rock, behind the

[f] Biblioth. Orient. Art. Estekar.

ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of *Perſia*. This, we ſay, is poſſible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of *Manugeher* is a circumſtance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in ſight of the ſun, repreſented in the mountain before-mentioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of theſe antient kings which we have already ſhewn to be very near the true religion, that is, the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worſhip of fire, it was indiſputably a very antient doctrine, and there ſeems to be no reaſon for doubting the truth of what ſome authors have affirmed, that it took its riſe in, if not before, the time of *Keyomaras*. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the firſt in which magiſm prevailed, and was always held ſacred by the profeſſors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for *Aderbayagjan* is no more than the *place of fire*, *Ader* or *Azer* ſignifying *fire*, and *Bayagjan a place*, whence it comes to paſs, that we frequently find this word thus written *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worſhip in theſe early times, and the people were perſuaded, that celeſtial fire was preſerved there; on this account when the treaſures of *Nudar* king of *Perſia* were removed out of *Sigjiſtan*, as we have before related, they were for ſecurity placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this ſuperſtition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaurs*, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary they yet ſpeak confidently of celeſtial or elemental fire, which they ſay is ſtill to be ſeen in this mountain [r]. On the whole therefore, the religion of the *Perſians* under the firſt race of kings differed very little from that which ſtill ſubſiſts among the *Ghaurs*. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no *Pyræa* or fire-temples at all before the time of *Zoroaſter* or *Zerduſht*; others, on the authority of ſome *Arabian* writers, aſſert the contrary, ſo as it ſeems probable that the former is the opinion neareſt truth. Our reaſons for ſaying this are theſe, firſt the antienteſt hiſtorians extant ſay nothing of temples till after the time of the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael*. Secondly, becauſe *Herodotus* ſays expreſly, that the antient *Perſians* had no temples, but ſacrificed on the tops of high mountains *ſub dio*; and thirdly, becauſe of *Pyræa* being at that time in uſe is not conſiſtent with the hiſtory of *Zerduſht*, as we ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to

[r] CHARDIN. Voyag. tom. i. 253.

shew. From the power and the religion of the first race of *Persian* kings, we come at length to the intricate question, *When they flourished?* or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to sacred and prophane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and prophane historians say of the antient kings of *Media* and *Persia*. The scripture informs us, that *Elam* was a very antient kingdom, for *Chedorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of *Abraham*; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were in their decline. In respect to these antient times the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, *viz. Thucydides*, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man [u], that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history as well as in other sciences, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes*, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*, where he places *Dejoces*, whom he makes the first king of *Media*, and speaks of his advancement to that dignity, in terms [x] exactly correspondent to those made use of by *Mirkhond* in his history of the election of *Keyomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history, gives us a list of ten *Median* kings reigning in all 282 years [y]; but the critics are not pleased with these, because *Diodorus* took them from *Ctesias*, and *Ctesias* had his materials from the *Median* and *Persian* records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, *Ctesias*'s account did not consist well with those that the *Greeks* had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the *Greek* history, as the memoirs of *Ctesias*, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the *Medes* and *Persians* say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspence, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old

[u] Thucydides, Proœm. Hist. [x] Clio, c. 71. [y] Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3.

Mede-

Medo-Perſic monarchy, and its being deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrian* emperors. The queſtion is, whether we will ſuppoſe, that theſe people lived all that time without doing any thing, becauſe none of the *Greek* hiſtorians except *Diodorus* from *Cteſias* have vouchſafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we ſhall admit *Cteſias*'s exploded method, and fill up this chaſm with what the *Perſians* ſay of themſelves? If this latter courſe be to be ſteered, here is room for all the *Piſchdadians* at once. But then as to the ſynchroniſm of their reigns we deſire to be excuſed from ſettling it, becauſe at preſent we ſee no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactneſs. However, when the *Perſian* hiſtory, according to oriental writers, ſhall be deduced as low as the reign of *Yezdegherd*, the laſt native of that country who ſwayed its ſceptre, we ſhall reconſider this point, and ſet the whole chronology of the *Perſic* empire in the beſt light we may. In the mean time we ſhall conclude theſe obſervations with remarking, that *Cteſias* and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the *Perſian* hiſtory from the *Perſian* records, have found in the moſt early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching vaſt armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immenſe treaſures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wiſdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we ſay from *Mohammedan* writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old *Perſian* writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at leaſt very antient and uniform fable, or to ſpeak ſeriouſly, it has as much the appearance of truth as any hiſtory as antient that we know of. But it is time to leave reaſoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our hiſtory, and to ſhew the ſteps by which *Apheraſiab* was expelled, and the *Perſian* dominions once more reſtored to a prince of that country.

The hiſtory of the Perſian *kings of the ſecond race, or of the dynaſty of the* Kainites.

KEykobad, or *Caicobad*, whom ſome writers make the ſon of *Zab*, the ſon of *Tahamaſp*, the ſon of *Manugeher*, king of *Perſia*, and others call ſimply the nephew of *Nudar*, was ſeated on the throne of *Perſia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was ſo loyal to the family that raiſed him, that he twice refuſed the *Perſian* diadem, becauſe he would not injure them. At this time he and his ſon *Ruſtan* put themſelves at the head of ſuch a body of troops as enabled them to give *Apheraſiab* abundance of trouble, and by degrees Keykobad

to put into the possession of *Keykobad* the greatest part of the provinces of *Persia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with *Rustan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero beforementioned, gained such advantages, that *Afrasiab* retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace; but his commissioners and those of the king of *Persia* differing about the terms, *Afrasiab* hazarded a second battle, wherein, notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Rustan* desired some of the officers about him to shew him *Afrasiab*, which when they had done, *Rustan* spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. *Afrasiab*, finding himself left alone, struggled with such force that he at last got loose; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as *Rustan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army of *Keykobad*, *Rustan* rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made *Afrasiab* prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding to that end, to the place where he had thrown the *Turkish* monarch, he found with surprise a dead man tied in his place; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of *Keykobad*, and solemnly promised, that if he met *Afrasiab* in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince, finding his affairs desperate in *Persia*, retired into *Turquestan*, and sent from thence an ambassador to treat with *Keykobad*, who was easily prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him and his family to *Iran* was acknowledged by *Afrasiab*, and all the scattered remnants of his army withdrawn [z]. The peace once settled, *Keykobad* applied himself to the restoring the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houshangh*, adorned by

[z] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Afrasiab, Caikobad, Rustan.

Phridun,

Phridun, and afterwards given by him to *Kaoh* the ſmith and his family. The reaſon in all probability which determined *Keykobad* to reſide here, was its convenient ſituation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next beſtowed his favours on ſuch as had been inſtrumental in the expulſion of the *Turks*; to *Ruſtan* he gave the province of *Zabluſtan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleaſant ſtreams, and adorned with the fineſt proſpects that can be wiſhed. This province afforded a ſurname to *Ruſtan*, and received itſelf a new name from him. That hero being ſtiled in moſt of the romances *Zabeli*, becauſe he was governor of *Zabluſtan*; and that province, or at leaſt a great part of it, was thence forward called *Ruſtandar*, becauſe it had been the government of *Ruſtan*. *Mabarab*, ſurnamed *Kabuli*, becauſe he had been governor of *Kubul*, was another of *Keykobad*'s generals, and highly eſteemed by him. *Kavan*, one of the deſcendants of the famous *Kaoh* the ſmith, was alſo a perſon highly eſteemed by this king of *Perſia*; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It ſeems he was a ſort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the ſurname of *Rezm Khuah*, or *the ſearcher of adventures*. A fourth captain of *Keykobad*'s was *Keſchvad*, ſurnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward of the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobad* divided all the ſpoil that had been brought into his treaſury among his ſoldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, ſetting up public marks at the end of every four thouſand paces, which ſpace by the *Perſians* is called *Pherſengh*, and from thence by the *Greeks Paraſang*. As this monarch was renowned for his wiſdom and proweſs, ſo he was no leſs famous on account of his piety; the *Mohammedan* writers inſiſt very much upon this, they aſſert, that he had many prophets who reſorted to his court, that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to underſtand that he was not a fire-worſhipper; but in this they are certainly miſtaken. They make him alſo contemporary with *Samuel* the judge of *Iſrael*, and aſſert, that he had ſome intercourſe with him. In the laſt years of his life he grew blind, and continued ſo till the day of his death, which happened, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years [a].

[a] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. REZM KHUAM, &c.

Keykaus

Keykaus. *Keykaus* or *Caikaus*, the ſon, or, as ſome ſay, the grandſon of *Keykobad*, ſucceeded him in the throne of *Perſia*, on which he was ſcarce ſeated before a war broke out in *Mazanderan*, a province bordering on the *Caſpian* ſea, which required his preſence; a rebel prince, taking occaſion from the demiſe of *Keykobad*, made himſelf ſovereign there, and fortified the capital in ſuch a manner that he made it the ſtrongeſt place in the eaſt. *Keykaus* marched immediately againſt him, and coming with too great an army to be oppoſed, the rebel ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a ſiege. *Keykaus* having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all ſorts of ammunition and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in ſuch caſes 'tis uſual for experienced generals to have recourſe to ſtratagems, *Keykaus* deviſed one which anſwered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely diſtreſſed for proviſions, and ſhould be on that account obliged ſhortly to raiſe the ſiege. His emiſſaries in the place immediately inſinuated to the keepers of the ſtores, that by ſupplying the king of *Perſia* with ſmall quantities of victuals immenſe ſums might be got; this trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid ſo well, that in a ſhort time there was not a loaf left; he then ſummoned the city peremptorily to ſurrender, and on a diſcovery of their circumſtances the inhabitants were forced to ſubmit [b]. He had not the like ſucceſs in another war, undertaken in this province againſt *Apheraſiab*; for the *Perſian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken and thrown into a priſon, from whence he was releaſed by the timely care of his general *Ruſtan*, who entering *Touran* with a numerous army, waſted all before him with fire and ſword, declaring, that he would deſtroy the whole country if they did not ſet his maſter at liberty; which ſo terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apheraſiab* to diſmiſs *Keykaus* on his promiſe to recal *Ruſtan*. As ſoon as the *Perſian* monarch had regained his liberty, he made uſe of the hero we have ſo often mentioned to curb his enemies on every ſide; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mezr*, i. e. *Egypt*; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria*; and *Rum*, i. e. *Aſia Minor*. After theſe wars were over and all things in a quiet ſituation, *Keykaus*, to ſhew the high eſteem he had of *Ruſtan*'s ſervices, gave him his ſiſter in marriage; the name of this princeſs was *Gebernax*, i. e. *endowed with all virtues*, and with her by way

[b] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xiiii.

of portion he gave him the office of generaliſſimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his kingdom, with the title of *Pehelevan Gihan*, i. e. *ſupporter of the* Perſian *empire*. We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himſelf married, but whoever ſhe was he had by her two ſons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailarz*; the eldeſt of theſe, *viz. Siavek*, was ſent to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle *Ruſtan*. How long things continued in this tranquil ſtate does not appear, but the next war we hear of was againſt *Zulzogar* king of *Arabia*; what provocation he gave *Keykaus* is uncertain, but the king of *Perſia* carried his reſentment ſo far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned, under his dominion; at length it came to the ears of *Keykaus*, that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the moſt lovely woman in the world; upon which the *Perſian* king ſent to demand her in marriage; the king of *Yemen*, deſirous to be rid at any rate of ſuch an enemy, ſent immediately his daughter to the king of *Perſia*'s *Haram*. As ſoon as *Keykaus* beheld *Saudabah*, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he conceived himſelf the happieſt man in the world by having her in his poſſeſſion. Overcome therefore with the violence of his paſſion, he abandoned himſelf to all ſorts of exceſſes, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all ſorts of diverſions in his camp, without ſo much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foreſaw all this, drew together privately a conſiderable body of horſe, and falling unexpectedly on the *Perſian* army abſolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court priſoners. The news of this no ſooner reached *Perſia*, than *Ruſtan* put himſelf at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into *Yemen*. *Zulſogar* knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of *Ruſtan*, and for this reaſon he treated the king of *Perſia*, while in his power, with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, ſo that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to ſend his general orders to forbear hoſtilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and ſon-in-law, whereby the latter quitted all pretenſions to the kingdom of *Yemen*, and promiſed to invade it no more, while the former engaged to be the friend and ally of the *Perſian* nation, and to aſſiſt it to the utmoſt of his power; in conſequence of which *Keykaus* was immediately ſet at liberty, with all thoſe who had been taken priſoners with him, and returned triumphantly into *Perſia* with his new ſpouſe *Saudabah*.

bah[c]. Not long after this *Siavek* came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabah*, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, solicited him to an incestuous amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, *Saudabah* rushed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt upon her honour; the king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a tryal; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of *Saudabah* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of *Persia*, *Apheraſiab*, who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river *Gjiehon* with a great body of troops, in order to besiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into *Sigjiſtan* with twelve thousand horse, there to join the forces under the command of *Rustan*, in order to make head against the enemy. *Siavek* readily obeyed, and after joining his uncle *Rustan*, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of *Apheraſiab* and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. *Apheraſiab*, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which *Rustan* foresaw, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repulled, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Persians* into his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners to the camp of *Siavek* and *Rustan*, in order to settle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle and two *Persians* of great quality, who were of his council, settled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to *Persia*, which being ratified by *Apheraſiab*, the young prince dispatched an express to carry an account of the peace to his father. It seems the intrigues of *Saudabah* had created this deserving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who

[c] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus. Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiii.

took

took the opportunity of persuading the king, that *Siavek* had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the *Persian* empire by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobad*, influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle *Thus* to the army with letters full of sharpness with respect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*, and to signify to *Rustan*, that the king thought him now old enough to take his rest, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of *Segjistan*. *Rustan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turquestan*, in order to act offensively against *Afpharasiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjeihon*, the prince, taking with him *Piran Visseh*, an officer of distinction in the Turkish army who had remained with him as an hostage, went directly to the court of *Afpharasiab*, to shew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Afpharasiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Franghiz* in marriage [d]. The nobility of *Turquestan* were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually such strong marks of their esteem, that *Garsiavesch*, brother to *Afpharasiab*, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. *Siavek*, who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention, and foreseeing that in a strange country it was impossible for him to guard against such attempts, he spoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be brought to bed of one, into *Persia*. A small time after what he feared came to pass, he was killed by some assassins, hired by *Garsiavesch*, who would also have dispatched his wife, if *Piran Visseh* had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. *Franghiz* was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called *Key-chosrau*, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The people of *Turquestan* were so much grieved for the death of *Siavek*, that, to shew their concern, they mourned in *Persian* habits, a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of *Persia*'s death reaching *Rustan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turquestan* with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. *Garsiavesch* raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but coming to an engage-

[d] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. RUSTAN, SIAVEK, PIRAN VISSEH. MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.

ment, they were soon defeated, and *Garstavusch* himself had his head struck off by the sword of *Rustan* *. The desire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Siavek*, put him upon enquiring for his son; but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave *Rustan* inexpressible concern; some years after, however, *Keykaus* sent *Guiu* the son of *Gudarz*, a young *Persian* nobleman of great capacity, into *Turquestan*, in order to discover his grandson. Some say, that *Guiu* having sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and, knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. *Key-chosrau* listened greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into *Persia*, but desired, that he might carry his mother and *Piran Visseh*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted so well, that they quitted *Turquestan* and got safe into *Persia*, little to the satisfaction of *Afrasiab*, who was mighty well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the *Persian* diadem. He ordered them immediately to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river *Gjeihon* in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of *Key-chosrau* at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince *Siavek* his father were immediately removed, and *Keykaus*, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. *Thus*, who had been no friend to *Siavek*, began to be apprehensive of the power of *Key-chosrau*, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiborz*, the son of *Keykaus*, by suggesting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Persia*, which ought by no means to be placed on the head of one descended by the mother's side from *Tour*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation; these seeds of dissention sown, the *Persian* court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus* in the mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniencies

* D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus, Siavek, Ghersciavesch.

that

that might attend a diſputed ſucceſſion, he reſolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of diſplaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greateſt deſert his heir. One *Bahaman*, who had been intruſted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil* in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, had made himſelf prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of *Perſia*. *Keykaus* ſent a body of troops, under the command of his ſon *Fraiborz*, to inveſt the town on one ſide, and an equal number under *Key-choſrau* to ſit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they ſet out for their reſpective commands, that whoever reduced the place, he would declare ſucceſſor to the throne. *Thus*, according to his repeated profeſſions of friendſhip to *Fraiborz*, ſet out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him maſter of *Ardevil*, but to no purpoſe; *Bahaman*, appriſed of the ſiege, had provided all things neceſſary for a long defence, and was himſelf ſo conſummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Perſian* army under *Fraiborz*. *Key-choſrau* had better ſucceſs; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved better than thoſe under his uncle, inſomuch, that *Bahaman*, finding it impoſſible to hold out, ſurrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had ſo long ſubſiſted. Some ſmall time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandſon in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years [f].

ACCORDING to the method we have hitherto purſued, we ſhould here take leave of *Keykaus*'s reign. But as it is our deſign to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the hiſtory of thoſe kings we ſpeak of, we find ourſelves obliged to take notice here of ſome variations in circumſtances, into which the *Perſian* hiſtorians have fallen, as to the moſt material facts reported in the hiſtory of *Keykaus*: Thus, as to *Saudabah*, ſome make her to have been the daughter of *Gherſchiaraſch* brother to *Aſpheraſiab*; they ſay likewiſe, that ſhe was the mother of *Siavek*, and that taking ſome diſguſt in his father's court, the young prince fled to that of his uncle in *Turqueſtan*, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made himſelf ſo con-

[f] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAIGAUS & CAIKOSRAU.

siderable, that his grandfather by the mother's side caused him to be destroyed [g]. *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apheraſiab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Siavek*, mentions one *Keydab*, the son of *Apheraſiab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Nachs-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia* [h]. A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert, that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*, and he will have it, that both these names signify *the long liver*, or *the immortal*, adding, that *Keykaus* was so called because of his extraordinary long reign, *viz.* of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact, and observes, that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well, that to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history [i] (G).

Key-

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Artic. Gherschiavesch.
[h] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra. Univers. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 464.
[i] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Nembrod.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing further on that subject; here it is sufficient, that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the *Romans* as by the orientals; the former stiled all the provinces on the other side that river which they call *Oxus*, the antient *Persians Gjeihon*, and the modern *Amu*, *Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauar-alnahar*, i. e. *ou the other side the river* (6). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*, and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (7). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by

(6) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Art. Touran.* (7) *History of the Tartars*, Vol. II. p. 384.

princes

Key-chosrau or *Kai-khosru* succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grand-father, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented Key-chosrau.

princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings; and on the west the territories of *Sham* or *Schamah*, for so the *Persians* stiled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker or more confused than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us there seems some reason to doubt, whether the word *Khakhan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkhond*, was really heard of in those early times; it seems more likely, that our *Persian* historian bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient historians to have reigned then in these parts, in order to familiarize the style of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered as well as *Iran* on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Afpheraſiab* happened in the plains of *Khuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran*; and when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjeihon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Adeibayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north; in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran* under the reign of this monarch *Key-chosrau* contained very nearly the same extent of country and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia*; and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces in the west side of the empire, the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulph erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key chosrau*'s empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shah*'s.

the

the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turquestan*. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon *Piran Visseh* returned into his own country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau* and his mother. The king of *Persia*, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his uncle *Fraiborz*, and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by invading the dominion of *Turquestan* [k]. At their setting out he spoke to them thus, "You must know, "That before my father married the princess *Franghiz* my "mother, he had by the daughter of his friend *Piran Visseh* "a son called *Ferud*. This young man I am informed has "at present a command in the army of *Apheraslab*; but "wherever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that "wherever you find him you do him no injury, but render "him all the honours due to so near a relation of mine". It happened unluckily, that the *Persian* army no sooner entered the country of *Turquestan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the *Persians* were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*, who, as soon as he understood that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of *Persia*. *Ferud*, full of imprudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but causing the *Turkish* horse to make a fresh attack, the *Persians* repulsed them with great slaughter, and *Ferud*, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place [l]. *Key-chosrau* received this news with great concern, and apprehending that *Thus* had been in some measure instrumental in his brother's death, he sent orders to his uncle *Fraiborz* to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back *Thus* a prisoner, to answer in *Persia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king's commands exactly with respect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turquestan*. *Apheraslab* gave the command of the great army he

[k] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiv. [l] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Caichosraw.

had

had raised to *Piran Visseh*, the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the *Persian* discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Persians* were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable loss; *Gudar*, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain [m]. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whose valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent *Thus*, who had fully justified himself as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apheraſiab*, perceiving that the *Persians* were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the *Kha-khan* or king of great *Tartary* and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*, and by the help of his confederates pushed the *Persian* troops so closely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of *Chorasan*, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. *Key-chosrau*, informed of their distress, sent orders to *Rustan* to march with the utmost diligence to their assistance. That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the *Persian* army that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of carrying the victory. *Rustan*, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the *Turkish* officers, and passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the *Persian* camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been seen in *Persia*. *Rustan* did wonders, he took prisoner the *Khakhan* and *Kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the service of *Apheraſiab*. In the end victory declared itself for the *Persians*, and *Apheraſiab*, having lost half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of *Turqueſtan* meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose. *Key-chosrau* on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Against him *Apheraſiab* sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of *Piran Visseh* the best officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neigh-

[m] MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICHOSRAV.

bourhood

bourhood of each other, before an action ensued, wherein *Piran Visseh* was killed and his army beaten. When *Gudar* saw the body of *Piran Visseh* on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and remembering the courtesies that nobleman had formerly done to *Siavek*, and to *Key-chosrau*, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of *Persia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and spoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend [n]. *Afrasiab*, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he caused to be reinforced as soon as possible. By this time *Key-chosrau* was come in person to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea. *Schidah*, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Persians* with great resolution; but his success was not answerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Persia* surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, *Khuaresmi-bud*, i. e. *I have seen my desire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of *Khuarezm*, which they still retain. *Key-chosrau* pushed on the war now with the greatest vigour, marching directly towards the capital of *Turquestan*, whither *Afrasiab* had retired; but this prince not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, first sent away his *Haram*, and then retired himself. His wives and children fell a short time afterwards into the hands of *Key-chosrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect; *Afrasiab* wandered from province to province with a small body of troops, till being shut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, he was at last taken prisoner, and by the orders of *Key-chosrau* put to death [o]. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhausted both empires. After it was finished *Key-chosrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*; there it was, that seeing himself in full possession of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of. He com-

[n] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra, & Artic. Piran-Visseh. [o] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Cai-chosrau.

puted

puted all the levies which had been made on *Perſia* for the carrying on the war againſt the *Turks*, and out of the mighty treaſures which were fallen into his hands, he reſtored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He ſent for his uncle *Fraiborz*, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected ſeveral provinces on the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulph into a kingdom, and made him ſovereign thereof. He aſſembled the nobility of *Touran*, and having ſhewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, he adviſed them to conſider of ways and means for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of their country, and aſſured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and ſettled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the ſtate of all the provinces, reformed ſeveral abuſes in religion; and when he had done all this, he ſaid he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the reſt of his days to God. With this view he introduced his ſucceſſor *Lohraſp*, into a grand aſſembly of the nobility, he put the *Tagi* on his head, and retired himſelf to a cell in the deſert, having attained to the age of ninety years, ſixty of which he had paſſed upon the throne [p].

WHAT has been above related of the reign of *Key-choſrau* is taken from the beſt and moſt credible hiſtorians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now ſee what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not ſo well be reduced into the order we have followed. With reſpect to the deciſive battle fought againſt the king of *Turqueſtan*, ſome writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks* and as many *Perſians* fought in the ſight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally ſtiled *Genk duazdè Rokh*, i. e. *the combat of the twelve heroes*. The terms on which this combat was fought were theſe; that if the *Turks* were victorious, the *Perſians* ſhould own *Apheraſiab* for their lord, but in caſe the *Perſians* were ſucceſsful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and ſo quit all pretenſions to *Iran* [q]. *Apheraſiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, ſay the ſame writers, he ſoon after broke the peace by ſending his ſon with a numerous body of horſe to make in-

[p] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'HERBELOT. ubi ſupra.
[q] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi ſupra.

roads into *Persia*. In consequence of which followed the battle of *Khuarezm*, in which they make *Apheraſiab* and his brother to have been present. They add, that, after the loſs of the battle, *Apheraſiab*, with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the *Caſpian* ſea, intending to paſs if poſſible behind it, and ſo through the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of *Key-choſrau* ſurrounding the handful of troops *Apheraſiab* had with him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, ſo that he was at laſt taken priſoner and put to death [r]. *Mirkhond* and the writers we have followed do not ſay much as to the perſonal bravery of *Key-choſrau*, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which ſeparate *Irak Agemi* from *Phars*, or as we call them, *Parthia* from proper *Perſia*, a monſtrous ſerpent, which ſtruck the people with ſuch terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country deſolate; this formidable dragon they ſtiled *Gavſchid*. The king, being informed of this, reſolved like a good prince to go immediately and deſtroy this monſter. *Key-choſrau* hunted it for ſome time before he came up with it, but at laſt he found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and his guards flying at the ſight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the ſpot where this remarkable deed was done, a *Pyræum* or fire-temple was erected, called in ſucceeding times *Deir Gavſchid*, i. e. *the habitation of Gavſchid*, renowned to this day amongſt the *Perſees*, and held by ſome to be the firſt fire-temple erected in *Perſia*, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of *Key-choſrau* [s]. Though ſome writers are ſilent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly of his wiſdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, moſt acknowledge that he converſed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always ſhewed towards religion and religious perſons. During his reign flouriſhed *Lokman* the famous philoſopher of the caſt, called by way of ſurname *Lokman Al Hakim*, i. e. *Lokman the wiſe*. It would lead us far out of our way ſhould we enter here too deeply into the hiſtory of this extraordinary perſon; we ſhall therefore content our-

[r] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [s] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Deir Gavsid.

ſelves

ſelves with obſerving, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaſchi* including both, his parents mean, and himſelf ſold for a ſlave, and carried from one place to another, till at laſt he was brought into the land of *Iſrael*, where he lived under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that ſleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this ſalutation, *Lokman*, we are the meſſengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath ſent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining ſilent for a ſmall ſpace, returned this anſwer: If by the abſolute command of God I am to become what you ſay, his will muſt be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to paſs, that he will afford me the neceſſary aſſiſtance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to chooſe, I wiſh rather to continue in the ſtate I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and inſupportable load. This, ſay theſe authors, appeared ſo juſt in the ſight of God, that he beſtowed on *Lokman* ſuch an excellent underſtanding, that he compoſed, ſay they, ten thouſand apologues, moral maxims, and wiſe ſayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phraſe implying no more than that they are highly uſeful as well as wonderfully ſublime. They tell us alſo, that *Lokman* ſtanding one day in the midſt of a great number of people, who all liſtened greedily to his wiſe and pleaſant diſcourſes, a *Hebrew* of great quality, aſked him, if he was not the black ſlave whom he had ſeen formerly tending the ſheep: *Lokman* readily anſwered, I am; and how then, ſaid the nobleman, have you attained ſo high a degree of virtue? Why, anſwered *Lokman*, by theſe three eaſy ſteps: I have always ſpoke the truth, I have conſtantly kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Perſian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary inſtance of *Lokman*'s preſence of mind; his maſter ſent him with ſome other ſlaves to gather fruit in his garden, the reſt eat the beſt, and when his maſter miſſed them, they roundly ſwore that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, ſaid *Lokman*, is eaſily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this difference,

that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm water. The comment of the *Persian* poet on this story is so remarkable, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to see it; "When we shall all drink "of this hot water at our trials, in the day of the last "judgment, then whatever has been concealed in the heart "and hidden far from the sight of men, shall be thrown up "in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who ac- "quired the reputation of a saint by his dissembling, shall "then be covered with shame and confusion of face." What we have reported is sufficient to shew, that there is a strong resemblance between the history of *Lokman*, as reported by the eastern writers, and that of *Æsop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in their original; both slaves through the severity of fortune; both famous for their wisdom; and both delivered their maxims in the same manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors say, *Lokman* lived, and those wherein the *Greeks* place *Æsop*. As to the first, it is generally allowed, that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æsop* is said to have been cotemporary with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* and *Solon* the *Athenian* legislator. From the history of their lives, and from the comparison of their fables, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that *Lokman* and *Æsop* were the same person; the difficulty seems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* stole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It seems most natural to believe the former, since in such cases the *Greeks* are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of antient history they were able to their own advantage. Besides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the east, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's consideration rather than his belief. The chief reason why *Lokman* is so much considered in the east is, because *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of respect in the *Koran*, and has affirmed, that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom [t]. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabic* and *Latin* at *Leyden*, so that *Europe* is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person [u]. But to return to *Key-chasrau*; he is reported to have been himself a

[t] Koran. Sor. Lokman. Orient. Art. Lokman. Note H.

[u] D'Herbelot. Biblioth.

very

very wiſe and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was ſo little exalted by an uninterrupted ſeries of good fortune, that he not only reſigned the crown, and retired into the deſerts on the ſkirts of the province of *Aderbayagjan*, but left alſo this remarkable memento to all his ſucceſſors, by cauſing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace [w]. (H).

We

[w] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. xiv. D'HERBELOT, Art. CAICHOSRAU.

(H) It is very fit that we ſhould give an account in this note what our reaſons were for inſerting the life of *Lokman* in the *Perſian* hiſtory. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we ſhall acquaint him with no more than two. Firſt, *Lokman* wrote in the *Perſian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* poſitively affirms (8). 2dly, It is from *Perſian* writers that we have the beſt and fulleſt accounts of *Lokman*'s life and manners, and as they conſtantly ſpeak of him as cotemporary with *Key-choſrau*, the third king of their ſecond dynaſty, it was but juſt, that we ſhould inſert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus juſtified our ſpeaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writings in that way. It is univerſally agreed, that the *Apologue* was one of the moſt antient methods of inſtructing, and of conſequence that it was invented in the eaſt, where indeed all kinds of ſcience took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman*'s days, admitting that he lived where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the ſacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not ſtill, cultivated in the eaſt, is a point ſo notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Biſhop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very ſolid, opinion in relation to the riſe and decay of fable. He ſays, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and hiſtories unwritten; that as theſe came into vogue fable declined, becauſe truth being always preferable to falſehood, men choſe rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to ſuppoſe things which might never come to paſs (9). But, with the biſhop's good leave, the other ſide of the argument may be taken, and ſupported with greater force; for points of hiſtory are very ſeldom exactly agreed on in all their circumſtances, and conſequently can hardly ever be ſimilar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed repreſentations of facts without names, may be adjuſted to the utmoſt

(8) *Prefat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul.*

(9) *Vid. Preface to his paraphraſe on the* Proverbs.

nicety,

We ought not to value ourselves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more secure of our crowns than they of their estates; that which descended from

nicety, and consequently are able to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance which will effectually support what we say. Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have easily bethought him of some history, which would very nearly have represented the case of that prince; but will any man say, that a lecture from history would have penetrated the soul of *David* with so lively a sorrow as *Nathan*'s noble application of his parable, *Thou art the man* (10)? Fables shew us truth in an easy natural light, and the mind having thus consented to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not discern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*, his fame is so great and so universal throughout the east, that to express an high idea of any man's wisdom, they are wont to say, as *the learned Erpenius* expresses it. *Non necesse est docere Locmanum, There is no need of teaching Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtless almost without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir *John Chardin* has printed a *French* translation of them, which agrees exactly with the *Arabic* and *Latin* versions above referred to; we call them versions, because, as we observed before, *Lokman* wrote originally in *Persian*; and at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An instance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The Boy in the River.

"A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having learned to swim, had like to have been drowned; seeing a man at a distance he called out to him for help: the man, as soon as he saw the lad's distress, began to expostulate with him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned to swim: the boy instead of answering him, cried out, *Save me, save me, and then chide as long as you will.*"

The Smith and his Dog.

"An honest smith had a dog that slept all the while his master was at work; but as soon as he left off and sat down with his companions to dinner, the dog waked, and solicited him for

(10) 2 Samuel, c xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen. Locman. Fab.* p. 7. (12) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 227.

"meat;

from ſeveral monarchs to me will deſcend, when I am gone, to ſeveral others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itſelf, and cannot at beſt laſt long?

Lohraſp, or *Lohoraſb*, was the ſucceſſor of *Key-choſrau*, and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The Lohraſp.

" meat; *Worthleſs animal*, ſaid the ſmith, *how canſt thou ſleep a-*
" *midſt the noiſe of hammers which ſhake the very earth, and yet*
" *wake at the wagging of one's jaws, which ſcarce make any noiſe*
" *at all?*"

The Gooſe and the Swallow.

" The Gooſe and the Swallow entered into a league of friend-
" ſhip, and reſolved to live together. They came unluckily to a
" place where the fowlers were watching; the Swallow, as ſoon
" as ſhe ſaw them, flew away, but the poor gooſe not being able
" to make uſe of her wings, was taken and killed."

The paſſage in the *Al Koran*, referred to in the text, is the whole XXXIſt chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* ſpeaks in his own perſon at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming againſt irreligious perſons and idolaters, ſuch eſpecially as deſpiſed the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God ſpeak thus: " We inſpired know-
" ledge into *Lokman*, and taught him to give God thanks; he that
" returneth thanks to God for his graces doth good to his ſoul,
" for God hateth the ungrateful, and praiſe is in all places due to
" him. Remember, thou, that *Lokman* ſaid to his ſon, O! my
" ſon, believe not that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great
" ſin; we have commanded man to honour his father and his mo-
" ther, his mother bringeth him forth with ſorrow, and weaneth
" him at two years old; be not thou forgetful of God's benefits;
" honour thy father and thy mother, for thou ſhalt one day be
" judged before God." The reſt of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and conſequently ſhew how high this philoſopher ſtood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To ſay the truth, he was a very artful perſon, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well eſtabliſhed to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wiſely repreſented him as one who had long ago taught the ſame doctrines which he now ſought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to paſs, that ſome commentators on the *Koran* have taught that *Lokman* was a prophet, though others underſtand what *Mohammed* ſays of that *Sage*'s having only the gift of *Teaching* (13).

(13) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lokman.*

authors

authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the ſeveral princes of the firſt and ſecond race, differ in no part of their accounts ſo much as where they ſpeak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's eaſe as well as our own, we will firſt give, as ſuccinctly as we can, the ſtory of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkhond*, and we ſhall afterwards ſet down ſuch variations as ſeem of greateſt importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lohraſp* was either nephew to king *Keykaus* or his brother, and was the next heir male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without conſiderable oppoſition; his temper was known to be ſevere and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the ſceptre into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer* the father of *Ruſtan*; but their cabals were vain, *Lohraſp* carried it in ſpite of them all, and was declared king. As ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne he determined with himſelf to raiſe his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both ſides thereof; in conſequence of this reſolution, he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all poſſible methods for putting every thing in the beſt order in the eaſtern provinces of *Iran*. He ſent in the mean time his general *Gudarz* with a puiſſant army into *Shamah* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually anſwered his maſter's expectation; he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damaſcus*, and alſo *Paleſtine*, with the famous city of *Jeruſalem*, called by the *Perſians* the *Habitation of the ſaints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* ſubmitted and promiſed to pay tribute, for which he put as hoſtages into the hands of the *Perſian* general ſeveral perſons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly afterwards cauſed to be ſlain; this provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportunity he wanted of ſacking *Jeruſalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpreſſible cruelty; and having loaded his ſoldiers with riches he retired, and carried into *Perſia* with him a vaſt number of captives. King *Lohraſp* had two ſons, the eldeſt called *Guſhtaſp*, the younger named *Zaris*; the former was of a fierce haughty diſpoſition, but was at the ſame time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were deſirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion againſt his father, in which he had at firſt ſucceſs, and gained over to him a very conſiderable party; but *Lohraſp*, having drawn together all his friends, and having alſo done every thing in his power to engage the people to his ſervice, marched ſo briſkly againſt his ſon, that *Guſhtaſp*'s adherents, fearing

ing the fortune of the day in caſe of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he obſerving began immediately to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring into *Turqueſtan* in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unſuſpected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it ſeems a cuſtom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to diſpoſe of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people aſſembled in great numbers in an open court, where being diſpoſed into the beſt order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whoſe hands was held in his, and in the other ſhe had a golden apple, enriched with precious ſtones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and ſhe, after walking round, and obſerving every body diligently, beſtowed her apple and herſelf on the man ſhe liked beſt. It happened not long after *Guſhtaſp*'s arrival in *Turqueſtan*, that the king determined to marry his eldeſt daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before deſcribed, ſhe, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her perſon to this *unknown*. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpreſſibly vexed at ſeeing themſelves deſpiſed by the princeſs for a ſtranger, whom they ſuppoſed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princeſſes of *Touran* ſhould have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had ſtill two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; theſe were demanded in marriage by the two ſons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of *Touran* made no ſcruple of promiſing them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devaſtations throughout all *Touran*. The young princes, conſidering the difficulty of this taſk, had recourſe to *Guſhtaſp*, of whoſe proweſs they had ſeen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be aſſiſtant therein. *Guſhtaſp*, as ſoon as he had undertaken to ſerve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he alſo brought to the chace a ſmall body of reſolute friends. When they were aſſembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain caſtle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to ſtorm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and inſtantly carried into execution. *Guſhtaſp* entered the place

firſt himſelf, and having ſeized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and preſented them to the king. The *Turkiſh* monarch was prodigiouſly pleaſed with this feat of arms, and very readily made good his promiſe to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he cauſed great feaſts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments, wherein *Guſhtaſp* behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner that he carried the glory of the day from all who were preſent. The king, who had hitherto ſhewed him but little countenance, ſpoke to him on this occaſion very kindly, and gave him the higheſt praiſe. *Guſhtaſp* took this opportunity of ſaying, that if he had excelled in combats that were not in earneſt, he had likewiſe been of ſome uſe in quelling the diſturbers of the public peace. This ſtruck the king's mind, who eaſily comprehended the meaning, and, having diligently ſought out the truth, made *Guſhtaſp* henceforward his favourite. It is to be obſerved, that after the conqueſt of *Touran* by *Key-choſrau*, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the ſuperiority of the monarchs of *Iran*, and to pay them a conſiderable tribute. *Guſhtaſp* perſuaded his father-in-law that this was at once diſhonourable and needleſs, and therefore adviſed him to throw off the yoke by refuſing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war againſt *Lohraſp*, in caſe he ſhould diſpute his independency. This *Guſhtaſp* did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehenſion, that if he was ever diſcovered, the nobility of *Touran* in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. *Lohraſp* was exceedingly ſurpriſed at the arrival of the *Turkiſh* ambaſſador in his court; he treated him however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true ſource of theſe extraordinary proceedings. The ambaſſador at firſt thought to put him off with trivial anſwers, but on the king's preſſing him, he acknowledged at laſt, that a certain ſtranger, who had married his maſter's daughter, was the true author of all this miſchief. *Lohraſp* no ſooner heard this, than he gueſſed it was his ſon, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to enquire privately whether it was ſo or not; as ſoon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his ſon *Guſhtaſp*, he took at the ſame time a moſt ſtrange and moſt generous reſolution, which was to ſpare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old, he ſaw the ambition of his ſon was to be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wiſe, though undutiful

undutiful to him, he determined to reſign to him his dominions; and in order to this he ſent his younger ſon *Zaris* with the *Tagi*, or enſign of the royal dignity in *Perſia*, to his brother in *Turqueſtan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival; *Guſhtaſp* went immediately to pay him a viſit, and being informed of his father's reſolution, accepted the *Tagi* or *Tiara*, and cauſed himſelf to be ſolemnly proclaimed king of *Perſia*. His father-in-law was at firſt prodigiouſly diſturbed, conceiving, that there was ſome treaſon againſt him in theſe proceedings, but when he found that things were really as they had been repreſented, he was overjoyed to the higheſt degree; and the nobility of *Touran* came in crowds to pay their compliments to the new king of *Perſia*. Theſe ceremonies over, *Guſhtaſp* took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife *Karathun* ſet out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue and a conſiderable number of camels loaded with riches. *Lohraſp* received his ſon with all the marks of tenderneſs and joy; *Guſhtaſp* retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice; at laſt the good old man withdrew to lead a ſolitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wiſdom and goodneſs of God. A ſhort time after he died, having firſt ſent for his ſon, and given him in his laſt moments the moſt ſalutary counſels, in reſpect to his own glory and the good of his people. This *Lohraſp* was ſirnamed *Balki*, i. e. *the Balchian*, becauſe he reſided moſtly at *Balk* or *Balch*, one of the moſt antient cities in his dominions [P].

IT muſt be owned, that the foregoing account taken from *Mirkhond* is by no means agreeable to what other *Perſian* authors have written on the ſame ſubject. In two of the moſt celebrated hiſtories of this people we find it recorded, that *Lohraſp* was the grandſon of *Keykobad*, and that he was oppoſed by the *Perſian* nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* ſuggeſts, but becauſe his father and himſelf had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reigning; it is alſo ſaid that he was the firſt *Perſian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the reſt of his ſubjects, according to the rules of equity and juſtice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raiſed one ſtory from the ground, and railed

[P] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. Sect. XV.

round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine* was *Raham*, and that he was surnamed by the *Persians Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Greeks Nebuchadonosor*. We have also on the same authority the history of *Gushtasp*'s flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*; but we are likewise told what little agrees with *Mirkhond*'s history, that *Lohrasp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Apheraſiab* the famous *Turkish* monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years [q] (I). *Khondemir*, the famous *Persian* historian, differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says, that *Lohrasp* was the son of *Keykaus*'s brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue;

[q] Lebtarik. Tarik. Montekeb.

(I) We have already spoken of *Mirkhond* from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories, mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb* is the *Turkish* name of a translation of a *Persian* history, stiled in that language *Tarikh Khozideh*, i. e. *the chosen chronicle*, written originally in *Persian* verse, and afterwards reduced into prose by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Nasser Al Mustoufi al Cazvini*, i. e. *native of the city of Casbin*. It contains a general history from the creation to *A. H.* 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik* is properly called *Lobb Al Taovarikh*, i. e. *the marrow of histories*; it was written, in the *Persian* language, by *Jabia Ben Abdallathif Al Cazvini*; it is divided into four books; the first containing the life of *Mohammed* and the twelve Imams; the second the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammedism*; the third the history of the reigning family in *Persia*; the fourth an universal history of the dynasties prior to *Mohammed*: it comes down to *A. H.* 948, the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) *D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Tarikh. Khodzideh.* (15) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lobb. Al. Taoverikh.*

according

according to him it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Paleſtine*, and was ſurnamed by the *Perſians Bakht-Naſſar*; which ſurname has occaſioned ſuch confuſion among the *Hebrew* and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Guſhtaſp*, this writer ſays, that he retired to the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he married the king's eldeſt daugther, called by him *Kenaioum*, and who, as he tells the ſtory, preſented him publicly with an orange, which is plainly ſubſtituted for the golden apple. Inſtead of the two rebellious lords he ſpeaks of two terrible monſters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, inſiſted ſhould be killed by thoſe who pretended to the young princeſſes who were ſtill unmarried.

THE firſt of theſe was a furious ſerpent, which had its den in a wood ſo very thick, that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to penetrate it, in order to combat this deſtructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiouſly fierce, which traverſed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind or cattle. Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whoſe court *Guſhtaſp* lived, were quite abaſhed at theſe propoſals, deſpairing of the conqueſt of the monſters, and conſequently of the princeſſes. However, they informed *Guſhtaſp* of the anſwer the king had given them. *Guſhtaſp* readily offered them his aſſiſtance, and accordingly attacked the monſters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of theſe extrardinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they deſired. Some time after this, *Guſhtaſp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince aſked him one day how he paſſed his time; *Guſhtaſp* anſwered that he ſometimes went a hunting, and that lately, as he was taking that diverſion, he killed two extraordinary creatures; the king immediately underſtood what he meant, and, having cauſed the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found that *Guſhtaſp* had ſlain the monſters, upon which he immediately made him his chief miniſter as well as favourite; and at his perſuaſion refuſed to pay the king of *Perſia* that tribute which he was wont to ſend him yearly, and alſo to declare war againſt him. *Lohraſp* being informed of this immediately conceived it was his ſon who had influenced this king to ſuch bold proceedings, and therefore, inſtead of providing for the war, he ſent his younger ſon with the tiara, or royal diadem of *Perſia*, to *Guſhtaſp* as a pledge of his friendſhip, and a certain ſign that he intended him for his ſucceſſor. On his return to his father's court, coutinues our author, the venerable old man went out to

meet

meet him, kissed his feet according to the *Persian* custom in submitting to a sovereign; and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at *Balch*, where he was killed. The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras*, were his cotemporaries [r]. If we may believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nameh*, or *Royal Chronicle*, *Balch*, at the time *Lohrasp* resigned the kingdom to his son *Gushtasp*, was esteemed by the *Persians* as the *Holy City*, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their esteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans*; on this account therefore, *Lohrasp* made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor *Gjemschid* for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related in a cloister of his own building which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. *the new spring* [s].

Gushtasp or *Kischtasp*, the son of *Lohrasp*, succeeded his father with general applause; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reside at the antient metropolis of the kingdom *Istachr*, i. e. *cut out of the rock*, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the *Zoroastres* of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of *Gushtasp*, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

[r] Khondemir. in Khelassat. Al Akbar. [s] Pheirdausi in Shah Nameh. Hyde. Relig. veter- Persar. c. xxiii. p. 302.

The Life of Zoroaſtres, Zoroaſter, *or* Zerduſht: *extracted as well from* Greek *and* Latin, *as* Oriental *hiſtorians.*

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful ſenſation to the immortal ſpirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impoſtor, or philoſopher, muſt needs receive high ſatisfaction from the wide extenſion of his fame, which has been diffuſed throughout the whole learned world, and ſubſiſted even to lateſt ages. The *Greeks*, who were very inquiſitive after the inventers of ſcience, amongſt the nations whom they ſtile *Barbarians*, and from whom notwithſtanding they drew all the learning they had themſelves, have written ſo confuſedly, and ſo obſcurely, concerning *Zoroaſtres*, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four, but ſuch is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaſter*, that the ſenſe of this very paſſage is diſputed, ſome affirming, that *Arnobius* ſpeaks but of three *Zoroaſters*, others, that he mentions only two (K). However,

(K) In the text we have mentioned a paſſage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently underſtood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the maſter of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the chriſtian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory ſtyle againſt the *Gentiles*, wherein there are many things contained of high uſe in reſpect to the hiſtory of learning among the antients; for tho', as a chriſtian, he wrote but indifferently, theſe books being compoſed ſoon after his converſion, and before he was well inſtructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority in ſuch a caſe as this, muſt have conſequently conſiderable weight. The paſſage, which has been ſo differently interpreted, runs thus; *Age nunc veniet quis ſuper igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroaſtres, Hermippo ut aſſentiamur authori: Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Cteſias res geſtas hiſtoriarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hoſtanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector of the *Zoroaſtrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of diſtinguiſhed learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well underſtood theſe things (19), believe, that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroaſters*, the firſt a *Chaldean*; the ſecond a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphylian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmaſius* will needs have the text read thus (20):

(16) *Declam. cont. Gentes.* (17) *Comm. ſup Orac. Zoroaſt.*
(18) *Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes, &c.* (19) *Obel. Pamphil.*
(20) *Exercitat. Plin.*

Age

However, four was certainly not too large a number; since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak

Age nunc veniat quæso per igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius, Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri. It is evident by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since of the the three *Zoroasters* which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid *Zone*, for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam Zonam & ab interiore orbe*, which *Ethiopian* or *Libyan Zoroaster Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus*, from the same words, is positive, that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing from *Ctesias* that *Zoroaster* was not so antient as *Eudoxus* fancied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this *Persian* history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerdusht*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what from their writings the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very little or nothing. *2dly*, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who by the way is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of this name is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew, that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster* may be reduced to two, the *Chaldean* and the *Persian*, and the very ingenious Mr. *Stanley* has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerdusht* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing, that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be enquired, how the *Chaldean* magi came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chrono-

(21) *In Zoroast.*

logy,

ſpeak as ſuccinctly as we can; the firſt is thought to have been a *Chaldean*, *Suidas* calls him an *Aſſyrian*, and ſays alſo, that he was ſtruck dead by fire from heaven [t]. It is very probable, that this is the ſame *Zoroaſter* ſpoken of by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, and ſaid to have appeared in fire [u]. The ſecond was a *Bactrian* and a king, whom *Juſtin* and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom he was vanquiſhed in battle and ſlain [x]. He is reputed to have been the inventer of magic, and is ſaid by *Arnobius* to have conteſted with *Ninus*, not only with ſteel and ſtrength, but by magical force and the occult ſciences of the *Chaldeans* [y]. The third was a *Perſian*, as *Laertius* informs us [z]. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſtiles him a *Mede* [a], *Suidas* a *Perſo-mede* [b]; but they all ſpeak darkly and ambiguouſly. The fourth was a *Pamphylian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius*: concerning this *Zoroaſter Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming that he began a book thus: "This wrote I *Zoro-*" *aſter Armenius*, by deſcent a *Pamphylian*, dying in war,

[t] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [u] Orat. Boriſth. [x] lib. i. [y] Decl. contra. Gent. [z] LAERT. in Procem. [a] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. i. [b] In vocibus Μάγοι Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρες.

logy, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and ſets the *Chaldean Zoroaſter* far higher. We ſhall anſwer, that in the firſt place we are not accountable for the miſtakes of others, the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. *Stanley* juſtly obſerves, "the ſame name it is, "which ſome call *Zabratis*, others *Nazaratas*, others *Zares*, others "*Zaran*, others *Zaradas*; all which are but ſeveral corruptions "from the *Chaldee* or *Perſian* word, which the *Greeks* moſt gene-"rally render *Zoroaſter* (22)". What certainty can be expected from ſuch writers? But then, ſecondly, leſt this ſhould ſeem an evaſive anſwer, we alledge, that *Zoroaſter* was not the inſtitutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we ſhall ſhortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occaſioned the great confuſion about *Zoroaſter*; it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magiſm; it was eaſily diſcoverable, that magiſm was as antient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldæa*; it was natural enough therefore, for ſuch as looked upon *Zoroaſter* to be the inſtitutor of the magian doctrines, to ſay with aſſurance, that he lived in theſe times, but then; diſcovering from the *Perſian* records at what time he truly lived, they choſe, rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroaſters*; the firſt a *Chaldean* or *Aſſyrian*, cotemporary with *Ninus*; the ſecond a *Perſian*, flouriſhing in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*.

(22) *Chaldaic. Philoſophy, p.* 4.

" and being in *Hades*, I learned of the gods". He is reported by the same author to have risen again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space [c]. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny* [d]. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with *Aristæus* the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased [e]. The sixth lived at *Babylon* at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyses*, as we are told by *Apuleius* [f]. As the *Grecks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the world; *Justin* makes him thirteen hundred years older than *Sardanapalus* [g]. *Eudoxus*, cited by *Pliny*, places him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* [h]. *Plutarch* makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* [i]. Some authors, mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him at 500 years before the *Trojan* war [k]. *Apuleius* [l], *Jamblicus* [m], *Porphyry* [n], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o], and *Agathius* [p], place him, where he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny*, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before *Xerxes* [q]. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. *Plato* [r], *Aristotle* [s], *Plutarch* [t], and *Porphyry* [u], acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a presage of his future sagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts 20 years, upon cheese so mixed that it did not grow stale [x]. *Solinus* draws his character in few words; He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus, in the best arts skilful* [y]. *Apuleius* stiles him *omnis divini arcani antistes, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries*, and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* [z]. *Agathius* tells us he lived under *Hystaspes*, and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changing their old religion and introducing new

[c] Plato. Polit. lib x. [d] Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & l. vii c. 16. [e] Sub voce Ἀριστεας. [f] Florid. ii. [g] Ubi supra. [h] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c 1. [i] De Iside & Osiride. [k] Sub voce Ζωροαστρης. [l] Florid. ii. [m] In vit. Pythag. [n] In vita Pythagoræ. [o] Stromat. l. v. [p] Hist. lib. 2. [q] Ubi supra. [r] In Alcibiade. 1. [s] In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Procem. [t] De Iside & Osiride. [u] In vita Pythagoræ. [x] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [y] Cap. 1. [z] Florid. ii.

opinions

opinions [a]. *Dion Chryſoſtom* ſays more of him than any of theſe writers, and from better authority, ſince what he delivered he had from the *Perſians* themſelves, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew [b]. *Cteſias*, an author univerſally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about *Zoroaſter* than thoſe who have anſwered him, ſince we know from *Arnobius*, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and ſpent the firſt book of ſix, which he wrote on *Perſian* affairs, in delivering his hiſtory [c]; the ſum and concluſion of all we have hitherto ſaid is this, that, except *Cteſias* and *Dion Chryſoſtom*, all the antients, who have written concerning *Zoroaſter*, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wiſe man, and the principal of the magi; in reſpect to which *Euſebius* indeed ſays, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, ſeems to have contained the chief doctrines of the *Perſian* religion [d].

THE oriental writers are ſomewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call *Zerduſht*, *Zaraduſht*, *Zaratuſht*, and *Zard-huſht*, for they, generally ſpeaking, acknowledge, that he flouriſhed in the reign of *Guſhtaſp*. The author of *Lebtarikh* indeed ſays, that ſome old writers confound him with *Dohak* or *Zohak*, one of the *Piſchdadian* princes [e]; but all the *Perſian* hiſtorians, who are to be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, ſpeak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they ſay, he performed by the aſſiſtance of *Guſhtaſp* (L). With reſpect to his family, the common opinion

[a] Hiſt. lib. 2. [b] Orat. Boriſthen. [c] Contr. Gentes. [d] Præpar. Evangel. [e] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduſcht.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to inſinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worſhippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magiſm began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*; certain it is, that the oldeſt book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus ſpeaks *Job* in his proteſtation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. "If I beheld "the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon, walking *in* brightneſs: and "my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed "my hand: this alſo *were* an iniquity *cognizable* by the judge: for "I ſhould have denied the God *who is* above (2)". Nothing can

(2) Job. xxxi. 26.

opinion of the *Persian* and *Arabic* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judæa*, where he received his

be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this heresy was as old as the *Persians* make it, who affirm, that *Keyomaras*, their first king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves *Keyomarsians*, or *Keyomarthites*. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity was the persuading themselves and others, that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matters to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also touched elsewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we choose to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own. "The *Persian* kings in general, says this writer, adhe-
" red to the religion of *Abraham*, and their subjects were always of
" the religion of their prince; there was likewise a chief or high-
" priest, reputed the wisest of wise men, from whose mandate
" there was no appeal, and whose sentence was never reversed,
" the same reverence being shewn to them as we heretofore shewed
" unto our caliphs". A little after he says, "The peculiar doctrine
" of the magi was the duality of the spiritual nature, which they
" affirmed to be good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent
" and destructive; these natures they distinguished, by calling the
" one light and the other darkness, or rather in their own terms
" *Yezdan* and *Ahreman*. Hence it came to pass, that their whole
" religion, and all the questions of the magi, turned on these two
" points, the explication of light being mixed with darkness, and
" of light freeing itself from darkness". Some pages farther the same author speaks thus: "Though the magi affirm these two
" principles, yet the most antient of them did not think themselves
" under a necessity of affirming that both existed from eternity;
" on the contrary, they held only light itself existent, and that
" darkness was produced; but in accounting for this they were
" sometimes at a loss: however, they constantly asserted, that
" they received these doctrines from wise men and prophets a-
" mong their ancestors, first, from *Keyomaras*; secondly, from
" *Zervan* the Great; thirdly, from another prophet whose name
" was *Zerdusht*. The *Keyomarthites* insist, that *Keyomaras* is the
" same with *Adam*, wherein they agree with some *Indian* and
" *Persian* chronologers; yet they are contradicted by others skil-
" ful in that art. The *Keyomarthites* also affirm, that their great
" master established the opinion of two spiritual beings *Yezdan* and
" *Ahreman*, acknowledging the former to be eternal and self-existent,
" and owning the latter to be produced and created, and that after
" this manner: *Yezdan*, i. e. God, said in himself, Unless I am
" opposed, how shall it be? *i. e.* how shall my glory arise? which

thought

his education, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for a prophet afterwards himself [f]. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some say *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and some again one of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late, he therefore fixes upon *Daniel* [g]. Dr. *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra* [h]. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerdusht*, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted the service of the *Hebrew* prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then *Zerdusht* must have been the same with *Gehazi*, the servant, not of *Elias*, but *Elisha*, and consequently the credibility of the whole tale will be destroyed. The *Persees* in *India* pretend, that *Zerdusht* was originally a *Chinese*, that his father's name was *Espintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*; but in this they are mistaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all at a loss, since it is thus set down in the book *Sadder*; *Zaratasht* was the son of *Purthasp*, who was the son of *Piteras'p*, the son of *Hitcheras'p*, the son of *Thechshunesch*, the son of *Espintaman* [i]; hence *Zerdusht*, being frequently called the son of *Espintaman*, the *Persees* in *India* mistook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet; he says, that *Zerdusht*, from his great skill in astrology, discovered, that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving these things in

[f] ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAPHA in vita Gushtasp. ap. HYDE, R. V. P. p. 313. MEGJDI in Zinato L'Magjalis. ap. HYDE, p. 315. [g] Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 331. [h] Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314. [i] HYDE. R. V. P. p. 312.

" thought produced darkness which is opposite to light, and then " began the controversy which has since subsisted between them (3)". We are informed by the same author, that *Zerdusht* himself owned *Keyomaras* to have instituted that religion he came to reform, so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the *Persians* is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) *Sharistani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. c.* xxii *p.* 294.

his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, *Zerdusht* no longer doubted, that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *Zend*, and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples [k]. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says; but we presume his notion of the devil's appearing in the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerdusht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerdusht* really retired into a cave, and there studied, and composed his *Zende-avesta*, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrine, if we except his permission of incest, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspes* the patron of *Zerdusht*, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, *Zerdusht* made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

[k] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduscht.

(M) We have already given our reasons for deferring our thoughts on the chronology of the *Persian* history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the *Persian* nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the *Persian* kingdom, and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of *Zerdusht*, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus*, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet *Isaiah*, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen, that after all their sufferings, which their sins

remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed, that he brought twelve

ſins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raiſe up a deliverer for them, which was *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*; this, ſaith the prophet, is the God, that "ſaith to *Jeruſalem*, Thou ſhalt be inhabited; and to the cities "of *Judah*, Ye ſhall be built, and I will raiſe up the decayed "places thereof. That ſaith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry "up thy rivers. That ſaith of *Cyrus*, *He is* my ſhepherd, and "ſhall perform all my pleaſure; even ſaying to *Jeruſalem*, Thou ſhalt "be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation ſhall be laid. Thus "ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to *Cyrus*, whoſe right-hand I have "holden, to ſubdue nations before him: and I will looſe the loins "of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the "gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the "crooked places ſtraight: I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, "and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the "treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that "thou mayeſt know, that I the Lord, which call *thee* by thy name, "*am* the God of *Iſrael*. For *Jacob* my ſervant's ſake, and *Iſrael* "mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name, I have ſurna-"med thee, though thou haſt not known me (4)". This remarkable prophecy, which does ſo much honour to *Cyrus*, was ſpoken of him a hundred years before he was born, and ſurely, if language can prove any thing, the ſtyle of this prophecy will be ſufficient to ſhew that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware, that there is an expreſſion at the cloſe of what *Iſaiah* ſays of this glorious monarch, which has been conſtrued in this ſenſe; but we can eaſily, and, at the ſame time, fully prove, that it ought not ſo to be underſtood; the expreſſion is this, *I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me*; the meaning of which, we ſay, is this; that God gave him the title of his *ſhepherd* and his *anointed*, and actually employed him as the miniſter of his will, before *Cyrus* knew any thing of the matter; but how does this ſhew, that he was an idolater, or that he worſhipped not the true God, though he was unacquainted with the *Jewiſh* diſpenſation, and knew not that God by the name of *Jehovah*? After the taking of *Babylon* *Daniel* certainly explained all theſe prophecies to *Cyrus*, and ſhewed him, that while he believed himſelf acting only in conſequence of the ſchemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God had told of him; in all which he was furthered and aſſiſted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing ſtratagem for taking *Babylon*, by altering the courſe of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, *Iſaiah* had diſtinctly foretold, making the Almighty ſpeak thus: *That ſaith to the deep, Be dry, And I will dry up thy rivers.* As ſoon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with theſe

(4) Iſaiah xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6.

prophecies,

twelve volumes to *Guſhtaſp*, each of which contained a hundred ſkins of vellum; but this will be the leſs wondered at, if

prophecies, he readily teſtified his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his ſincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for reſtoring the *Jews*, which begins with theſe remarkable words; "Thus ſaith *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, *Jehovah*, God of heaven, hath "given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me "to build him an houſe at *Jeruſalem*, which *is* in *Judah*. Who "*is there* among ye of all his people his God be with him, and "let him go up to *Jeruſalem*, which *is* in *Judah*, and build the "houſe of *Jehovah*, God of *Iſrael*, he *is* the God which *is* in *Jeruſa*-"*lem* (5). We ſuppoſe there needs no commentary to prove, that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced, that *Jehovah*, who revealed himſelf to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himſelf ſtiles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whoſe reign we are now ſpeaking, *viz. Guſhtaſp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*, for in his decree, relating to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, we find theſe words; "That which they have need "of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-"offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, ſalt, wine, and oyl, "according to the appointment of the prieſts which *are* at *Jeruſa*-"*lem*; let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may "offer ſacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and pray for "the life of the king and of his ſons (6)". But the cloſe of this decree is yet ſtronger: "God, who hath cauſed his name to dwell "there, *i. e.* at *Jeruſalem*, deſtroy all kings and people that ſhall "put to their hand, to alter or to deſtroy this houſe of God at *Je*-"*ruſalem*. I *Darius* have made a decree, let it be done with "ſpeed (7)". But let us return a little to *Iſaiah*, and mark what God ſays of himſelf, after the long deſcription given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus*. "*I am Jehovah*, and none elſe; "*there is* no God beſides me: I girded thee, *i. e. Cyrus*, though "thou haſt not known me, *i. e.* by my name *Jehovah*, that they "may know from the riſing of the ſun and from the weſt, that "*there is* none beſides me; I am *Jehovah*, and none elſe; I form "the light, and create darkneſs: I make peace, and create evil: "I, *Jehovah*, do all theſe (8)." It is moſt evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the *Magian* religion in reſpect to *light* and *darkneſs*, and the powers preſiding over them. That *Zerduſht* rectified theſe errors, and expreſsly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one ſelf-exiſtent being, author of *light* and of *darkneſs*, of *good* and of *evil*, is acknowledged by antient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerduſht*, nay by dean *Prideaux* himſelf, who yet loads

(5) Ezra i. 2. (6) Ezra vi. 9. (7) Ezra vi. 12. (8) Iſaiah xlv. 5, 6, 7.

him

If we conſider, that the antient *Perſian* character took up a great deal of room, and *Zoroaſter* did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but alſo his own hiſtory, and the

him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *Impoſtor* (9). *Impoſtor* in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to reſtrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, inſtead of ſuch mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the firſt, and moſt glorious creature within their ken, *i. e.* the ſun, and before him, as the witneſs of his Maker, and the expreſſive ſymbol of his omniſcience, teſtify their gratitude, thankfulneſs, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, reſolving with themſelves to make a right uſe of his bleſſings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God ſhould inſtruct them farther, by the miſſion of the *Great Prophet* who was to come, concerning whom *Zerduſht* as well as *Moſes* ſpoke; ſurely theſe are no ſigns of impoſture. If it ſhould be aſked, How comes it then to paſs that the *Perſees* have not acknowledged Chriſt? we may anſwer by aſking another queſtion; Why, have not the *Jews* acknowledged him? Theſe are ſecrets which God hath reſerved to himſelf, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the converſion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the ſword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as ſuch put into the hands of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *David*, and *Cyrus*, but by milder methods, expreſſive of the chriſtian ſpirit, by reaſoning calmly, and by living piouſly. It may be juſtly ſaid, that the greateſt impediment to this beſt of all works, is the lazineſs of chriſtians, their neglecting to ſtudy the grounds of their own religion, and the ſources of thoſe errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their ſeeing the truth of the goſpel. Many learned *Jews* have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in *Germany*, not by the antichriſtian proceedings of an inquiſition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Meſſiah is come, and conſequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the ſame thing be done with reſpect to theſe *Perſees*? Would they not be ſooner invited to chriſtianity, if we ſhould ſtudy and explain the writings of *Zerduſht*, with impartiality at leaſt, if not with reſpect: we ſay, Would they not be ſooner invited by this method, to conſider the arguments in favour of the goſpel, than by calling him whom they eſteem a prophet an impoſtor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty? But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuſe, except its ſubject.

(9) *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p.* 303.

rudiments of moſt ſciences therein, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder, that he retired ſo long from the world, or choſe a cave for his abode, ſince works of this nature require ſilence and compoſure. The antient prophets reſided much in *deſerts*, that is, in *unfrequented places*. *Epictetus* and other philoſophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noiſe and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but *Zoroaſter*'s cave is made the ſtrong proof of his being an impoſtor; nay, it is ſaid, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impoſtors, particularly his ſcholar *Pythagoras*, who, as *Iamblichus* informs us, had his cave as well as *Zoroaſter*. Nay, *Mohammed* borrowed this notion too from *Zerduſht*, and wrote his *Koran* in imitation of the *Zend-aveſta*. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this; every inſtitutor of a new religion, at leaſt that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his diſciples; *Moſes* did this; *Zerduſht* did this; and *Mohammed* did this; does it follow, that *Mohammed* had in view *Zerduſht* rather than *Moſes*, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of *Zerduſht* than of the antient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already ſhewn, that his retirement to a cave was natural and reaſonable; in the next note we ſhall prove, that, as far as we know any thing of it, there is no juſt ground to ſuſpect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the inſtructing of mankind may be eſteemed ſo. This we do not ſay out of any prejudice in favour of *Zerduſht*, ariſing from the pains we have taken in compiling his hiſtory, but becauſe we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we err, it ſhall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any biaſs of our inclinations; we therefore make no queſtion, but even ſuch as differ from us in ſentiment will be ſatisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they cenſure our opinions (N).

As

* Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult taſk aſſigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make ſenſe of what *Greek* authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; ſometimes they ſpeak truth

As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to insert here what is delivered by

truth and are not believed; at other times they tell the most arrant falsities with such an air of knowledge, that such as are not acquainted with these matters readily take for granted all they say; the *Latins* copy, generally speaking, after the *Greeks*, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their masters, or rather less; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which destroy in a line or two all the romantic stories that are told us elsewhere. For example, *Porphyry* has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at *Delphos*, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

Chaldees and *Jews* are wise in worshipping
A Self-begotten God, of all things King.

These *Chaldees* were the *Magi*, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, viz. *Laertius*, who speaks thus (10): It is said, that philosophy had its original from the *Barbarians*, since among the *Persians* were the *Magi*; among the *Babylonians* or *Assyrians* the *Chaldeans*; among the *Indians* the *Gymnosophists*, and among the *Celtes* the *Druids*. For this *Laertius* quotes *Aristotle*; nay, *Porphyry* himself had the highest esteem for the *Magi*, since he describes them thus; *Among the* Persians *those wise persons who were employed about the* divinity, *and served him, were called* Magi; *Laertius*, on the authority of *Aristotle*, or the author of the treatise of *Magic*, speaks of the manner in which they lived; *They refrain*, says he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are mostly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheese, and bread; their chief employment is praying to God, and exhorting men to live uprightly. Dion Chrysostom*, the most polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these *magi*, in these words: "The *Persians* called "those *magi* who were employed in the service of the gods; but "the *Greeks*, being ignorant of the meaning of that word, apply "it to such as are skilled in magic, a science unknown to the *Per*-"*sian* sages (11)." These *magi* were not only the scholars, but the masters, of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards so much improved, from them *Dion Chrysostom* has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to *Zoroaster*. "It is reported, *says that ad*-"*mirable writer*, that through love of wisdom and justice, he, "*i. e. Zoroaster*, withdrew himself from men, and lived alone in "a certain mountain; that afterwards leaving the mountain, a great

(10) *In Proœm. Hist. Dogm. & Vit. Philosoph.* (11) *Orat. Boristhen.*

by the *Persian* historians, relating to the appearance of *Zerdusht*, when he first took upon him the character of a prophet,

" great fire descending from above, continually burned about him.
" Upon this the king, with the prime nobility of *Persia*, came
" and prayed with him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire,
" delivered himself in terms which discovered more than human
" wisdom, exhorting the people to be chearful, and to offer cer-
" tain sacrifices, as if God had come with him to that place;
" thenceforward he conversed not with all men, but with such on-
" ly as were most addicted to truth, and by reason of their studies
" more capable of the knowledge of the gods, whom the *Persians*
" style *magi* (12)." Having thus learned from an unbyassed author, what it was that led *Zoroaster* to mountains and deserts, let us next see, what we can discover as to his employment in his *cave*. But before we proceed to quote authorities on this head, let us observe, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the *magi*, they were very indifferently fitted to act in subserviency to an impostor, such as *Zerdusht* has been reported; for they were spiritual people, who sought not power and wealth, but wisdom and truth; they resembled rather the baptist in his coarse cloathing and simple diet, than those who are to be seen in the courts of kings, prostituting religion to private ends, and unworthily taking the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mortals. In our account of the *Persian* religion, we have given *Zerdusht*'s rules for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evidently appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the consciences of men for the aggrandizing the priesthood, which among the *Persians* was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his priests superior to other men, by the single method whereby one man can excel another, *viz.* through purity of morals and improvement of the understanding (13). Such a scheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanaticism to recommend it, and therefore, *prima facie*, it should seem, that a man of *Zerdusht*'s character retired to a cave, for the sake of privacy and silence, and not to raise devils or coin lying fictions; these are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, such as *Mohammed* was, but not for *Zerdusht*. It so happens, however, that we have some proof of this great man's employment in his cell: *Porphyry* tells us, " that *Zoroaster*, first
" among the *Persians*, did consecrate a natural cave in the moun-
" tains in honour of *Mithra*, the king and father of all, signifying
" by this cave the world framed by *Mithra*; by the other things
" disposed within it in fit distances, the elements and quarters of
" the world (14)." The very learned *Celsus*, as we find him quoted by *Origen*, gives us also an account of these caves in these words,

(12) *Ubi supra.* (13) *Universal History, Vol. IV. p* 514, (11) *& seq* (14) *In Antr. Nymphar.*

phet, and demanded from *Guſhtaſp* and his ſubjects the obedience due to a *Meſſenger* from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a *Perſee*, from the authentic memoirs of antient times, preſerved by the judicious Dr. *Hyde*, the ſubſtance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtleſs it ſtands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous hiſtory of the *Perſians* is at leaſt as well worth knowing as the conjectures

words, "The *Perſians*, ſays he, in their *Mithrian* rites, repreſent "ſymbolically the two-fold motion of the ſtars, *viz.* of thoſe "ſtiled fixed, and of the planets, and the paſſage of the ſoul through "them. To demonſtrate this, they ſet up a ladder, on the aſ-"cent of which there were ſeven gates with the eighth at the "very top; the firſt of lead; the ſecond of tin; the third of "braſs; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed maſs; the ſixth "of ſilver; and the ſeventh of gold. They attributed the firſt to "*Saturn*, the ſlowneſs of that planet's motion being intimated by "the lead; the ſecond to *Venus*, on account of the ſoftneſs and "brightneſs of tin; the third being of braſs, than which nothing "is more ſolid or durable, to *Jupiter*; the fourth to *Mercury*, be-"cauſe, like iron, he is ſuited to all ſorts of labours, from whence "profit may be drawn; the fifth, becauſe of its mixture, va-"riableneſs, and irregularity, to *Mars*; the ſixth to the moon, "and the ſeventh to the ſun, becauſe of the likeneſs in their co-"lour to ſilver and gold (15)." Here is a great deal of philoſophy, but no witchcraft or enthuſiaſm in theſe repreſentations; and if *Zoroaſter* be condemned, either as a magician or an impoſtor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of orreries? We will conclude this very note with obſerving, that the moſt judicious *Dion Chryſoſtom*, whom we have ſo often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falſhood of the *Greeks*, in what they reported of the religion of the *Perſians*, and of their conſecrating horſes to the ſun (16). They were far, ſays he, from fancying the chariot of the ſun, the moſt ſublime ſpectacle in nature, they were acquainted with the ſupreme charioteer who put the univerſe into motion, and ſtill guides it. Of this ſubject, not *Homer*, not *Heſiod*, but *Zoroaſter*, and the *magi*, his diſciples taught by him, have ſung in ſtrains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their diſcourſes are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly oppoſite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of the univerſe is inacceſſible and inſcrutable; they compare the motions of the ſun and moon to horſes under direction, but as to horſes conſecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberleſs fables.

(15) *Celſus ap. Orig. cont. Celſ. lib.* vi. (16) *Orat. Boriſthen.*

jectures of western authors on this subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author: "In this reign flourished *Zerdusht* the prophet. "He, coming into the presence of *Gushtasp*, informed him of "his commission in these terms. I am a prophet, sent to "thee by the most wise God, and this book, *viz.* the *Zend-* "*avesta*, I brought from *Paradise*; also he gave me this "cassock and this girdle, saying, Put on this cassock, and "gird thyself with this girdle, that thy soul may be delivered "from *Gehenna*, and that thou mayest find salvation; go "also and propagate the true religion throughout the world. "When *Gushtasp* had heard this message from the prophet, "he said, But how shall I know that thou art really a pro- "phet, and came to me from the most high God? For "without a sign the truth of what you say cannot be known, "neither ought a religion to be received, till it be supported "by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, shew "us some sign, that I may know and be assured thou art a "messenger of God. When *Zerdusht* heard what the king "demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought the fol- "lowing miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace "a cypress tree, which grew in a few days so wonderfully, "that it was near ten fathoms in girt and full ten in height; "and in the top of this tree he erected a summer-house. "When the king had beheld this miracle, he was convin- "ced, and determined in his mind to embrace the religion "of *Zerdusht*. He was, however, advised to call for cer- "tain wise men who might dispute with *Zerdusht*. This was "accordingly done, but they could not convince him; on "the contrary *Zerdusht* prevailed. These, however, hating "him, devised this method for his destruction. *Zerdusht* "had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out "he left his keys with the porter. This porter they cor- "rupted, and engaged him to be silent and not discover any "thing they did. They then made use of him to gain en- "trance into the lodgings of *Zerdusht* when he was abroad, "and when they had so done, they threw into his wardrobe, "put into his book *Zend*, and into his cloak-bag, all sorts "of unclean and impure things, such as the bones of cats "and dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; these they "scattered amongst his things; which when they had done, "they went out, shut the doors carefully, and returned the "keys to the porter. *Zerdusht* in the mean time walked "in the simplicity of his heart, praising God, but his ene- "mies considered not this. They immediately addressed "themselves to the king to this purpose: This wicked man,

viz.

" *viz. Zerduſht*, is employed every night in diabolical prac-
" tices, by which, O king, thy heart will be inevitably in-
" ſnared, unleſs thou wilt inſtantly ſend ſome of thy guards
" to ſearch his apartments, that thou mayeſt be certified
" whether theſe things be ſo or not. The king ſent here-
" upon his guards to the apartments of *Zerduſht* to ſearch
" them, and to bring all things they found in them before
" him. This accordingly was done, and all ſorts of unclean
" things, ſuch as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and
" nails of dead bodies were found in his cheſt of cloaths, his
" book of *Zend-aveſta*, and in his cloak-bag. The king
" ſeeing all this, turned to *Zerduſht*, and ſaid in a high paſ-
" ſion, How is this, thou profligate, and what is it thou haſt
" been doing? *Zerduſht* heard his accuſers and the king pa-
" tiently and without emotion. At laſt he thus anſwered
" for himſelf; O king, all that thou ſeeſt I know nothing
" of, neither belongeth it to me. Then the king called for
" the porter, and having examined him, the king threw
" from him the book *Zend*, and commanded *Zerduſht* to be
" ſhut up in priſon. Thus, notwithſtanding his innocence,
" *Zerduſht* was thruſt into confinement, which he endured
" chearfully, ſtanding all day in one poſture, praying to and
" praiſing God, without receiving any ſuſtenance whatever.
" It happened ſhortly after, that a black horſe, of which the
" king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd man-
" ner, its four feet ſhrinking up to its belly in ſuch a way,
" that the creature fell down to the ground, and could no
" way be raiſed up. *The maſter of the horſe*, called in the
" *Perſian* language *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he was
" wont, into the ſtables, and perceived what had befallen
" the king's favourite ſteed, went immediately and acquainted
" *Guſhtaſp*. The king no ſooner heard it than he went in
" perſon to the ſtable, and, having viewed the horſe, called
" for the wiſe men who had engaged him to impriſon *Zer-*
" *duſht*, and deſired them to contrive immediately ſome re-
" medy for this extraordinary malady of the horſe, which
" they were unable to do, and confeſſed as much to the king.
" When *Guſhtaſp* found this, he grew very uneaſy, becauſe
" he valued his horſe extremely. On the fourth day the por-
" ter went to ſee *Zerduſht* in priſon. Of him *Zerduſht* en-
" quired news, and why he came not before to viſit him.
" The porter told him the court was much diſturbed, on ac-
" count of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black
" courſer. *Zerduſht* bid the porter tell the king, that, when
" he ſhould be releaſed out of priſon, he would quick-
" ly reſtore his horſe. The porter ran with this news to the

" king,

" king, who, as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for
" *Zerdusht* out of prison, and carried him with him to the
" stable. *Zerdusht*, seeing the condition the horse was in,
" turned to the king, and said, Sir, this is no easy matter,
" but, on the contrary, a cure very difficult to be perform-
" ed. One thing, however, I have to desire, that what
" you wish may be performed; it is this; That you believe
" with your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is
" true and came from God, which if you do sincerely, I
" shall be able to restore your steed, otherwise it must re-
" main in the state it is in. Then the king, struck with
" the awful steadiness of *Zerdusht*, believed according as he
" desired. Upon which the prophet advancing to the black
" horse, stroaked his right fore-foot with his hand, where-
" upon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly
" of the horse, and hung in its natural position. Then *Zer-*
" *dusht*, turning to the king, said, It is necessary, Sir, that
" both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have
" taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the pro-
" pagation of this religion. Then came instantly *Bashuten*
" and *Isphendiyar*, the sons of *Gushtasp*, and embraced the
" religion of *Zerdusht*, as he had desired. Upon this the
" prophet went again to the horse, and with his left hand
" stroaked the horse's left fore-foot, which immediately the
" creature extended in its natural state. Then turned *Zer-*
" *dusht* to the king, and said, Sir, it is still necessary, that
" *Ketayun* the mother of *Isphendiyar* should embrace this re-
" ligion. Then *Gushtasp* sent one of his attendants with
" *Zerdusht* to the palace, and the prophet, being come into
" the queen's presence, addressed her thus: O thou matron
" of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all women,
" and raised high above your sex, by giving thee *Gushtasp*
" for thine husband, and *Isphendiyar* for thy son, like whom
" there is none upon the earth. Behold now the king of
" kings and thy son *Isphendiyar* have embraced, and with
" their whole hearts believe the truth of the religion I have
" taught: it is necessary, O queen, that you also receive
" and believe it. Then answered *Ketayun*, Whatsoever my
" husband and my son believe, that also will I embrace and
" believe. Then *Zerdusht*, returning to the black horse,
" put up his prayers, and stroaking with his right hand the
" right hind-foot, it was restored to its natural strength:
" Then *Zerdusht* turning to the king, said, You see your
" horse has recovered three legs; it is necessary for the re-
" covery of the fourth, that you interrogate your porter,
" and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not

" be

" be blamed, ſeeing if he the porter told the truth, then the
" horſe will fully recover, or otherwiſe remain in the ſtate
" it did; the king thereupon ordered the porter to be
" brought, and cauſed him to be ſeverely threatened, that
" he might diſcover the truth, as to the ſcattering unclean
" and abominable things in the lodgings of *Zerduſht*; the
" porter, dreading the king's anger, moſt humbly beſought
" him to grant him his life, which the king having promiſed,
" he then opened the whole conſpiracy in theſe words: Four
" of theſe wiſe men, who are ſo much in your favour, that
" I was afraid of refuſing them any thing, gave me a bribe,
" and, taking the keys from me, did all that your majeſty
" has heard and ſeen. When the king had heard all that
" the porter had to ſay, he was extremely ſorry, and made
" a long apology to *Zerduſht* for the injury he had done him,
" in cauſing him to be ſo long impriſoned, without any
" grounds at all, beſeeching him to paſs by and forgive it.
" Then the four wiſe men were hanged on a gibbet, and
" *Zerduſht*, having lift up his hands in prayer, ſtroked with
" his left hand the left hind-leg of the horſe, which imme-
" diately fell from his belly, and reſted on the ground as it
" uſed to do, ſo that quickly after the beaſt roſe and ſtood
" upon all his feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treat-
" ing *Zerduſht* with greater honour and reſpect than ever,
" cauſing him to be placed on a golden ſeat, himſelf, *i. e.*
" the king believing the book *Zend-avaſta*, and living in
" exact conformity to its precepts. It is reported, that ſome
" time after this king *Guſhtaſp* applied himſelf to *Zerduſht*,
" and ſaid, there is one thing that I deſire of thee, and I de-
" ſire it ſo earneſtly, that I hope you will not refuſe it, ſince
" if you grant me this requeſt, then ſhall I be thoroughly ſa-
" tisfied, that thou art a prophet ſent unto me by the moſt
" high God. *Zerduſht* deſired the king that he would ex-
" plain himſelf, that he might apply to God for the gratifica-
" tion of the king's will. Then king *Guſhtaſp* ſaid, My de-
" ſire is this, that while I am yet alive my ſoul may be ſa-
" tisfied as to its future ſtate, by beholding the joys of hea-
" ven, that it may be certain concerning them, and at eaſe.
" Moreover, I deſire, that I may know all things that ſhall
" paſs till the day of judgment, with the ſame exactneſs as
" I know things preſent. 3dly, I deſire, that in all the wars
" I wage on account of religion, my body may remain as it
" is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I deſire, that my
" ſoul may continue to exiſt to the day of reſurrection, and
" that I die not at all. The prophet of God hearing this,

" answered, I will certainly put up my prayers to the crea-
" tor of all things, neither doubt I at all, that the most high
" God will grant what you have desired. But your four re-
" quests must be yielded to four different persons, since it be-
" longs to God alone to enjoy them all at once. Do you
" therefore consider who these persons shall be, and I will
" put up prayers that one of your requests may be granted to
" each. Then king *Gushtasp* desired for himself, that he
" might be permitted to behold his place in paradise, and take
" a distinct view of all that was therein. He likewise menti-
" oned three other persons on whom the remaining blessings
" should be bestowed. Then *Zerdusht* being satisfied, re-
" tired to his own lodgings, and spent the whole night in
" prayers and praises to God, beseeching him, that if it
" were possible all these things might come to pass. The
" next day when light appeared, and the sun displayed his
" beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind
" of *Zerdusht* to consecrate the four following things, *viz.*
" wine, a rose, a cup, and the kernel of a pomegranate.
" And after he had consecrated these by prayer, having the
" sacred twigs in his hand, he presented the wine to *Gushtasp*,
" and as soon as the king had drank thereof, he fell down as
" if in a deep sleep, and continued for three days and three
" nights in the same position, his soul within that space
" ascending into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the
" blessed. At the end of three days he awaked, and going
" to *Zerdusht* beseeched him to pardon his incredulity. Then
" the prophet gave to *Gjamasp* the rose which he had conse-
" crated, which he no sooner smelt, than he knew all things
" that passed, all that had happened from the beginning, and
" which were to happen, and which should happen to the
" day of resurrection. Then *Zerdusht* gave milk in the cup
" to *Bashuten*, the son of *Gushtasp*, who by drinking thereof
" was made *immortal*. As to the fourth thing, *Isphendiyar*,
" having eaten the kernel of the pomegranate, had his body
" rendered as invulnerable as brass. After this the religion
" of *Zerdusht* spread, and was propagated every where, all
" men readily yielding belief thereto, excepting *Argjasp*, king
" of *Touran*, who embraced it not [1]".

The great desire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them, hath doubtless encouraged the *Persees* to propagate a multitude of strange things in relation to *Zerdusht*; the foregoing long

[1] E libr. rariss. cui titul. Shah nama-nesr.

quotation

quotation is sufficient to shew the nature of their notions, and to excuse us from making any farther transcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the story of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as succinctly as we may.

THE two reigning heresies before the birth of *Zerdusht* were *Zabiism* and *Magism*; the latter was far less gross than the former, and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion. For history informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass, that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Persia*, and multitudes, especially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshipping him, living also in continual fear of that evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species, and the continual disturber of the world. *Zerdusht* took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been, by inspiring them with reasonable opinions; he taught them, that the supreme being was independent and self-existent from all eternity, that *light* and *darkness*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general resurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, should go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those who had done evil should suffer with the angel of darkness everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy should ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness should be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the divinity, especially of his wisdom and his justice; in consequence of which he assured them, that they had none to fear but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues he esteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthropy*, and the apostles *brotherly love*, the greatest; for which reason he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times driving them as it were by threatnings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though, according to the

mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations; as for example, when he taught that on the fourth day after death the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mihr-Izad* and *Reshu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass; and in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is into the regions of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished [m]. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a literal account, of what is to happen after death, we suppose, appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be supposed, that *Zerdusht*, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this, taken in a literal sense, *viz.* that a spirit divested of matter should travel over a bridge, lying across hell and leading to heaven; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over safe, or the bad one push him down; this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to insinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to everlasting rest, or project us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book *Sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerdusht* collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter; and in the second it is thus applied; men who believe the religion of *Zerdusht* will be afraid not only of great but of small sins; for since all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that scale the soul is to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right hand, because his all rests on this trial. This is very sound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind is unprejudiced; otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul-supporting bridge*, and the *action-weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerdusht*, not only as a wicked, but as a weak, impostor. But to proceed; he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to

[m] Sad-der, Port. 1.

amend;

amend ; he declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works ; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sad-der*, and which runs in these words : " It is reported of *Zerdusht*, the " author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the pre- " fence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in " *Gehenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking " without. *Zerdusht* thereupon cried out, What is this " that I see, and wherefore is this man in this condition ? " he was answered, This man whom you see in this condi- " tion was formerly the prince of thirty three cities, over " which he reigned many years, without doing any one good " action ; for besides oppression, injustice, pride, and vio- " lence, nothing ever entered his mind ; and though he was " the scourge of multitudes, yet, without regarding their " misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however, " as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot " in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from " food, that it must have perished ; this king, moved at the " sight, alighting from his horse, released the sheep from the " thicket, and led it to the pasture ; now for this act of ten- " derness and compassion his foot remains out of *Gehenna*, " though his whole body be plunged therein for the multi- " tude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all the good " thou canst without fear or apprehension ; for God is be- " nign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good " thou doest [n]." These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of the antient *Persians*, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of *Zerdusht*'s scheme of religion ; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect *Pyræa* or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the divinity might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven, and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests

[n] SAD-DER. Port. 5.

themselves.

themselves. The priests, or, as we stile them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks. The first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerdusht*'s books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendance of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither, with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e.* the high-priest, or, as the *Persians* stiled him, the *Mubad Mubadan*. *Zerdusht* himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life and his extensive knowledge supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour and the same application to study unto his successors. These injunctions were for many ages pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us, *in his time this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the east over the king of kings.* It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerdusht*, whether he was prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

Zerdusht's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, usually pronounced *Zund* and *Zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian* but an exotic word, signifying a *Tinder-box*; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he likewise

likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Persic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persees*, the *Zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world to publish a correct edition of it with a *Latin* translation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity [o]. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, which is the reason, that we have had in *Europe* so many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge at all either of the *Zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Persian*, which is the book *Sad-der*, so often quoted by us from the *Latin* version published by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the antient *Persians*. This learned critic is of opinion, that *Zerdusht* did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, *viz.* the *Zend* and *Pazend*, resembling the *Mishna* and *Gemara* in the *Jewish Talmud*; the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them; but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, *Zerdusht* continued to write them, and to add them to his *Zend-avasta*, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratusht-nama*, i. e. *the history of Zerdusht*, which is no other than his life written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Persian* by the priest who published the book *Sad-der* [p]. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of this book, acknowledges that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by *Zerdusht*, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his sister or his daughter, but his mother;

[o] Histor. veter. Persar. p. 25.

[p] H. R. V. P. c. xxv. xxvi. and

and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise written by an avowed *Persee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo-Judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q]. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the *Persian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof, that *Zerdusht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Persees* at this day is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O).

We will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing, that he is said by credible authors, to have

[q] Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 320.

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of *Zerdusht*'s writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to the *Persees* and oriental nations in general? secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *Zend-avasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees Nosick*, or broadly pronounced *Nusk*, i. e. *a part*. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which it treats. Thus *Parzend*, which is the name of the second treatise signifies, *the prop* or *buttress* of the *Zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *Zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *Zeratusht-nama*, or *the life of Zerdusht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. *Hyde*, who, like a generous man, desired, that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the public, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of *Zerdusht*'s

have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nay farther, it is affirmed, that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist [r] to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshipped our Saviour on account of his star which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht*. Some of the learned indeed, slighting this relation, have fixed on *Balaam*'s prophecy [s], in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that so learned a man as *Hornius* was of opinion, that *Zoroaster* might have been the same person [t]. Far be it from

[r] MATTH. ii. 1. [s] HYDE, H. R. vet. P. p. 384. [t] Hist. Philosoph. lib ii. c. 4. p. 80.

Zerdusht's character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion, are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *Zend-avasta* is called *Bizishk-nama*, i. e. *the Book of Physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his successors in the office of high-priest to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *Zend* is the bible of the *Persees*, so to express a right or just thing, they say *Zend-aver*, i. e. *permitted by the* Zend, and an evil action they call *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *not permitted by the book* Zend. *Zend laph*, signifies *a zealous Persee*, but *Zend chuan*, which literally rendered is a reader of the *Zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *Chacham*, and the *Mohammedans Imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. *Prideaux* is very severe on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their mass (19); but in respect to those things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster*'s writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; *Eusebius* speaks of a collection

(17) *Hist. vet. Pers. c.* xxiv. *p.* 329, 330. (18) *Ibid. p.* 342. (19) *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p.* 309.

from us to countenance any ſuperſtitious ſtories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of *Zerduſht* from ſuch authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumſtance of ſuch conſequence, and ſupported by various teſtimonies. If the diſtruſt of phyſics written by this great man, and quotes from thence the following deſcription of God's attributes, affirming them to be the expreſs words of *Zoroaſter*; "God hath the head of a hawk, he is "the firſt incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indiviſible, moſt like "himſelf, the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be bribed, "the beſt of things good, the wiſeſt of things wiſe; he is more-"over the father of equity and juſtice, ſelf-taught, ſelf-exiſtent, "infinitely perfect, omniſcient, and the ſole ruler of nature (20)". *Suidas* aſcribes to him four books of nature, one of precious ſtones, five of the wiſdom of the ſtars (21). *Pliny* ſays he wrote two millions of verſes, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatiſe on agriculture, and a book of viſions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks* his oracles are the moſt conſiderable, becauſe of them there are ſtill ſome remains, could we be ſure they were genuine; but *Porphyry* ſays expreſly, that ſome chriſtian heretics, boaſting of the ſecret works of *Zoroaſter*, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they ſay, are deceived themſelves, ſince theſe treatiſes are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant ſome reputation by the following account of a manuſcript in his own poſſeſſion; "I was, ſays he, forcibly taken off from other things, and "engaged to ſtudy the *Arabian* and *Chaldean* learning, by certain "books in both thoſe languages, which came to my hands, not ac-"cidentally, but, queſtionleſs, by the diſpoſal of God in favour of "my ſtudies; hear the inſcriptions and you will believe it. Theſe "*Chaldaic* books, if I ought to call them books and not treaſures, "are the oracles of *Zoroaſter*, *Aben-Ezra*, and *Melchior*, magi, in "which thoſe things which are faulty and defective in the *Greek* "are read here perfect and entire. There is alſo an expoſition "by *Chaldaic* wiſe men on theſe oracles, conciſe, and ſomewhat "obſcure indeed, but full of rare myſteries, and curious learning. "There is beſides a book of the *Chaldaic* theology, with a co-"pious and admirable diſcourſe of the wiſdom of the *Perſians*, *Gre-*"*cians*, and *Chaldeans* (24)". *Ficinus*, to whom he directed this letter, found theſe books after his deceaſe, but ſo worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of theſe oracles,

(20) *Euſebius Prepar. Evangel.* (21) *In voce* Ζωροάστρης. (22) *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* xxx. *c.* 1. (23) *In vita Plotini.* (24) *Epiſt. ad Ficinum.*

which

truſt which critics affect to ſhew of all things reported by oriental writers ſhould be ſufficient to overturn the credit of theſe predictions in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault; we are to relate, but in caſes of this nature every man muſt determine for himſelf (P). On the whole we

which eſcaped the injuries of time, were firſt publiſhed at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563, with the commentaries of *Gemiſtus Pletho*; the ſame were afterwards tranſlated, and with the comment of *Pſellus* publiſhed at *Paris* 1607. But *Franciſcus Patricius*, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*, *Hermias*, *Simplicius*, *Damaſius*, and *Arnobius*, ſent them into the world with an accurate tranſlation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. *Stanley* took them, and publiſhed them with the commentaries of *Pletho* and *Pſellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic* philoſophy in 1661 (25).

(P) The wiſdom of the eaſt was not only a ſcripture phraſe, but uſed alſo by the beſt prophane authors, who knew very well, that notwithſtanding the boaſting of the *Greeks*, *ſcience* came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable, opinion, that they were kings who viſited our Saviour in his cradle; though they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of *Perſia*, to enquire for the Meſſiah. That they might come, as ſome have inſiſted, from *Arabia* is true, becauſe *Arabia* lay in their way; but that the magi came from another country than *Perſia*, in which they always flouriſhed, is what cannot eaſily be believed; but that theſe magi or wiſe men went into *Judæa* in purſuance of *Zerduſht*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not ſeen the *Zend-avaſta*, but even without ſeeing it we ſhall be able to juſtify what we have ſaid in the text, and defend ourſelves from the imputation of ſuperſtition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Shariſtani*, whom we have more than once quoted in his hiſtory of the religions of the eaſt, ſays expreſly, that *Zerduſht* propheſied in his *Zend-avaſta*, that in latter times there ſhould ariſe a man called *Oſhanderbegha*, i. e. *Homo Mundi*, which differs little from the title Chriſt often gives himſelf of the *Son* of *Man*, of whom *Zerduſht* propheſied, that he ſhould teach the world true religion and juſtice, that for a time his kingdom ſhould be oppreſſed by the devil; but in the end this righteous perſon ſhall triumph, and ſhall eſtabliſh peace and happineſs upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary paſſage from the travels of Mr. *Tavernier*: "They give, ſays he, three children "to their prophet, and though they have not hitherto appeared "in the world, their names are however ſettled. As he paſſed the

(25) *Vide Preface to the Chaldaic Oracles. ap. Hyde rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxxi. p. 383.*

(26) *Shariſtani*

we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerdusht* and his writings, he stands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person, especially when we reflect, that his ministry was of no long continuance, according to the most

" river, say they, *ab ipso cecidere tres seminis genitalis guttæ*, which " are preserved to the end of the world. That God shall send a " virgin for whom he has a favour into the same water, who, *per* " *receptionem primæ guttæ*, shall be impregnated, and bring forth " a son, who shall be called *Ochder*, he shall appear in the world " with great authority, and shall oblige it to receive the law of his " father, and shall discourse with much eloquence, and confirm what " he says with miracles. The second who shall be called *Ochi-* " *derma*, shall be conceived in the same manner, he shall second " his brother in his designs, and shall assist him in preaching, he " shall stop the course of the sun ten days, to force by that sign " the belief of the people whom he teaches. The third shall be " conceived by the same mother in the same way; his name shall " be *Senoiethotius*, he shall come into the world with greater au- " thority than either of his brothers, that he may reduce all na- " tions to the true religion; after which shall be the general resur- " rection, when the souls in heaven and in hell shall return and take " possession of their bodies, the mountains and all the metals shall " then melt, and sinking into the gulph of hell shall fill it up, so " that the mansions of the devils shall be ruined. After this great " change the earth shall be plain and pleasant, and men shall live " happily therein, praising God and his Prophet (27)". Dr. *Hyde* observes very judiciously, that these three sons represent the three states of the Messiah. His nativity, when his coming was published to the world by various means; his ministry while he continued upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his second advent when he shall judge the world in righteousness, and his saints shall rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is the testimony of the famous *Abul Pharajius*, who writes thus: " *Zorodasht* or *Zerdusht*, the preceptor of the magian sect, began " to teach in *Aderbayagjan*, or as some say in *Assyria*. He taught " the *Persians*, that our Lord Christ would manifest himself, com- " manding them to carry him gifts, telling them that in the latter " times a virgin should conceive without the help of man, and that " when she should bring forth, a star should appear shining in the " day time, in the middle of which the figure of a virgin should be " seen. You therefore, O! my children, having notice of his " birth before all other nations, when ye see that star, follow it,

(27) *Tavern. Voyage. Tom. I. lib.* iv. *p.* 485. (28) *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. c.* xxxi. *p.* 383.

" which

most authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp* to his being slain at the sack of *Balch*; but it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

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"which will direct you to the place where he is born, adore him, "offer him your gifts, for he is that word which established the "heavens (29)". This passage is quoted by Dr *Hyde*, but there is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers; "The same year *Cæsar* the emperor sent *Cyrenius* into *Ju-* "*dæa* in order to tax it. *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, going up "upon this occasion from *Nazareth* to *Jerusalem*, that he might "give in his name, when he came to *Bethlehem* in the way *Mary* "did bring forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from the "east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Be- "ing questioned on this head by *Herod* in their passage, they an- "swered thus: A person of great fame among us, in a book which "he left us, hath thus admonished us: There shall hereafter be "born in *Palestine* a male child descending from heaven, whom the "greatest part of the world shall obey; now the sign of his ap- "pearance shall be this; Ye shall see a strange star which shall di- "rect you till it stops, which when ye shall behold, take ye gold, "myrrh, and frankincense, and offer them to him, and adore him, "then return ye, lest great evil should overtake ye Now there- "fore this star appearing, we come to do as we were commanded "(30)"; a noble testimony surely.

(Q) The death of *Zerdusht* was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impostor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that *Argjasp* overturned the *Fire-temples* erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*, and slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood of the magi (31). Whether this must be understood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large. "Notice, says this writer, being "given to the king of *Touran* by certain merchants, that there "were no soldiers left in *Balch*, all of them having repaired to "the army of *Gushtasp*, and that his father *Lohurasp* was left alone "in that city, with such as attended on the *Pyra*, and eighty "priests; *Argjasp* on this information drew together an army of "fifteen thousand men, sending his son *Kebram* before him, and "following with all expedition himself. It is said, that when "*Argjasp* entered *Iran*, *Lohurasp* receiving advice thereof came out

(29) *Abul Pharajius in Histor Dynast. p.* 83. (30) *Ibid. p.* 110. (31) *Megjdi apud Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p.* 319.

of

The old animoſities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out into a freſh war, while *Guſhtaſp* ſat on the throne of his anceſtors; it is not eaſy to ſay, whether this monarch or *Argjaſp*, who then reigned in *Touran*, was the aggreſſor. *Mirkhond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce *Argjaſp* and his ſubjects to the faith of *Zerduſht*, that prince being, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, a zealous *Zabian*[u], which if he was, we know not how to account for it, ſince it ſhould ſeem, that the old religion of *Perſia* flouriſhed there in the days of *Phridun*; and, as we have ſeen, *Zerduſht* was not the inſtitutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, *Mirkhond* informs us, that *Guſhtaſp* having aſſembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*, and meeting *Argjaſp* in battle he vanquiſhed him, ſlew his ſon in the field, and, before the *Turkiſh* monarch could aſſemble a new army, poſſeſſed himſelf of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, after which returning triumphantly into *Perſia*, he, on ſome jealouſies or ſuſpicion, impriſoned his ſon *Iſphendiyar* in a ſtrong caſtle, ſeated on the top of a high mountain, called *Ghird Kouch*, i. e. *the round mount*; but he had ſoon reaſon to repent the ill uſage of ſo deſerving a prince; for *Argjaſp*, irritated by the uſage he had met with, raiſed all the forces of *Touran*, and making a ſudden inroad into the province of *Choraſan*, he ſacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lohraſp*, the father of *Guſhtaſp*, in his cloiſter, ſlaughtered *Zerduſht* with all his prieſts attending there on the chief *Fire-temple*, which

[u] Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p 321.

" of his retreat, and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall troop, " with whom he killed many of the enemy, but in the end *Lohraſp* with the eighty prieſts before mentioned was ſlain, and the " holy fire extinguiſhed with their blood; with theſe prieſts alſo " fell *Zerduſht* the prophet, who then reſided at *Balch* (32)." Hence it came to paſs, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Aſſyrian Zoroaſter*, that he deſired to die by fire from heaven, and adviſed his countrymen to preſerve his aſhes, aſſuring them, that while they were kept their kingdom ſhould never fail (33). All which the *Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Perſian Zoroaſter* or our *Zerduſht* (34). Of theſe fables we have ſaid enough, perhaps too much, already.

(32) *In Shahnama-neſr. ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Perſar. p.* 325.
(33) *Ubi ſupra.* (34) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 89.

he

he likewiſe overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind ſtung with the remembrance of what the *Perſian* king had done in his own country could ſuggeſt [w]. Elate with this conqueſt, he advanced ſo briſkly into the dominions of *Iran* that *Guſhtaſp* did not think fit to meet him in battle, but choſe rather to conſider how an army might be drawn together, able to fight that of *Argjaſp* on his return. His counſellors adviſed him to ſet his ſon *Iſphendiyar* at liberty, and to intruſt him with the management of the war. Neceſſity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly ſent his brother *Gjamaſp* to *Iſphendiyar*, not only to releaſe him, but alſo to aſſure him, that his father would reſign to him the throne, in caſe he proved victorious. As ſoon as *Iſphendiyar* arrived in the army, the *Perſians* took new courage, and numbers reſorted to his ſtandard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make uſe of theſe advantages, and coming ſuddenly on *Argjaſp*, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Perſia*, and make all the haſte he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory *Guſhtaſp* received his ſon with all imaginable marks of kindneſs and eſteem; however, he declined putting him in poſſeſſion of the crown, and in order to amuſe him, he obſerved, that it would be unbecoming ſo brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his ſiſters, who were taken priſoners at the ſack of *Balch*, remained ſtill in captivity. *Iſphendiyar* piqued at this pretence of his father, which ſhewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, that noble youth immediately determined to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuſe left for the non-performance of his promiſe. With this view he ſelected out of his army 12,000 foot, and as many horſe, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother *Baſhuten*, who was elder than himſelf. Having received intelligence, that *Argjaſp* was retired to one of the ſtrongeſt places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and eaſy fit for the caravans, but ſo round about, that it required no leſs than ſix months time to reach the place; the ſecond pretty difficult, but ſo direct, that by it a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month; the third, which was hardly paſſable, lay through woods and moraſſes, and afterwards over high mountains covered with ſnow. *Iſphendiyar* having directed his brother to advance as expedi-

[w] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. ſect. xvi. LEBTARIK.

tiouſly

tiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of *Argjasp*, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in those meadows, he should order his horse to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. *Isphendiyar* and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of *Touran*. The prince being introduced to *Argjasp* as a merchant who fled from the severity of *Isphendiyar*, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of *Touran*; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to *Isphendiyar*'s wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was apprised, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to *Bastuten*, who at the head of his horse suddenly charged the *Turks*, and made themselves masters of the city. *Isphendiyar*, and those who were about him, dispatched without delay the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjasp* king of *Touran*. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother *Bastuten*, he advised him to retire with part of his forces into *Persia*, while he with the rest marched against several *Indian* princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerdusht*, in which expedition *Isphendiyar* had prodigious success, and returned afterwards into *Persia*, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Istachr*, he expected, that his father would without delay perform the promise, he had so solemnly made and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politic *Gushtasp* intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his own great abilities, and the laudable

laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that there was ſtill one enemy left to be ſubdued, even in the heart of his dominions, *viz. Ruſtan*, who, having fortified himſelf in the provinces committed to his charge, abſolutely refuſed to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zerduſht*. *Guſhtaſp* inſinuated, that it was neceſſary for *Iſphendiyar* to reduce this nobleman before he aſſumed the diadem, ſince otherwiſe he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous *Iſphendiyar* ſet out for *Sigjiſtan*, carrying with him his ſon *Bahaman*; on their arrival there *Ruſtan* met him and conferred with him at firſt with great civility and reſpect; but when the prince inſiſted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and profeſſing immediately the faith of *Zerduſht*, *Ruſtan* grew angry, and from hard words they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great ſtrength and agility of body, as well as of high ſpirit and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful; at laſt it inclined to *Iſphendiyar*, but *Ruſtan*, collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince ſo deep a wound that he died upon the ſpot, having only time to recommend his ſon to *Ruſtan*, and to deſire his brother *Baſhuten* to take care of his body; both his requeſts were exactly complied with, *Baſhuten* carried back his body into *Perſia*, where it received the higheſt funeral honours. and *Ruſtan* carefully ſent home his ſon. *Guſhtaſp* was inconſolable for the death of ſo deſerving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the neceſſity of the ſtate; for the new king of *Touran* no ſooner heard what had happened in *Perſia*, than raiſing a great army he invaded that kingdom, and waſted it without mercy with fire and ſword. *Guſhtaſp*, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all poſſible diligence to oppoſe him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, conſtrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now reſtored, *Guſhtaſp*, to ſhew the reſpect he had for his ſon's memory, reſigned the crown to *Bahaman* the ſon of *Iſphendiyar*, and, according to the example ſet him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleaſure-houſe he had erected not far from *Schiras*, a palace of ſuch ſuperb architecture, that in after-times, as *Mirkhond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon*, the ſon of *David*, to expreſs its excellence*. In all probability it ſtood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind

* MIRKHOND. hiſt. xvi.

the famous palace of *Persepolis*, is held to be the sepulchre of the antient *Persian* kings. We have seen from various instances, that it was a common thing among the *Persian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that *Gushtasp* was the *Hystaspes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellinus* says of the latter to this retreat. "*Hystaspes*, says this historian, "was a most wise person, who boldly penetrating into the "inner parts of upper *India*, came to a woody desert, whose "calm silence was possessed by those high wits the *Brach-* "*mans*; from these he learned the true system of the heaven- "ly bodies and their motions, and the pure rites of true "religion, with which knowledge he returned into *Persia*, "and taught it to the magi, amongst whom it has by tradi- "tion been preserved even to this time"[y]. But perhaps, admitting *Gushtasp* and *Hystaspes* to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are some *Persian* writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what from an antient *Persian* historian we cited, as to *Zerdusht*'s promising king *Gushtasp* to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not *Gushtasp*, but his son *Bashuten*, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this *Bashuten*, in conformity to the prophet's promise, was transported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sal-armoniac issuing from all sides of the mountain [z]. Our famous traveller, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it without meeting any such steams; he acknowledges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon, and that in the night some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the sulphur [a]; but the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to sal-armoniac, but the doctor confesses, not only that the history of *Bashuten* is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort related of *Gushtasp* are likewise unworthy of belief [b]. We may with to-

[y] Ammian. Marcel. hist. lib. xxiii. [z] Hyde, hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. xxiii. p. 306. [a] Herbert's Travels. p. 112.
[b] Hyde, R. vet. P. ubi. supra.

lerable

lerable certainty affirm, that the reign of *Guſhtaſp* was the reign of learning in *Perſia*. In his time flouriſhed a celebrated aſtrologer whoſe name was *Gjamaſp*, ſurnamed, according to the oriental cuſtom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wiſe* or *the ſage*. That ſuch a perſon there was, and that he flouriſhed about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; ſome have made him the ſon of *Daniel* the prophet [c]; others the counſellor of king *Guſhtaſp*; but the greater number, and thoſe too of the moſt credible writers, ſay, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only ſo, but his confidant and chief miniſter [d]. The ſcience for which he was particularly famous was aſtrology, and from his ſkill therein he is ſaid to have predicted the coming of the Meſſiah. Some treatiſes under his name are yet current in the eaſt, of which the reader will meet with ſome account at the bottom of the page (R).

Bahaman,

[c] CHALIL. SUPHI. ap. HYDE, R. vet. P. p. 385. [d] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. LEBTARIK.

(R) Dr. *Hyde*, ſpeaking of the philoſopher mentioned in our text, citis a paſſage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author aſſerted, there had been among the *Perſians* ten doctors of ſuch conſummate wiſdom, as the whole world could not boaſt the like; then he gives the author's words, to the ſenſe following: "Of theſe the ſixth was *Gjamaſp*, an aſtrologer, who "was counſellor to *Hyſtaſpes*. He is the author of a book entitled, "*Judicia Gjamaſpis*, in which is contained his judgment on the "planetary conjunctions. And therein he gave notice, that *Jeſus* "ſhould appear, that *Mohammed* ſhould be *born*, that the *Magian* "religion ſhould be aboliſhed, &c. nor did any aſtrologer ever "come up to him (35)". Of this book there is an *Arabic* verſion, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philoſopher* Gjamaſp, *containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them.* This verſion was made by *Lali*, the title he gave it in *Arabic* was *Al Keranat*, and he publiſhed it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his verſion it is ſaid, that after the times of *Zeroaſter* or *Zerduſht* reigned *Guſhtaſp* the ſon of *Lohraſp*, a very powerful prince, who poſſeſſed not only *Iran* but *Touran* and *Habaſchia*; i. e. *Æthiopia*, that in his reign flouriſhed, in the city of *Balch* on the borders of *Charaſan*, a moſt excellent philoſopher, whoſe name was *Gjamaſp*, author of this book, wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this aſtrologer, and which were to happen in ſucceeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new

(35) *E Lib. Muj. p. 227. ap Hyde. R. vet. P. cap.* xxxi. *p.* 385.

Bahaman. *Bahaman*, the son of *Isphendiyar*, succeeded his grand-father *Gushtasp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before

religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece stiles *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster, our Prophet* (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a *Science*, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be easily proved if this were a proper place. To say the truth, the very terms in use among astrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are most of them either *Arabic* or *Persic*; and for this reason *Chaldæa*, the mistress of our western astrology, was in antient times always in the possession either of the one or the other of these nations. The notion of predicting the rise and progress of religions from the grand conjunctions of the planets has been likewise propagated in our western parts; *Cardan* was a bold asserter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himself, we are pretty certain, that his scholar *Vaninus* actually thought of subverting the belief of the gospel dispensation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominacy to the influence of the stars (37). The modern *Persians* are still great votaries to this sort of knowledge; but they distinguish between astronomy and astrology, they stile the former *Elm-nejoum*, i. e. *the science of the stars*, and the latter *Este-Krag*, i. e. *the revelation of the stars*; they have, however, but one word to express astronomer and astrologer, *viz. Manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the *Greek* word *Astrologos*. Of all the provinces of *Persia Choraſan* is the most famous for producing great men in that art, and in *Choraſan* there is a little town called *Genabed*, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years past has produced the most famous astrologers in *Persia*; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of *Genabed*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time for these sages amounted to six millions of *French* livres *per Annum*, which shews how highly these sort of people are yet esteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the transcendent skill of the antient professors of that art, the author just now mentioned gives us a singular instance in the history of *Alkendi*, a Jew, who was professor of judicial astrology at *Bagdad* in the caliphat of *Almamoun*. Against this *Jewish* astrologer all the *Mohammedans* had a very great spleen; one more hardy than the rest resolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to dispossess him of the caliph's esteem; to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's presence, he asked him why he took upon himself to know more in astrology than other people? *Because I know* replied Alkendi *what you know not, and you know not what*

(36) *D' Herbelot. Biol. Orient. Art. Giamap.* (37) *In Amphitheatr. & Dialog.*

I know.

fore we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is neceſſary that we ſhould ſettle his name. *Mirkhond* calls him as we do *Bahaman*,

I know. This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor ſo much, that he would needs make a trial of his boaſted knowledge in the ſight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himſelf, and ſat down therein with his books and inſtruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at laſt took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after ſeeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph, deſiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his ſkill, by telling what was written in his paper; to which the other after a little time anſwered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper found this to be true. And this adventure ſpread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the eaſt. It happened there was then reſident in the college at *Balch* a young ſtudent of bright parts, who had been ſcholar to the *Mohammedan* ſage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed. He was ſo much piqued at the diſhonour done his maſter, that as ſoon as he heard this ſtory he bought himſelf a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *Engliſh* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad* on purpoſe to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this laſt-mentioned city, he inquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the public ſchools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a ſtudent come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midſt of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full ſtop, and turning his eyes on this ſtranger, addreſſed him thus; I know who you are, and to what purpoſe you come Your name is *Albumazar* (the true orthography is *Abu Ma'o Shar*) and you will become one of the greateſt aſtrologers of time; but then you muſt lay aſide the bloody deſign which brought you hither, and you muſt throw into the midſt of the ſchool that poignard which you carried on purpoſe to kill me. *Albumazar* ſtruck at this ſpeech, firſt threw down his poignard, and then himſelf, at the feet of *Alkendi*; thenceforward he applied himſelf ſtrictly to the ſtudy of aſtrology, and became, as that ſage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unneceſſary digreſſion; but we had our reaſons for inſerting it. We were ſpeaking of *Gjamaſp*'s predicting the coming of Chriſt. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the ſame thing from *Albumazar*, his words are theſe: "In the ſphere of *Perſia*, ſaith *Abenezra*, there ariſeth upon the face of the ſign *Virgo* a beautiful "maiden, ſhe holding two ears of corn in her hand, and a child "in her arms, ſhe feedeth him, and giveth him ſuck, &c. This "maiden, ſaith *Albumazar*, we call *Adreneleſa*, *the pure virgin*.

(38) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p.* 203.

She

Bahaman, and ſays, that he had two ſurnames, the one *Diraxdeſt*, i. e. *long-hand*, becauſe his right hand was longer than his left, and the other *Ardſhir* on this account; when his mother was big with this ſon, there came a great aſtrologer to the court of *Guſhtaſp* his grandfather, and addreſſing himſelf to *Iſphendiyar*, preſented him a ſmall baſket, which he told him was for the uſe of the ſon that ſhould be born to him, upon opening it there was found a veſſel full of milk and a little flour, the perſon who brought it alledging by way of excuſe, that his circumſtances did not allow him to bring any thing better. *Iſphendiyar* and his ſpouſe were ſo much ſatisfied with the preſent, that they took from thence the name of their ſon, *Ard* ſignifying *Flour*, and *Shir Milk*, in their ancient language; hence it came to paſs, that this prince was better known by his ſurnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental hiſtories *Ardſhir Diraxdeſt*, and by the *Greeks Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is repreſented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre; he was ſo ſolicitous for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice to all his ſubjects, that he ſent ſome favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he ſent for them into his preſence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or elſe puniſhed what they had done amiſs according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſummoned the ſtates of his kingdom, whom he addreſſed in terms full of tenderneſs and love; he told them, that he had aſſumed the regal dignity, not

" She bringeth up a child in a place which is called *Abrie* (the *He-*
" *brew* land) and the child's name is called *Eiſi (Jeſus)*. This
" was enough to make *Albertus Magnus* believe that our Saviour
" Chriſt was born in *Virgo*, and therefore cardinal *Alliac* erecting
" our Lord's nativity by his deſcription, caſteth this ſign into the
" horoſcope. But that was not the meaning of *Albumazar*. His
" meaning was (ſaith friar *Bacon*) *Quod beata Virgo nata fuit,*
" *quando ſol fuit in Virgine, & ita habetur ſignatum in Calendario,*
" *& quod nutriet filium ſuum in terra* Hebræorum. *That the ſaid*
" *virgin was born, the ſun being in that ſign, as alſo we have it ſet*
" *down in the calendar, and that ſhe was to bring up her ſon in the*
" Hebrew *land* (39)". The reader is to obſerve, that *Albumazar* wrote expreſly from the antient *Perſic* aſtrologers, it may be from the very works of *Gjamaſp*, which induced this note.

(39) *Mr. John Gregory's notes on various paſſages of ſcripture, p.* 152.

to

to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong ſteps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely cenſure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depoſe him, for he ſaid, that kings ought to be public bleſſings, and that ſuch as were not ſo ought not to wear the title. The ſtates, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they deſired, ſeparated, and going into their reſpective provinces, carried with them the higheſt ſentiments of duty and reſpect for ſo deſerving a prince. *Ardſhir* or *Bahaman* took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in *Iran*, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every where in a flouriſhing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjiſtan* and *Kabul* to his eſtates; and to this end he raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched into the territories of *Ruſtan*, whither he was no ſooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his ſon *Feramorz* had taken poſſeſſion of his government, and was marching to oppoſe him with a great army. The king of *Perſia*, being deſirous that the war ſhould have a ſpeedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the ſucceſs he could deſire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the ſpot. He took likewiſe *Zal-zer*, the father of *Ruſtan*, priſoner, and returned triumphantly into *Perſia*, after obliging the inhabitants of thoſe provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful lord. *Mirkhond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Ruſtan*, which happened a little before this war commenced; he had, according to this hiſtorian, a brother whoſe name was *Chajal*, whom he ſent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it ſo happened, that *Chajal* fell deſperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of moſt accompliſhed beauty and of the rareſt qualifications; the governor, obſerving how much the young man was ſmitten, gave him all the interruption poſſible in his amour, until he promiſed to do for him whatever he deſired, provided he might have his daughter; *Chajal* having promiſed this, the governor propoſed to him the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might ſecure to himſelf the abſolute poſſeſſion of his own territories by putting him to death, to which *Chajal*, for the ſake of his miſtreſs, aſſented. On his return home, diſcourſing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of *Kabul*, whom he

he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. *Rustan*, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces; but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Rustan*'s temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor of *Kabul* into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend and this treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and most humbly besought *Rustan*'s pardon, which *Rustan* having given him, the governor entreated, him to rest that night at his house, which was but a small distance from them; when they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way, and *Rustan* and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Rustan*, being apprised of their treachery, intreated one of the governors attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts; the man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands, whereupon *Rustan* drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity, that he struck the treacherous governor and his perfidious brother each to his heart, dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the *Persian* historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and support of his country and of its kings; but we shall shew in the note below, that this story of the life and adventures of *Rustan* must not be understood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces formerly

(S) The title of this section is *the* history *of* Persia, *according to the* oriental writers. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians; but it does not follow, that we must either believe ourselves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the best *Persian* historians, and it is not impossible, that we may sometime mistake their meaning. For example, we know that *Apheraſiab*, king of *Touran*, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that conntry were stiled *Apheraſiab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaoh*, and the kings of the *Philiſtines* were intituled *Abimelech*. But then the same difficulty recurs

as

merly held by the hero we have juſt now mentioned, *Bahaman*, or *Ardſhir*, extended his empire on all ſides; ſome hiſtorians

as to *Ruſtan*. His father *Zal-zer* lived to be carried away priſoner by *Bahaman*, of whoſe reign we are now ſpeaking, he muſt then have been near ſeven hundred years old, and *Ruſtan*, who was lately dead, muſt have been greatly upwards of ſix hundred; theſe are incredible things, and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that, notwithſtanding the *Perſian* hiſtorians ſpeak all as of one man, there was a ſucceſſion of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjiſtan*, and called from their famous anceſtor *Ruſtan*. Something of this ſort we meet with in ſcripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their hoſt are ſtiled *Phicol* (40). What renders our conjecture ſtill the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a ſucceſſion of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a ſuſpicion, that we ſwallow without conſideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we ſhall have cloſed our hiſtory of the *Perſian* kings, natives of that country, we ſhall, as we have promiſed, give a large account of the chronology of theſe times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumſtances, which we have not had occaſion to inſert in the text, as to the family of which we were juſt now ſpeaking. The author of the *Guliſtan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his ſon *Ruſtan* this caution. *Never deſpiſe an enemy, however impotent he may ſeem at preſent, for a ſtream, which will ſcarce bear a ſtraw at its ſource, grows in its courſe ſtrong enough to carry away a camel and its burden* (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums beſtowed by the oriental romance writers on our hero *Ruſtan*. Of all his exploits none, however, furniſhes them with ſo much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with *Iſphendiyar*. Theſe ſtories were ſo pleaſant in themſelves, ſo agreeably embelliſhed by thoſe who took them for their theme, that they gave no ſmall interruption to *Mohammed* in his ſettling his new religion. It ſeems there was one *Neſſer* who had been in *Perſia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Ruſtan*'s combats with *Iſphendiyar*, he vehemently oppoſed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended miſſion, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with theſe ſtories, which had ſuch an affect, that when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an old ſtory; there is no great matter in this; it is not half ſo pleaſant as the ſtories of* Neſſer, which provoked the pretended prophet very much; and put him upon curſing this *Neſſer* violently as an enemy to God

(40) Geneſ. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26.

(41) *D' Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Zal.*

torians say, that *Kiresh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, *viz.* the great kindness which this prince expressed for the *Jews*; some have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son whose name was *Sassan*, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our *Persian* history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of *Dirazdest* derived from thence, *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* died, and left his empire to his wife *Homai*, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of

and the true religion (42). It is to these stories of *Nesser*'s, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following passage of his *Koran*: "There is with God great "reward for the righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God, "he shall remove your enemies far from you, and pardon your sins, "his goodness is infinite. The wicked have conspired against thee "to punish and slay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God hath "rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he knoweth all the designs "of conspirators. When his miracles were related to them and "his commandments taught them, they said we have heard them; "we had said the like things, had we so inclined; it is but a song "and a fable of old men: Remember thou how they said, My "God, if what *Mahomet* declareth be true, cause a shower of flint "stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise us; he shall not "chastise them when thou art with them, neither when they beg "pardon of him; who is he that is able to hinder God to punish "them? They are not in his grace when they hinder true be-"lievers to enter the temple of *Mecca*, he protecteth only such "as have his fear before his eyes, but most of them understand it "not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand in hand in "the temple, but shall one day feel the punishment of God be-"cause of their iniquity (43)."

(42) *Ibid. Art. Alcoran.* (43) *Koran. cap. Alsan. i. e. Of the booty.*

this

this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be ſhut*[c].

Homai or *Khamani*, about five months after her acceſſion to the throne, brought forth a ſon of wonderful beauty. According to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the aſtrologers were conſulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it ſeems, were unanimouſly of opinion, that his fate would by no means correſpond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himſelf, for which reaſon they adviſed that he ſhould be immediately deſtroyed. The tenderneſs of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counſels, and yet her love for her country extended ſo far, that ſhe determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it thoſe miſchiefs the aſtrologers had threatened. With this view ſhe cauſed a little wooden ark or cheſt to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious ſtones, and then ſuffered the veſſel to ſail down the *Gihon* or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came at laſt within the view of a poor man waſhing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He ſtruck with the novelty of beholding a cheſt on the water, took pains to draw it on ſhore, and was mightily ſurpriſed on finding therein a child with things of ſuch value, not doubting but it was the deſcendant of ſome great family. He carried it with the precious ſtones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion that it was the ſon of ſome perſon of diſtinction, bred it up with as much tenderneſs and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found; *Dar* ſignifying *a wooden veſſel*, and *Ab water*. When this child was grown up to ſuch an age as required its learning ſome trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy ſhewed a viſible reluctance thereto, and appeared to have a ſtrong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, ſtrained his abilities to the utmoſt to furniſh the young *Darab* with an equipage neceſſary to his ſerving in the army, then raiſed for the reduction of *Roumeſtan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but *Darab* performed therein ſuch extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Perſian* nobility had ſerved, yet none had attained to ſo high a reputa-

Homai.

[c] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. ſect xvii. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. BAHAMAN.

tion as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that she would needs see him. *Darab* upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was *Darab*, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little chest, and that from thence they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen, having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people[f]. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions *Istachr*; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and is the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s choosing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they alledge, that *Gushtasp* having erected several *Pyræa* or *Fire-temples*, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together, and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called *Semrim* or *Semirah*, whence a famous *Persian* author hath been led to think, that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity[g]. The author

[f] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xviii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Homai.
[g] Tarik. Montekebh.

of

of another *Perſian* chronicle is ſo far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or ſo famous a queen of *Perſia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his hiſtory of the *Perſian* monarchs of the dynaſty of the *Kainites* [h]. *Mirkond*, however, aſſures us, that ſhe reigned thirty two years, and then reſigned the crown to her ſon *Darab* [i] (T).

[h] TARIKCOZIDEH. [i] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra.

(T) The oriental hiſtories mention various queens who flouriſhed and did great things in their reſpective countries, and yet are little known to us in the weſt. If we conſider what the *Perſian* hiſtorians ſay of her building the glorious palace at *Iſtachr*, we ſhall find it not ſo improbable as at firſt ſight it may ſeem. We have ſhewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Guſhtaſp* arts and ſciences flouriſhed exceedingly in *Perſia*; his grandſon and ſucceſſor *Bahaman* muſt have carried them ſtill higher, for he was very ſucceſsful in all his wars, and after he had finiſhed them applied himſelf to the adorning his country with ſtately buildings, as *Mirkhond* expreſsly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was alſo a potent and ſucceſsful princeſs, ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh her fame by erecting ſo magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; ſhe might adorn this new-raiſed palace of hers with the ſpoils brought by her immediate predeceſſors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and as to the grand proceſſion which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be ſuppoſed to repreſent the homage paid to *Bahaman* or *Ardſhir* by the ſtates of *Perſia*, when he aſſembled them in the firſt year of his reign, and ſubmitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their cenſure? That he did this, *Mirkhond* affirms, and that they were profuſe in their expreſſions of gratitude and loyalty on that occaſion. What more noble tranſaction could this princeſs chooſe, than this recognition of her huſband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as deſcent, by a generous and wiſe people. But let this proceſſion be what it will, it may as well be placed here as any-where elſe, and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticiſms can furniſh us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Perſian* hiſtorians. As to the modern *Perſians*, they, as we have here before obſerved, ſpeak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon* and the fairies, have nothing to offer againſt queen *Homai*'s being the founder of that ſtupendous fabric, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*, though, if we may truſt Dr. *Hyde*, its old *Perſic* name was *Hazar-ſutun*, i. e. *a thouſand columns* (44).

(44) *H. R. Vet. P. cap.* xxiii. *p.* 304.

Darab,

Darab. *Darab*, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Perſian* writer, that the young *Darab*, being one day at the water-ſide with his ſuppoſed father, addreſſed himſelf thus to the dyer: "I ſhould be very glad if you would tell me "the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine, from the "averſion I have to this buſineſs, and from my contempt "of all manual labour, that I am not really your ſon, as you "have hitherto made me believe." "Whoever, ſaid the "dyer, beheld a ruby and ſuppoſed it dropt from a common "ſtone, might conceive that a youth of your ſhining parts "was what till this time you have paſſed for, the ſon of a "fuller." "Whatever my parts may be, returned *Darab*, "I ſhould be much pleaſed to hear, without either allego-"ries or metaphors, who I am to ſuppoſe myſelf, and whe-"ther that ſpirit of ambition which I feel in my breaſt ought "to be checked or cheriſhed; upon this the honeſt old man "related to him all he knew, which as ſoon as *Darab* heard, "he demanded the jewels, and having received them went "directly to the army, and applying himſelf to the com-"mander in chief, told him all that his reputed father had "related." The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Greeks*, he therefore gave no anſwer to *Darab*, but adviſed him to keep his own counſel, and to ſerve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which inſtructions of his he exactly purſued, and behaved with ſuch prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave eaſy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, preſented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her ſon. Which of theſe ſtories is true, or which comes neareſt the truth, we pretend not to determine. All hiſtorians agree, that he aſcended the throne as the ſon of *Bahaman* or *Ardſhir*, and that he gave the higheſt proofs of his royal deſcent by his wife and gentle adminiſtration. His valour had been ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed before he aſcended the throne, he ſuffered it not to ruſt after he aſſumed the royal dignity; for at the ſame time he loved juſtice, and took care to have it exactly adminiſtred throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewiſe a munificent patron of arts and ſciences, eaſy of addreſs, eloquent in ſpeech, and one of the moſt humane princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. On ſome account or other he found it neceſſary to turn his arms on *Filikous*, that is *Philip*, king of *Macedon*; at firſt by his captains, and at laſt in perſon with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Philip*, being

being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept ſuch terms as *Darab* thought fit to impoſe; and they were theſe; that the king of *Macedon* ſhould pay yearly the ſum of forty thouſand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and ſhould give his daughter, one of the handſomeſt princeſſes in *Greece* to *Darab* for a wife, which was accordingly done. The very firſt night that *Darab* paſſed with his new ſpouſe, he found her breath ſo offenſive, that he reſolved to ſend her back to her father, notwithſtanding that, as ſome writers ſay, ſhe was with child. After the *Macedonian* war was over, *Darab* applied himſelf wholly to the arts of peace, and to the ſettling ſuch things as were ſtill in diſorder, and inventing new methods for giving eaſe and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects. Amongſt other wiſe and glorious acts of this good prince, the ſettling poſts throughout all *Perſia* is particularly recorded, which he executed with ſuch ſkill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers ſetting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleaſant and beautiful city in proper *Perſia* on which he beſtowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*, i. e. *Mount Darab*, in the middle of which roſe a hill in ſhape of a tent or a pavilion, and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing ſalt of various colours, tranſported from thence into all the provinces of *Perſia*; he likewiſe erected another city called *Khourch*, and after a reign of four years, according to *Mirkhond* [k], of fourteen, ſays another writer [l], and of twelve, ſays a third [m], he died univerſally lamented, and left the crown to his ſon (V).

Darab

[k] Hiſt. ſect. xix. [l] TARIKH MONTEKEBH. [m] LEB-TARIKH.

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an hiſtorian, that in his writings he ſhould forget his country, or rather, that he ſhould lay aſide that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the *Perſian* hiſtorians, as we have ſaid in our text, repreſent *Darab* moralizing in his laſt moments, and reading a lecture on the viciſſitudes of this world with his expiring breath, cloſing all with paſſionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would uſe his ſubjects kindly, and take his daughter *Rouſchengh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, ſo truly a prince, even in the ſight of death? The *Greek* writers on the other hand make *Darius* moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was ſo ſtruck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his ſceptre rather with admiration than diſguſt. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this ſubject, and we ſhall be conſtrained to own, that the deſire of making all facts contribute as far as poſſible to the glory

Darab II. *Darab* the ſecond, or the younger, ſurnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young to the crown, and what was much worſe, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince; he was of an ill diſpoſition, haughty, brutal, falſe and cruel, properties which rendered him in a ſhort time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Perſians*, unuſed to ſuch treatment; entered into private negotiations with *Aſcander*, the ſon of *Filikous*, that is *Alexander the Great*, the ſon of *Philip*, whom many of the *Perſian* writers believe to have been the ſon of *Darab* the firſt by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he ſent back becauſe of her ſtinking breath, and perſuaded him to enter *Perſia* with an army, promiſing him to join with him as ſoon as he arrived with a force ſufficient to protect them, and to put him in poſſeſ-

glory of one's country is not peculiar to *Perſian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us, that *Darius* was a long time of opinion that he owed his ſucceſſes to fortune; but when he underſtood the truth, he ſaid, "Well, I do not "yet perceive the condition of the *Perſians* ſo deplorable, ſince the "world can never tax us now with imbecility or effeminacy, whoſe "fate it was to be vanquiſhed by ſuch a perſon. Therefore my "prayers ſhall be to the gods for his proſperity, and that he may "ſtill be victorious in war, to the end that in well doing I may "ſurpaſs *Alexander*. For my emulation and ambition lead me in "point of honour to ſhew myſelf more cordial and friendly than "he. If then the father have otherwiſe determined of me and "mine, O *Jupiter*, preſerver of the *Perſians*, and you his equal "deities, to whom the care of kings belong, hear your ſuppliant, "and ſuffer none but *Alexander* to ſit upon the throne of *Cyrus* "(45)." One may ſafely ſay, that there is as juſt ground to ſuſpect this paſſage of forgery as any of the romantic ſtories in the *Perſian* authors. *Darius* worſhipped no God but the true God; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; and it does not appear, that even after *Alexander* conquered *Perſia*, he eſtabliſhed the ſuperſtitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to uſe his ſubjects well, is credible; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waſte his empire, is a ſtroke of *Greek* eloquence which may pleaſe us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digeſted for hiſtory. We muſt therefore bear with the *Perſians* as well as the *Greeks*, ſeek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or diſguiſing her to ſerve a turn.

(45) *Plutarch de fortuna Alexand.*

ſion

ſion of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they adviſed *Aſcander* to refuſe payment of the tribute which his father had agréed to ſend annually into *Perſia*; and with theſe negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab*, finding that *Aſcander* did not ſend his tribute as uſual, ſent an ambaſſador to demand it; to whom *Aſcander* anſwered, that thoſe who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others ſay, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which ſignified at once a piece of corn and an egg, *Aſcander* anſwered *Darab*'s ambaſſador in deriſion, when he demanded a mighty ſum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid thoſe eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burdened his ſubjects with this tribute. This anſwer terribly provoked *Darab*, who, to ſhew at once his reſentment and contempt of ſo weak an enemy, ſent a ſecond ambaſſador with a harſh meſſage, accompanied with a preſent, more expreſſive of his maſter's ſentiments than any ſpeech or letter could have been; this preſent was a little caſquet, containing a *dibble*, or *planting ſtick*, a bag full of ſmall ſtones, and another full of ſmall coin; the firſt to intimate that he was young and inconſiderate, and that he had better employ himſelf in his gardens than in matters of ſtate; the ſecond ſhewing the power and ſtrength of the *Perſian* nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a raſh, imprudent thing, for ſuch a petty prince as he to oppoſe ſo great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambaſſador with his preſent found *Aſcander* on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his maſter any anſwer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous, but they were all choſen men, ſuch as were valiant in their perſons, and at the ſame time enured to hardſhips. On his entering *Aſia* he met with little oppoſition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived againſt *Darab*, and partly from the generoſity of *Aſcander*'s behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but ſubjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, adviſed him not to hazard a battle, but rather to conſent to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding ſome menaces at the cloſe. *Aſcander* returned him for anſwer, that empires were beſtowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayagjan*,

where he defeated one of *Darab*'s captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done this he advanced into *Ghilan*; this province, according to *Mirkhond*, was in old times a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants *Endsafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the *Caspian* sea on one side, and their easy correspondence with *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *Armenia* lying round them. This country *Ascander* quickly subdued; from thence he marched into the heart of *Persia*, where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle, *Ascander* carried the victory, and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the *Persians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedlessly were drowned; at last a ford was discovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but the soldiers who followed him crowding one another, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to a place of safety he sent once more ambassadors to *Ascander* to treat of peace, offering in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to *Greece*, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions; at the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched ambassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance, that he might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another complete victory, *Darab* flying with a few of his captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab*'s fortress, and found him in his last agonies, which sight so touched the *Greek*, that, melting

melting into tears and holding up his hands to heaven, he proteſted, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleaſure in, ſo execrable a deed. The dying king expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, aſſured him, that he thoroughly believed all he ſaid, beſought him to chaſtiſe the traitors by whoſe hands he died, and intreated him to eſpouſe his daughter *Rouſchengh*, and not to put the ſeveral provinces of the empire under the direction of ſtrangers, with all which *Aſcander* promiſed to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the miſery of human life and the inconſtancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by *Mirkhond*, yielded up the ghoſt after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the moſt part the author laſt mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that, in compliance with *Darab*'s laſt requeſt, *Aſcander* or *Alexander* appointed for the governors of *Perſia* natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this diſpoſition, and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Ariſtotle*, whom this writer calls his vizier, adviſed him to leave things as they ſtood, and not to remove any of the *Perſian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces [n]. It is very certain, that this circumſtance is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, agreeable to truth: *Ariſtotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of ſtate, except in general terms; otherwiſe it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, ſince it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and eaſy; and would alſo have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always profeſſed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a deſire of behaving as an univerſal parent towards thoſe over whom, as an univerſal monarch, he ſought the power of ruling; at leaſt, this is the idea *Plutarch* [o] would give us of him, as well as *Ariſtotle*, who, though a philoſopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than moſt of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticiſe, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect,

[n] IAHIA AL CASVINI in LEBTARIKH. [o] De fortuna Alexand.

(W) That *Alexander* ſhould promiſe a dying monarch whatever he demanded ſeems perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eaſtern and weſtern authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquiſhed. That *Ariſtotle* gave him general

expect, that we ſhould here put an end to this ſection, eſpecially ſince he has already ſeen the hiſtory of *Perſia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But ſo it is, that in order to purſue the ſcheme laid down in the title of this ſection, we are bound to carry on our hiſtory to the death of *Alexander*; for, as we have ſhewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to ſave the credit of the *Aſiatics*, have pretended, that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of *Alexander*, not ſo much by conqueſt as by right; in this light therefore *Alexander* was the laſt monarch of the *Dynaſty* of the *Kainites*, and his reign conſequently ought as much to be taken notice of here as the reigns of any of his predeceſſors [P]. *Alexander*,

[P] Mirkhond. ſect. xx, xxi. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Darab, Escander.

precepts as to government we may eaſily believe; and if the authority of *Plutarch* hath due weight, we ſhall conceive the expedition of *Alexander* againſt the *Perſians* to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philoſopher to civiliſe all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to ſwallow this; we ſhall therefore, inſtead of preſſing it farther, produce the paſſage from the *Greek* author laſt mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will ſufficiently ſhew, that the *Perſian* writers are not abſolutely in the wrong, when they aſcribe ſome points of *Alexander*'s conduct to the influence *Ariſtotle* had over him, though they are groſly miſtaken in making him his vizier. "If philoſo-
" phers, ſays *Plutarch*, aſſume to themſelves their higheſt applauſe
" for cultivating the moſt fierce and rugged conditions of man,
" certainly *Alexander* is to be acknowledged the chiefeſt of philo-
" phers, who changed the wild and brutiſh cuſtoms of ſo many
" various nations, reducing them to order and government.
" 'Tis true indeed, that ſo much admired commonwealth of *Ze-*
" *no*, firſt author of the ſtoic ſect, aims ſingly at this, that nei-
" ther in cities nor in private houſes we ſhould live under laws diſ-
" tinct one from another, but that we ſhould look upon all men
" in general to be our fellow countrymen and citizens, obſerving
" one manner of living, one kind of order, like a flock feeding
" together, with equal right in one common paſture. This *Zeno*
" wrote, fancying to himſelf as in a dream a certain ſcheme of
" civil order, and the image of a philoſophical commonweal. But
" *Alexander* made good his words by his deeds: For, as *Ariſtotle*
" ſagely adviſed him, he did not rule the *Grecians* like a mode-
" rate prince, and inſult over the barbarians like an abſolute ty-
" rant; neither, like one that took particular care of the firſt as
" his friends and domeſtics, but ſcorning the latter as mere brutes
" and vegetables, did he fill his empire with fugitive incendiaries
" and perfidious tumults. But believing himſelf ſent from heaven

" as

Alexander, ſon of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, is by the *Perſian* writers ſtiled *Iſcander Ben Filoukous*, which ſignifies the ſame thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of ſurname beſtowed on him for the following reaſon; they will have it, that he was the ſon of *Darab* the firſt by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he ſent home becauſe of her ſtinking breath, but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own ſon, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himſelf out of gratitude *Alexander* the ſon of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Perſia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). The oriental writers

" as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and ſub-
" duing thoſe by force whom he could not aſſociate to himſelf by
" fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all regions far
" and near under the ſame dominion. And then, as in a feſtival
" bowl, mixing converſations, manners, cuſtoms, wedlocks all to-
" gether, he ordained, that every one ſhould take the whole ha-
" bitable world for his country, of which his camp and army
" ſhould be the chief metropolis and gariſon; that his friends and
" kindred ſhould be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious
" only ſhould be accounted foreigners. Nor would he that the
" *Greeks* ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the *Barbarians* by their long
" garments, by their targets, by their ſcimitars, or turbans; but
" that the *Grecians* ſhould be known by their virtue and courage,
" and the *Barbarians* by their vices and their cowardice. How-
" ever, that their habit, their diet, their marriages, and cuſtom of
" converſe, ſhould be every where the ſame, engaged and blended
" together by the ties of blood and pledges of offſpring (46). How glorious a reputation would *Alexander* have obtained, if his actions had been uniform, and apparently founded on ſuch notions as are attributed to him by the philoſopher? His burning of *Perſepolis* is a little inconſiſtent with the idea given us by *Plutarch*; but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to ſhew us what *Alexander* would have done, if he had always acted up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor *Ariſtotle*. On the whole, it may be juſtly ſaid, that it was the paſſions of *Alexander* only which ſpoke him a man: in his cooler moments, and when he acted without their impulſe, he ſeemed ſomething more than man; ſuch are the effects of an excellent education, and of ſuch importance it is, that thoſe who are to govern multitudes ſhould be ſuperior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The hiſtory of *Alexander the Great* has not only been intermixed with fables by the *Perſian* writers; the eaſtern authors in general, even thoſe moſt eſteemed, abound with very extraordinary circumſtances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Malala*, a very

(46) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra*

celebrated

ters in general bestow another surname upon him, *viz.* that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which signifies literally

celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious history of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us some strokes in his account of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which *he joins with the Persian* historians, who, as we have seen, alledge, that the emperor of *Persia*, in his last moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouschengh*; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes*; but this is a small matter: we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental taste: "It was the custom, says he, "of *Alexander the Great*, in the expeditions he made after the "conquest of *Persia*, to go in disguise with such ambassadors as he "sent to the courts of neighbouring princes, that in this situation "he might make such observations as might facilitate his designs. "Of this it seems *Candace*, queen of the inner or higher *Æthiopia*, "had notice, whereupon she made strict inquiry as to the form and "presence of this conqueror; the result of this was, that she was "told, he was low in stature, had large broad teeth, some of which "stood out; that of his eyes, one was of a light grey, the other "quite black, which marks she carefully remembered. When "therefore *Alexander* appeared with his ambassadors in her pre-"sence, she instantly singled him out, addressing herself to him in "these words; *You, O* Alexander, *have been too wise for all the "world, and yet one woman has been too wise for you*; to which he "replied, *I therefore grant you and your subjects my protection, as a "reward for your extraordinary capacity; I also accept you for a "wife*; to which *Candace* readily yielded. After this marriage "*Alexander* went into *Æthiopia* and several other countries (47)". If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such stories, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compass of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our present business is to shew what oriental writers have said of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to cite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celerated historian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanser*, as the *Persian* writers do, and in his short account of the *Persian* kings preserves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkhond*; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of *Gushtasp*, who succeeded after the *Greek* power ceased to have dominion in *Persia*;

(47) *Chronographia, p.* 249.

he

ly *with two horns*, in alluſion to the two ends of the world, the eaſt and the weſt, both of which the eaſtern writers affirm to

he calls the laſt king of *Perſia Darab*, the ſon of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he ſpeaks thus: "*Alexander*, the ſon of *Philip*, reigned ſix years "after the death of *Darius*, having alſo reigned ſix years before "his death. He ſubdued many nations, ſo that his dominions ex- "tended even to *India*, and the frontiers of *China*. He was call- "ed *Dhul-Karnain*, i. e. *two-horned*, becauſe he ſeemed to have "paſſed from one horn of the ſun to the other, *i. e.* from eaſt to "weſt. Five and thirty kings he ſlew, and twelve cities he found- "ed; two of theſe in the province of *Choraſan*, viz. *Hera* and "*Marwa*; one in the region *Alſogd*, viz. *Samarchand*, and in *E*- "*gypt Alexandria*; when he returned out of *India* he went to *Ba*- "*bylon*, where he died of poiſon, and his body being put into a "cheſt of gold, was born on the ſhoulders of kings and nobles to "the *Egyptian Alexandria*, where it was interred. It was *Alex*- "*ander* who began the wall *Yajuji*, which was compoſed of ſtone "and iron, the iron being let into the ſtone to faſten it by the "help of fire, each of the ſtones being twelve cubits in length, "and eight broad. This wall when it was finiſhed came down to "the place called *Babo l' Abwab*, in the vallies of the region of "*Kaphjak*, from whence it was carried over and through the "mountains as far as the ſea of the *Greeks*; nor were there want- "ing many of the *Perſian* kings, who to defend their dominions "from the incurſions of the *Turks*, ſought to find the foundations "of this wall; at laſt they were found by *Yazdejerd*, the ſon of "*Bahram Jur*, who began to carry on the work, but did not live "to ſee it finiſhed; ſeveral ſucceeding kings proſecuted the ſame "deſign, but none of them with effect, till God rendered it eaſy "to *Choſroes Nuſherwan*, who built it ſtrongly, uniting it to the "mountains, and at laſt brought it down to the ſea, placing iron "gates at the end, ſo that a hundred men were then able to de- "fend what would otherwiſe require an army of an hundred thou- "ſand (48)". Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the hiſtory of *Perſia*, it is neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome further account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, in his genealogical hiſtory of the *Tartars*, has given us the following account of it: "Thoſe of *Kitay* have built a great wall to cover their "country, in which there are two iron gates for the paſſage of the "merchants and other travellers. This wall is called *Sat* in *Ara*- "*bic*, which ſignifies *Fortreſs*; in the antient *Turkiſh* language it "is called *Turk-urga*; and in the language of *Kitay*, *Urgu*. *Alex*- "*ander the Great* cauſed a like wall to be raiſed to cover the fron- "tiers of his dominions; but it was compoſed of all ſorts of me- "tals. His deſign by this wall was to hinder the nation of *Jad*-

(48) *Hiſtoria Dynaſt. p.* 97.

"*ſuiz*

to have been conquered by two *Alexanders*, to whom therefore they have given this surname. The first *Alexander*, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe,

" *Sutz-Madzuth*, i. e. of *Gog* and *Magog*, from carrying their ravages " into the lands under his dominion, where they had done great " mischief in times past. 'Tis a general tradition with the *Tartars*, " that those people have the muzzle of a dog; and that this wall " being made up of all sorts of metals, they did all in their power " to make a passage through it by dint of licking, but they could " not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of judgment, " they shall come and lick their way through the wall, and that " then they shall do a great deal of mischief in the world. *Nau-* " *shir Wanadill*, sultan of *Samachy*, caused in like manner a wall " of earth to be built round about his kingdom (49)". On this passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the following remarks; " The remains of this wall, which the *Persians* " pretend their king *Naw-shirwan* caused to be drawn from the " *Caspian* to the *Black sea*, are at this day to be seen upon the con- " fines of the province of *Shirwan* and *Georgia*: it begins at the " higher town of *Derbend*, and extends thence north westward " across the mountains of *Georgia* towards the *Black-sea*. These " remains are every where three feet thick, but its height is very " unequal; for in some parts it is still six and seven feet high, in " others only one or two, and in some places it is quite beaten " down. It appears at first sight to be built of stone, but when one " comes to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of petrified " earth, sand, and shells, which has formed so solid a body, that " there is no free-stone better than it; and it is on this account " that our author thinks it might be called a wall of earth. The " late emperor of *Russia*, in his *Persian* expedition, had the curio- " sity to go see the remains of this wall, so far as the situation of " the country and his affairs would permit him; and he could not " but admire the solidity of that composition, which he found every " where so exceeding hard, that there was no breaking off any " pieces of it without employing a good deal of strength. He " found also some leagues within the mountain a skirt of it which " seemed to be intire, and was about fifteen foot high. In all pro- " bability, this wall had stood intire to this day, if it had nothing " to fear but time; but the hands of men which built it have also de- " stroyed it; and most of the towns, burroughs, and villages of the " country thereabouts are built with the ruins of this wall (50)".

(49) *General. Hist. of Tartars, Vol. I. p.* 42. (50) *Ibid. Vol. II. p.* 722.

It

if we may be allowed the expreſſion, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the deſcendants of *Gog* and *Magog* from pouring down like a torrent upon their ſouthern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to diſcover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of *Abraham*, and ſay, that he lived ſixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counſellor the prophet *Khedher*, who it is ſaid found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himſelf immortal; which prophet, according to others, was contemporary with *Keykobad*, of whom we have ſpoken ſo much already. As to the latter part of this ſtory, it is eaſily cleared up, ſince it is certain, that they confound *Khedher*, the counſellor of this mighty monarch, with a later prophet of the ſame name, or rather ſurname, who is no other than the prophet *Elias*, whoſe tranſlation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a diſcovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters [q]. But enough of this elder *Dulcarnein*, unleſs we could ſay more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our *Alexander* received the ſame ſurname from his being monarch both of the eaſt and weſt. The eaſtern writers, and eſpecially the *Perſian* hiſtorians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* hiſtories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being aſked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he anſwered, that it was but juſt, becauſe his father made him deſcend from heaven to earth, whereas the inſtructions of his maſter had made him to riſe from earth to heaven [r]. One day he ſaid to a counſellor of his, who had been long about his perſon, I am not ſatisfied with your ſervice, for this reaſon, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and miſtakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you muſt be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were ſilent, it was treaſon [s]. It is likewiſe reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occaſion to aſk him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought

[q] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art DHOULCARNEIN, KHEDHER. [r] Vit. RABIALAKIAR. [s] HAFEZ. in BAHARISTAN.

himself to discharge its functions; Very well, answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it, since every post requires sense and honesty to execute it well, and he who possesses these cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. *Alexander*, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward[t]. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was still stranger he preserved it, he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. *Khondemir*, the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the Great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus: Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am; to which the man readily answered, Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *Nighiaristan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a *gallery* or *place to walk in*; we are told that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man; and I, replied *Alexander*, who am not in yours, have pardoned him; then after a short silence, he added,

[t] Mojannabi. ap. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Escander.

ded, I the more readily pardon my enemies, becauſe there is no compariſon between the pleaſure one taſtes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. *Khondemir*, ſpeaking of the death of *Alexander*, aſſures us, that finding his laſt moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verſes to conſole her to the purport following; *Your ſon, after having counted ſome moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a flaſh of lightning, and has only left behind him matter of diſcourſe* [u]. It may be ſuppoſed, that the intent of theſe verſes was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, ſo human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore ſhe ought not to grieve at his being ſnatched ſo ſoon from an empire ſo lately acquired, ſince, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great conſequence to himſelf, and would have furniſhed only more matter of ſpeculation to thoſe who amuſe themſelves with repeating the actions, and ſometimes cenſuring the conduct, of others. On what authority theſe ſtories are grounded is difficult to ſay; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at inſtructing men by paraphraſing on remarkable actions and wiſe ſayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which without ſuch reflections inſtruct very little. A *Perſian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable ſtory of the hero we are now ſpeaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his ſparing *Thebes*, becauſe it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Perſian* ſtory runs thus: "*Alexander* having given orders after the reduction of a very ſtrong place, that it "ſhould be given up to the mercy of the ſoldiers, ſome of "his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this "place a philoſopher of great note who deſerved his majeſty's notice; the king ordered, that he ſhould be immediately ſent for; when he appeared, it ſo happened, that "he made but a very indifferent figure; upon which *Alexander*, turning to thoſe who had ſent for him, ſaid, with "a ſmile of contempt, what ſtrange figure have you brought "me here? Which ſo piqued the philoſopher, that he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made "upon the ſpot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
Why ſhould'ſt thou ſlight my perſon, though uncouth?
Doſt thou not know, that man's exterior form
Is but the ſcabbard of the enliv'ning mind?
Why ſhould'ſt thou judge then of the weapon's edge,
When yet you've nothing ſeen except the caſe?

[u] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESCANDER.

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose: "One may say of a man unendued with virtue, that his "body is no better than a prison, since the soul must find "itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement "would seem liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious "man is tortured continually, there is no occasion for a "hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very skin "which covers his body is at the same time the unsurmount-"able wall of a perpetual prison." The same philosopher added, "There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy "others those gifts which God and nature have bestowed "upon them. The bosom of the envious man is continual-"ly full of anger and spleen against his creator, he thinks "every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the "same time covets whatever is not designed for him. As it "is thus the custom of the envious to oppose constantly "the conduct of him who governs the world with infi-"nite wisdom, so the mouth that thus murmurs against "providence deserves no other answer than to be filled with "earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he "sees in the hands of his neighbour; *For what reason should* "*this man have more than I?*" At these words he stopped; but *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of the man, bad him go on, assuring him, that he took all that he said in good part; the philosopher on this proceeded in his harangue: "Wise men, continued he, are liberal of their "wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they are "alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue them-"selves in laying up riches for their enemies. The railleries "thrown out by the great against such as are in low condi-"tion tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take off "that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Who-"ever wearies himself with striking those who dare not strike "again, will be easily beaten when he meets one who dares "oppose him; and he who puts to the sword without pity, "will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword." *Alexander* at this stopped him, revoked his resolution, pardoned the citizens whom he had destined to destruction, and rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice[w]. It may very possibly happen, that some rigid critic may object to the inserting of this dubious relation in our history; but we hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper instance of the *Persian* mode of writing

[w] Farez in Baharistan.

history,

hiſtory, and at the ſame time we remark this, let us be indulged another obſervation, that the writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well acquainted with the antient *Perſian* learning correſpond nearly with the manner of thoſe authors we have lately cited; for he reaſons on all the facts which he delivers, inſomuch that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the *Perſian* writers, from the claſs of hiſtorians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatiſe of the education of *Cyrus* has within theſe few years found many warm and learned defenders, ſo, it may be, the time is near, when we ſhall ſee apologies written in favour of oriental hiſtorians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps reſtored, when the ſubjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y).

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(Y) It is a common miſtake which reigns in *Europe*, that the eaſtern nations, and particularly the *Perſians*, are in the groſs very illiterate, and abſolutely paſſive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be eſtabliſhed *jure divino*, and therefore not to be contradicted, or elſe ſtupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is impoſed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the eaſt, and in *Perſia* particularly, would have overturned this notion, becauſe there could be no ſuch thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject ſlaves; there muſt be ſome reaſoning to perſuade people to take arms on the one ſide, and ſome arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other; of conſequence therefore, there muſt in ſuch countries be politicians, nay, and there muſt have been always politicians, ſince rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good ſenſe in *Perſia* have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it muſt be allowed, they have unanimouſly preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have profeſſed a diſlike of any form of rule but it; it is likewiſe true, that they have a profeſſed fondneſs for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into ſuch high ridicule by ſome of our great politicians; but after all, though they allow their kings to be abſolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked; they acknowledge, that we owe them the ſame duty we do our parents; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that reſpect; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholic opinion among the *Perſians*; but at the ſame time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king from hiding himſelf, as the *Greek* writers would perſuade us, from the ſight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one

who

The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*, they are also wonderfully pleased with

who dwelt in such state; the truth of all this will appear from an antient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of *April*, called from thence, that is, from this custom, *Chorrem ruz*, i. e. *the day of mirth*, on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne dressed in a white garment; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals; husbandmen and clowns sat down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requests as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms; I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings; let us then agree like brothers, since nothing but union can preserve us (51). The foregoing history hath shewn us, that the *Persian* kings in antient times were really as wise, as humane, and as condescending as any that have reigned in the north or west; it would be invidious to say more so. If we look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a *Greek* writer: "At fourteen years old, says this excellent wri-
" ter, those who were called the royal preceptors among the *Per-*
" *sians* take charge of the children of the crown; they are in
" number four, the most renowned persons in the kingdom for
" wisdom, justice, temperance, and valour; the first of these tea-
" ches the magic of *Zoroaster*, the son of *Oromazes* (he should
" have said the worshipper, for *Oromazes* was the name of God),
" and teaches also the royal institutions, &c." As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they too are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet *Sadi* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called *an advice to kings*; among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these: "It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to
" the poor, and not to oppress the rich; the felicity of a state de-
" pends on the good sense and right disposition of the sovereign.
" The security of his country depends on his administring justice
" impartially, prosperity follows security, and will be where that
" is. If a country is once known to be secure, merchants will re-
" sort thither; the gain from thence will be large, and all temporal
" blessings will abound. If the country become rich, the king
" cannot well be poor, and besides, at the last day he shall be re-

(51) *Hyde, H. R. vet. P. c. xix. p.* 253.

" compensed

with that of his vizier as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor *Aristotle*; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly by way of abbreviation *Aristou*; they report, that he was wonderfully sagaci-

" compensed amply by God for so well discharging his duty, " whereas he who acts in a contrary manner will in every " respect meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to " merchants and public ministers, that strangers being well receiv- " ved may carry agood report of you into their own coun- " try; soon will that kingdom fall wherein the souls of stran- " gers are afflicted; be wise therefore, use the traveller well, " that whersoever he goes he may speak well of you.——A " prince ought always to have before his eyes this maxim, domi- " nion really belongs to God, and he has no certainty how long it " shall be delegated to him; he ought likewise to remember, that " the country he rules was given by God to the people who inhabit " it, to the end he may not be misled by false ideas of things that " have no solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not perhaps " last five days. It is reported of the caleph *Aaron Reschid*, that " he one day said to the famous *Belou* his Brother, *give me some good* " *advice*; he answered, *There is nothing to be carried out of this* " *world into the other but good and bad works; it is in your power* " *to carry which load you please.*—This *Beloul* was a very knowing " man, who, that he might have the more leasure to attend his " studies, would never marry. The caliph his brother asked him " another time for his advice, how he might govern his people for " their advantage and his own; the sage answered, Let your deci- " sions become laws through their apparent equity, and never " make reason yield to your will; prevent, as far as you can, re- " quests; give little to such as ask, but think of giving in time to " such as merit and do not ask; the king is the head; the people " are the body of the state; if the king is either ignorant or " wicked, the head will devour the body with its teeth.—The " government of an empire is an affair which requires a genius at- " tentive and collected, and a heart which turns itself continually " towards the Most High God to invoke his aid, that its owner " may turn his feet, his hand, his tongue and his pen aright; and " the king who acts thus God will undoubtedly endue with grace to " conserve his empire and his piety (52) ". It is evident from these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects; and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings as well as great actions of famous kings.

(52) *ap. Chardin Voyages, tom.* iii. *p.* 253.

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ous even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *Maschaioun*, i. e. the *Peripatetics*; they affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive, that he was prime minister to *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings and moral maxims under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us, that *Aristotle* composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus; *A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle*, which, *Ben Cassan* says, he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the antient *Persians*, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians* [x]. But to return to *Alexander*; *Mirkhond*, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the *Indies*, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri*, or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*; he reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into *Greek*, the first relating to physic, the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he

[x] D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Aristhalis.

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkhond* might have inserted the story of *Alexander*'s causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the common wealth of learning into *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But as *Mirkhond* has set down the subjects of the books, which he alledges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physic, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates* and other ancient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not a few

he divided, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a ſhort and glorious life, ended

a few from *Perſia*; and if they had their drugs from theſe places, why ſhould we queſtion their learning from the inhabitants of theſe places how to uſe them? But farther ſtill; among the works of *Zerduſht*, there is a treatiſe which bears the title of *Biziſhk nama*, i. e. *the book of phyſicians*, which is ſaid to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been ſo very ſkilful in theſe matters, that *Shariſtani* in his treatiſe of the religions of the eaſt, which we have ſo often quoted, attributes expreſly all the miracles *Zerduſht* is ſaid to have done to his ſkill in ſimples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inſpired, he knew all things, if not, he knew ſo much of ſimples as to paſs himſelf for a prophet; conſequently there might be treatiſes on phyſic among the *Perſians* well worth *Alexander*'s directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to aſtronomy and other mathematical ſciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the teſtimony of the *Greeks* themſelves; it is true, that the modern *Perſians* ſtand indebted for moſt of their knowledge in theſe ſciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are tranſlated into *Arabic* and *Perſian*; but the reaſon of this is plain, becauſe the antient books relating to theſe abſtruſe ſciences were not ſo carefully preſerved as thoſe which regard hiſtory and morality; theſe being valuable in the ſight of *many*; thoſe precious only in the eyes of *few*. As to moral philoſophy, which was the ſubject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkhond*, it was the darling ſtudy of the antient *Perſians*, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the ſubject of the book, intituled *Gjouidan Chrad*, aſcribed to *Huſhang*, a king far older than *Zerduſht*. Morality was the ſubject of moſt of *Zerduſht*'s writings, as we gather from ſuch fragments of them as we have ſeen, and eſpecially from the book *Sadder*, which, though written *ad captum vulgi* in verſe and in a ballad ſtyle, contains as many moral ſentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius*'s lives of the philoſophers. To theſe arguments in favour of the learning of the antient *Perſians* we may add the amazing love of ſcience viſible in the modern *Perſians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their ſtores, ſince they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eaſtern nations, except the *Chineſe*, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we ſhall allege the reigning maxims in their ſchools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our univerſities: *Doubting is the beginning of ſcience: he who doubts nothing examines nothing: he who examines nothing diſcovers nothing: he who diſcovers nothing*

(53) *Shariſtani ap. Hyde, R. vet. P. c.* xxii. *p.* 300.

ended his days at *Babylon* in the thirty ſixth year of his life and ſeventeenth of his reign [y], leaving his conqueſts to be divided among his captains, who are diſtinguiſhed by the *Arabians* and *Perſians* with the title of *Molouk al Shaovaif*, i. e. *the kings of nations* or *families*. The *Perſians* likewiſe take notice of *Alexander*'s brother *Aridæs*, whom they ſtile *Ardous*, and generally ſpeaking make him the ſon inſtead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the *Greeks*, in repreſenting him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they ſoften this account, by pretending that he deſpiſed grandeur for the ſake of wiſdom, having learned from *Ariſtotle* to think thoſe goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

We have now conducted the hiſtory of the *Perſian* empire from its origin to its diſſolution after the death of *Alexander the Great*; in our next period we ſhall ſee it revive again, under a prince deſcended from their antient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our reſearches into the

[y] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. xxi.

is blind, and muſt remain blind. An extraordinary affection for myſterious theology ſeems to have been the reigning paſſion of the antient *Perſees*, and of the *Perſians* at this day. Among the latter there is a ſect ſtiled *Suphi* or *Sophi*, who profeſs themſelves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philoſophy. *Pythagoras*, as we have ſhewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, ſuppoſed to have been the ſcholar of *Zoroaſter*, and is thought to have learned from him thoſe refined notions with which theſe men are charmed. To deſcribe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we muſt ſay, that, according to their own account, they are *quietiſts* or *enthuſiaſts*; in the opinion of the vulgar *atheiſts*. They faſt often and to exceſs, they pretend to ecſtacies and converſations with God. They profeſs themſelves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are ſaved. They have a remarkable averſion for churchmen, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy ſhew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimſical inſtance of this; he ſays he was preſent, when a preacher at *Spauhawn* told the people in his ſermon that the *Suphis* were atheiſts, that they deſerved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this ſect did an action more pleaſing in the ſight of God, than if he ſaved the lives of ten other men. As ſoon as he came out of the pulpit, five or ſix *Suphis* who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interpoſed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them anſwered briſkly, *What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder complain of a beating?* (54)

(54) *Chardin. Voyages, tom.* iii. *p.* 211.

chronology

chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*; but before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years generally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient historians must be condemned in the lump. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others [z] will share the same fate with *Mirkhond* and the rest of the *Persian* writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the *Persian* history, that if a critic's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consideration, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing, that the antient *Medes* and *Persians* were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the style of these records, we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passage cited in relation to a conspiracy against *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther* [a]; and from all these it is plain, that though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic. But these records are no more; what we have now is taken from *Mohammedan* writers, who have certainly altered the old *Persian* history, and digested it according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more antient and plain accounts of the old *Persian* empire, have taken up with the romances written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes, which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose, that strangers, born with a contempt for the *Per-*

[z] STILLINGFLEET. Origines Sacræ, lib. i. c. v. [a] vi. 2.

sees, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe, that those who, in consequence of the religion themselves profess, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that these writers have made many other alterations, when we find them asserting, of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not *Magians*, but *true believers*, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the *Persian* monarchs from *Keyomaras* to *Yezdegherd* were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of *Persia* remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every antient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars* written, by *Abu l' Ghazi Bahader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, from records the most antient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen *Khans* between *Bertizena Khan* and *Kabul Khan*, though, according to his history, there intervened 2550 years between those princes; and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes [b]. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended; we only alledge, that they are not more preposterous than the numbers which are met with in other oriental historians, who are notwithstanding allowed to have some truth in their works. This confession we hope will procure us some favour, and pave the way to those amendments which we shall offer in due time. But, secondly, It may be objected, that our *Persian* history from the oriental writers, being in most respects directly opposite to the history in the foregoing section, which is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two must be rejected, since opposites can never be alike true. To this we may say, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow that the *Persian* history from the *Greeks* is frequently to be preferred to this,

[b] Preface to the genealogical history of the *Tartars*, p. viii.

and

and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in ſupport of this demand has been already ſaid on account of *Xerxes*'s expedition, the life of *Zoroaſter*, and the death of *Darius*. Beſides, as we have before obſerved, the *Greeks* differ among themſelves, nay, there is not one author amongſt them, who in ſpeaking of the *Perſian* affairs, may not be proved to have been miſtaken in ſeveral points, even from his own works. As for inſtance, *Herodotus*, who in one part of his hiſtory makes them worſhippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chaſtiſers of them; add to this, that the *Greeks*, like all other writers, were notoriouſly partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the *Perſians*; ſo that on the whole what we aſk will not appear very unreaſonable, eſpecially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleaſes. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that theſe accounts, being oppoſite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to ſupport them but their reputeda ntiquity, they ought for this reaſon to be rejected, ſince true hiſtory is always ſupported by concurrent teſtimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the ſtrength, however, of this objection, which is the laſt, and perhaps the moſt plauſible of all that can be offered againſt the foregoing ſeries of facts, will be effectually weakened by the following conſiderations, which we had no opportunity of inſerting in the body of the work. Firſt, amongſt thoſe writers which are beſt known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* hiſtorians the hiſtory of the *Medes* and *Perſians* aſcends, as we have ſhewn, very little higher than *Cyrus*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has tranſcribed from *Cteſias* (A), which has been generally exploded by the critics[c]. With reſpect

[c] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. IV. p. 141, & ſeq.

(A) We have ſo often mentioned *Cteſias* and his works in the courſe of this ſection, that there ſeems to be a neceſſity of our giving a ſhort account of this author and his works, to render thoſe remarks we have had occaſion to make perfectly plain and clear. *Cteſias* lived thirty or forty years after *Herodotus*; he was by profeſſion a phyſician, and ſeems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken priſoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought againſt his brother *Cyrus*. He reſided ſixteen or ſeventeen years in the *Perſian* court, and, through the favour he was in there, had leave to peruſe

respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontradicted. The first

perused the royal chronicles and those authentic histories of which we have so often spoken. From these he compiled in XXIII books the history of the antient empires of *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*; which history of his he brought into *Greece*, where it was received with the greatest applause. *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom we are as much indebted as to any antient author whatever, has transcribed into his bibliotheque the substance of *Ctesias*'s first six books, after having given us the following character of their author; "*Ctesias* "the *Cnidian* was later than *Herodotus*, for he flourished at the "time of *Cyrus*'s expedition against his brother *Artaxerxes*, in "which being taken prisoner, he was, for his skill in physic, re-"ceived into *Artaxerxes*'s favour, in whose court he lived in much "honour and esteem seventeen years. During that space he di-"gested into a regular history whatever he found worthy of no-"tice in the *Persian* chronicles, wherein, by a fundamental law of "the empire, all remarkable actions were exactly registered; and "this history he brought with him into *Greece* (55)." *Diodorus* in the very place from whence we have quoted this passage, prefers *Ctesias* to *Herodotus*, as he does in most other places of his book where he cites either of them. *Xenophon*, speaking of the death of the younger *Cyrus*, quotes this writer with applause (56). *Plato* agrees with him as to the power of the antient *Assyrian* empire (57). *Aristotle* also commends him (58), and in a word almost all the antient authors who have written in *Greek* prefer him to *Herodotus*. The very learned patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Photius*, has preserved in his bibliotheque an abridgment of this author's *Persian* history, before which he premises, that this writer differed not a little from *Herodotus*, and even from *Xenophon*, who was universally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the east, and particularly on those of *Persia*, than any of the *Greeks*; but so it is, that *Xenophon*, as well as *Ctesias*, has been suspected of mingling fiction with true history, because he has not represented the *Persians* as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in sensuality and sloth, according to the usual custom of his countrymen. Besides his *Persian* history, *Ctesias* wrote also an *Indian* history wherein, it i generally agreed, that there are a great many strokes of fable; this *Indian* history of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and seems to be the true source of those severe censures, which many, and especially modern authors, have passed on this famous historian. *Photius* at the end of his abstract gives us this character of the writer we are speaking of; "The style of *Ctesias*, says he, though it is extremely plain and

(55) *Bibliotb. lib.* ii. *p.* 109. (56) *In Exped. Cyri*, *p.* 266.
(57) *In leg.* (58) *Hist. Anim. lib.* viii. *c.* 28.

"simple

firſt race of *Perſian* kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix beſides, unleſs

" ſimple, is far from being unpleaſant; he uſes the *Ionic* dialect, " not every where as *Herodotus* does, but in ſome words only, for " the ſake of varying his language; what is objected to him of " his frequently running into fabulous ſtories, is not without " grounds, eſpecially in what he has written concerning *India*. " The delightfulneſs of this hiſtory ariſes chiefly from his diſpoſi- " tion of facts, which are ſo placed, as continually to ſurpriſe " the reader, and keep his attention engaged; even his moſt fa- " bulous accounts being adorned with a very pleaſant and eaſy elo- " quence (59)." Beſides theſe large extracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of *Athenæus* (60), *Apollonius* (61), *Plutarch* (62), *Ælian* (63), *Stephanus Byzantius* (64), &c. It would conſtrain us to draw this note into too great a length, ſhould we pretend to ſhew wherein this author differs from the *Greek* writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the *Perſian* hiſtory; for the ſatisfaction, however, of the inquiſitive peruſer, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of thoſe reigns which interfere with the foregoing ſections of the *Median* and *Perſian* empires.

Cyrus is by him ſaid to have married *Amytis*, and to have had two ſons *Cambyſes* and *Tanyoxarces*; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and ſays, that he died of a wound received in battle.

Cambyſes, according to him, married *Roxana*, and after a reign of eighteen years, died of a wound which he caſually gave himſelf in the thigh.

The *Magian*, ſtyled by the *Greek* writers *Smerdis*, is by him called *Sphendadates*; he computes his reign to have laſted only ſeven months, and relates him to have been ſlain by ſeven conſpirators.

Darius, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, reigned thirty one years, died of a ſickneſs which laſted thirty days, and left his empire to his ſon *Xerxes*.

Xerxes had to wife *Amyſtris*; his children were *Dariæus*, *Hyſtaſpes*, *Artaxerxes*, *Achæmenides*, *Artarius*, *Amytis*, and *Rhodoguna*; this king was ſlain by *Artapanus* and *Spamitres*.

Artaxerxes, his wife's name was *Damaſpia*; he reigned forty two years, left but one legitimate ſon, viz. *Xerxes*, but ſeventeen by concubines, of whom *Secyndianus* and *Ochus* afterwards ſucceeded him.

Xerxes the ſecond, he held the regal dignity forty five days, and was deſtroyed by a conſpiracy.

Secyndianus, after a reign of ſix months and twenty five days, was ſmothered in aſhes.

(59) *Phot. Biblioth. Art.* lxxii. *p.* 106. (60) *Deipnoſophiſt* x. (61) *Hiſtor Mirab* xx. (62) *In vita Artaxer.* (63) *De Animal. Natura, lib.* vii. *c.* 1. (64) *Voce* Δυρβαιοι.

Ochus,

unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of *Assyrian* monarchs contrived by *Annius* of *Viterbo*; and as to writers of a later date, our *Persian* history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the *Tartars*, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of the oriental writers do, from *Turk* the eldest son of *Japhet*; he proceeds thus: "*Turk* was a "man of superior genius, having been the first who invented many of the conveniencies of life; he made himself "tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence in a place called "at present *Isachkoll*, he had four sons; 1. *Taunak*; 2. *Zakale*; 3. *Bensazar*; 4. *Amlak*. At his death he appointed "his son *Taunak* for his successor, who became a very rich "and ingenious prince, author of many fine inventions. It "happened one day, that *Taunak* having gone a hunting "and killed much game, ordered a piece to be roasted; "but when he was just going to eat some of it, he by "chance let a bit drop upon the grouud, and having taken "it up and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by reason a grain of salt had stuck to it; which having given "him to understand, that this land was impregnated with "salt, he set himself to improve this discovery, and became "the first inventer of the use of salt, no one before him having known what salt was, or that it could season victuals. "Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in the country of "*Iran*, called *Cajumars* or *Keyomaras*. *Taunak* lived 240 "years, and at his death left his throne to his son *Ielza* "*Chan*, who lived many years, and before his death appointed his son *Dibbakin Chan* to succeed him. *Dibbakin Chan* "lived also a long time, and disposed of the succession "before his death to his son *Kajak Chan*, who reigned a "great length of years, and had for his successor after "his death his son *Alanza Chan*. From the days of *Ja*"*phin* and his descendants to the time of *Alanza Chan*, "the true religion was preserved, and during the reign

Ochus, called also *Dariæus*, married *Parisatis*, he reigned thirty five years, and had the following children, viz. *Arsaces*, *Cyrus*, *Artostes*, *Oxendras*, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at *Babylon*.

Arsaces, this is the same prince whom the *Greek* writers style *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; he overcame his brother *Cyrus*, his wife's name was *Stateira*; and in his time *Ctesias* resided in *Persia*, and compiled his history (65).

(65) *Photii Biblioth.* p. 135, 136.

"of

" of this prince his ſubjects lived in a profound peace, " having great abundance of all ſorts of riches [d]." From this paſſage it is evident, that the records of *Tartary* mention this *Keyomaras* juſt where the *Perſian* hiſtorians place him; and it is likewiſe plain that the belief of the true religion is reported by the ſame records to have remained untainted in theſe countries, which is exactly what our *Perſian* writers ſay; the ſame author agrees with them in many other things, ſuch as making *Sam* i. e. *Shem*, and his deſcendants the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Perſia*, and in acknowledging *Haſhſhangh*, the grandſon of *Keyomaras* his ſucceſſor: he relates likewiſe the wars carried on by the deſcendants of *Turk* againſt the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of thoſe *Khans* to the reigns of the kings of *Perſia* mentioned in the foregoing hiſtory. In Dr. *Hyde*'s learned book of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, there are many *Arabic* and other hiſtorians quoted in ſupport of ſuch paſſages of the antient *Perſian* hiſtory, as he has occaſion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all theſe oriental hiſtorians have delivered ought to be taken on truſt; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does alſo thoſe of the *Greek* writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likelieſt method for attaining truth is to read and compare both [e]. Secondly, the whole ſeries of antient hiſtory teaches, that in the moſt remote ages of the world theſe countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Perſian* hiſtory and other oriental authors affirm; ſo that we muſt either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of theſe eaſtern countries being firſt and moſt fully peopled, or we muſt admit, that theſe accounts are probable, if it were in reſpect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the antient *Perſians*, theſe poor diſtreſſed creatures who are now ſtiled *Perſees*, as ſo many living witneſſes of the truth of this hiſtory. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this propoſition, that the religion they profeſs is the very ſame which their anceſtors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and if ſo, we muſt trace this religion from their accounts, thoſe of their conquerors, and ſuch as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Perſees*, as well thoſe in *India* as thoſe which ſtill remain in their

[d] P. 1. ch. ii. p. 6. [e] HYDE, H. R. vet. P. in Præf.

own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by *Keyomaras*, reformed by *Zerdusht*, and so continued till the dissolution of the empire of the native *Persians*. The modern *Persians*, and the *Arabic* historians, acknowledge these facts to be so; they are likewise admitted by such of the oriental christian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that there is not so much in this third objection as at first sight there may seem; but that, considering the nature of the thing, this history has as strong evidence in its favour as any other history of equal antiquity, excepting that of the *Hebrews*; a proposition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto prosecuted with no small pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of some deviations in this section from our ordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts, which have drawn this section to an extraordinary length; but at the same time we hope it will be observed, that this is a subject that hath hitherto been untouched, a scene of confusion, wherefrom little was expected; if therefore it has cost an unusual trouble to give it some form, it ought to be excused, since transactions of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing *Chaos*, wherein there was first *motion* and then *light*. The first is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental histories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been despised as trifles by some, and esteemed as treasures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our business to bring them here, to place them in the view of our *English* reader in the best method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

CHAP.

A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES, *OR* GOME
the Former in EUROPE.

and the lat

90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10

Unknown to the Antients

Unknown to the Antients

Sarma tia in Asia

Sarmatia in Europe

SCYTHIA

INTRA IMAUM

EXTRA IMAUM

SER

Celti

Gallia

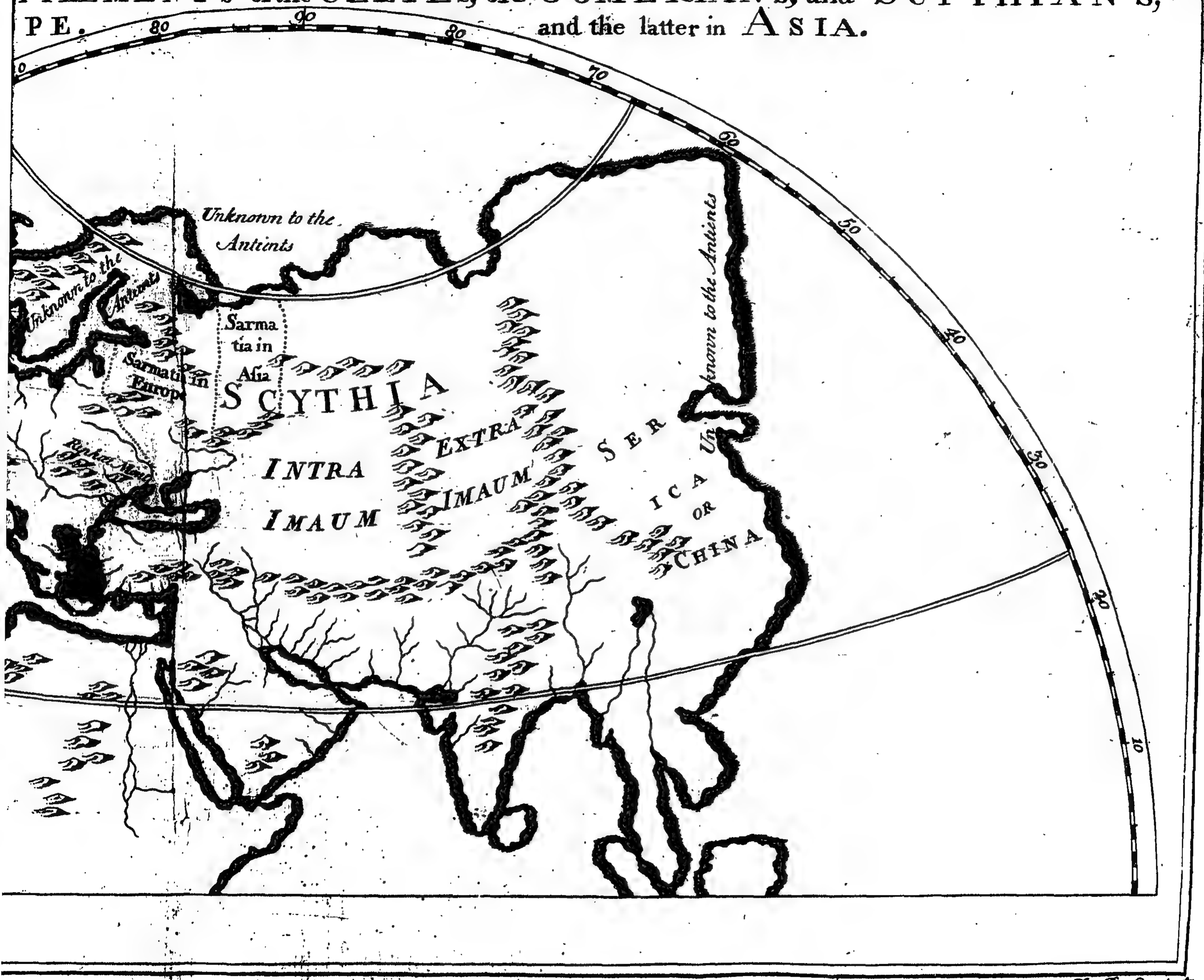
Celtiberia

The two Pillars of Hercules

Tyrhen. Mare

Atlas Mons

TTLEMENTS of the CELTES, *OR* GOMERIANS, and SCYTHIANS;
PE. and the latter in ASIA.



D. P. Sculp.

CHAP. XII.

The History of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *their Migrations into* Europe, *under the several names inserted in the margin* *.

* viz. *the former of* Scythians, Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, &c. *the latter of* Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, *and* Celtiberians.

SECT. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.*

THESE two nations are so blended in antient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by antient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from *Gomer* †, the eldest son of *Japhet*. This last we have also proved to have been the eldest son of *Noah* *, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that *God would enlarge his borders* [a], upon which account *Moses* observes immediately after, that the *isles of the Gentiles*, by which is understood *Europe, was divided by, or among, his posterity* [b]. This perhaps is what induced *Berosus* and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle *Gomer*'s children

Celtes *and* Scythians *descended from* Japhet.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 368, & seq. * Ibid, p. 258.
[a] Genes. ix. 27. [b] Ibid, x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 258.

in *Italy*, *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Ashkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden* or *Denmark* [c]. These precipitate migrations stand sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility [d] (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of *Asia*. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, accidental discords, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out farther on all sides towards *Europe* and northern *Asia*, whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of *Gomer*, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in *Asia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their successive stations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into *Asia* in process of time, where they gave names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused such a confusion in antient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distant migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary to examine, in the first place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such

[c] PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. [d] Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. p. i. c. 8. sect. 3. BOCHART Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. PEZRON. ubi sup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose, that they separated themselves from the rest before the general dispersion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time soever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabric, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 3000 miles, through woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far Sir *Walter Rawleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were still more monstrous to suppose, that they could come into *Europe* by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.

a pre-

a previous inquiry, we ſhall find their names, countries, and exploits ſo confuſed, that it would be next to impoſſible to ſettle their geography, or underſtand their hiſtory, with any ſatisfactory clearneſs.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which ſeems chiefly to be owing to theſe two cauſes. 1. That none of the ſacred hiſtorians mention theſe two nations by any other name, than that of their progenitor [c]; and 2. That prophane authors have been ſo confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in ſeveral parts of *Aſia* as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of thoſe names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not eaſy to know whether they ſpoke of the ſame nation under different names, or of two diſtinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have moſt egregiouſly confounded them, by aſcribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to diſcover when they ſpeak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At leaſt it is evident, that *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Juſtin* [f], to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who remigrated into *Aſia* by ſome names, and attributed ſome actions and places to them, which, upon cloſer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate antient geographer tells us [g], that the old *Greek* hiſtorians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians* to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a conſiderable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* [h]. And in the ſame book he adds, that thoſe people who inhabited beyond the *Caſpian* ſea, which ſhould be the *Scythians*, were by the ſame *Greek* hiſtorians called ſome *Sacks*, and others *Maſſagetes*, though the former of theſe names, at leaſt, belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

FOR theſe reaſons, many learned men have choſen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of

* Vol. I. p. 368, 370. [c] Vid. int. al. EZEK. xxxviii, 2, 3, 6. [f] See PTOLEM. Geogr. lib vi. c. 11, & 13. HERODOT. lib. i & 4. JUSTIN. lib. 1. c. 8. & ſeq. [g] STRAB. Geogr. lib. ii. [h] Vid. GENEBR. 1949 LEWIS's Introduct. in hiſt. Britan. cap, iii. PEZRON. ubi ſup. JUN. in Geneſ. x. 2.

names

names and characters, under which they are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory. Notwithſtanding which, and the ſilence of the ſacred books, *Joſephus*'s authority has been more univerſally received both by antient fathers and modern authors; who affirms, the *Celtes* and *Gauls* to be deſcended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Magog* his next brother [i]; and we think very juſtly too. As to the firſt, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of it; for, beſides the teſtimony of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithſtanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which ſeem rather to have been given to them by other nations than aſſumed by themſelves (B); they have ſtill preſerved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day in all thoſe countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preſerved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is, *the language of Gomer* [k].

To

[i] Antiq. l. i. c, 7. Vid. Hieron. Theodoret. & al. in Geneſ. x. 2. Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. Rawl. ubi ſup. p. 1. c. 8. ſect. iv. Jun. Le Clerc. Patric. in Geneſ. x. 2. Pezron. ubi ſupra, c. iv. & al. mult. [k] Pezron. Lewis. & al. ubi ſupra.

(B) By theſe names we mean, not only thoſe which were a palpable corruption of their original one, ſuch as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but thoſe of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps alſo thoſe of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and ſome others; all which, if we may gueſs at them by their etymons, ſeem to have been given to them, ſome out of compliment and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incurſions, plunders and conqueſts. Thus the word *Celtæ* in *Greek* κέλητες or κέλητοι, ſignifying horſemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given them on account of their great expertneſs in horſemanſhip (1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul*, from the *Celtic*, in which both ſignify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures, that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redneſs of their hair (3).

That of *Titans* may either allude to it, as it was a name of the ſun, whole etymon can no where be ſo appoſitely found as in the *Celtic*, in which *Ti* or *Ty*, ſignifies a *Houſe*, and *Tan*, or *Taen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The Houſe of fire*. Some, how-

(1) *Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæſar. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *Not.* 3.
(2) *Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap.* 3. (3) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 6.

ever

To all this we may add the concurrent teſtimony of *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela*, and others, who mention them under the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and ſuch like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians* [l]. We have likewiſe the authority of ſome antient fathers, who agree, that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians*, and *Gauls* [m]. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer* we ſhall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves, that the antient *Celtic* nation, which, according to him, included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic* and other northern iſles, did all ſpeak the ſame language [n], which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been univerſally preſerved among all his deſcendants, as we ſhall ſhew more fully when we come to ſpeak of their language and hiſtory. To all theſe we ſhall add at the bottom ſome au-

[l] PTOLEM. lib. vi. c. 11—13. MEL. ubi ſupra. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16. DION. Per. v. 700. [m] HIERON. tradit. hebr. in Geneſ. EUSTAT. Com. in Examer. ISIDOR. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. ZONAR. BED. & al. [n] Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6. & ſeq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & ſeq.

ever, fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew* ſignifies duſt or dirt; ſo that Τιτανες ſhall ſignify the ſame as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This laſt etymon, if admitted, may be ſuppoſed to have been given them in ſcorn, and to imply the baſeneſs of their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which ſignifies *thieves* and *plunderers*, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be deſigned to diſtinguiſh thoſe *Celtes* on that, from thoſe on this, ſide of the *Pyrenees*, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* ſeems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic Iber*, which ſignifies *over* (4); and thus *Spain*, which is ſometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, becauſe authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them ſquare with their own hypotheſes, becauſe they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is moſt natural to derive them, as ſhall be further proved in due time.

(4) *Vid. Cluver. lib.* ii. *c.* 3.

thentic

thentic monuments, which the warlike deſcendants of *Gomer* and his brethren have left in their various ſettlements, which ſtill more corroborate what we have ſaid concerning their origin, migrations, and ſettlements (C).

Were we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with reſpect to theſe two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain head, and to diſpel that obſcurity which we find in antient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without ſome additional proofs to the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who affirms them to be deſcended from *Magog* above mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns [o]. For firſt, we find ſome antient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of leſſer *Aſia*, where they planted themſelves after the diſperſion (D). Secondly, As they ſpread themſelves to-

[o] Hieron. Auguſt. Euſtat. Theodor. Bed. Joseph. Ben-gor. Judæi ſer. omn. Jun. Bochart. Rawleigh. Munst. Heylin. Patric. & al. innum.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleaſant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny*'s time was ſtill called *Cymmeris*. *Aſhkenaz Gomer*'s ſon gave his to the *Sinus Aſcanius*, to a lake and river of the ſame name, and in the leſſer *Phrygia* to a city and province, and to the *Inſulæ Aſcaniæ*.

From *Riphath*, another of his ſons, we have the *Ripheam* nation and country, ſince called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarmah*, his youngeſt ſon, whom the *Greek* verſion calls Θοργαμα and Τοργαμα, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all theſe the reader may further ſee in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meſhech*, and *Tubal*, whoſe bands are joined togerher by the prophet 6), have left their names to ſeveral countries bordering upon thoſe of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meſhech*, or, as he is called by the antients, *Moſoch*, to the mountains *Moſchici* between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may ſee it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Congigo*, *Giguivi*, and ſome others; and the cities of *Gyngui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(5) *Phaleg. lib* iii. *c.* 8 & *ſeq. Rawleigh*, *Heylin*, *Pezron*. & *al. Vid.* & *ſup. Vol. I. p.* 368, 369. (6) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1.

† *Vide Bochart. ubi ſupra* & *al. ſup. citat.*

wards

wards *Europe*, and *Gomer*'s descendants turned towards the north-west, so those of *Magog* may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north-east into both *Scythias*, where we find some plain footsteps of their progenitor, besides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the antient *Moscovites* and *Tartarians* (E); and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, *the sons of Magog*. To these we may add, Thirdly, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythian*; upon all these accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with *Josephus* to derive them from that patriarch.

(E) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of *Europe* in which some of these are not mentioned by antient geographers and historians (7), under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for *Iberia* or *Spain*, *Josephus* doth indeed affirm, that it wa first peopled by the *Thobalines*, or sons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the surname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto-iberians* to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the first peoplers of it, especially if we consider, that the name of *Iberia* signifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, *over*, or *on the other side*, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes* on the other side the *Pyreneans*, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of *Spain* might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could come thither so early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous *Spanish* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of St. *Vaal*, which is still standing at this day (12).

(7) *Vid Joseph. Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 7. *Ptolem. Geogr. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. & 13. *& alib. Mela lib.* i. *c.* 2 iii. c. 2. *Cæs. Comm. c.* i. *Plin. lib.* vi *c.* 16. *Strab. D Sicul. & al.* (8.) *Ant. lib.* i. *c.* 7. (9) Genes. x. 2. (10) *Hist. chap.* viii. *sect.* 3. *& seq.* (11) *See before p.* 230. *note B.* (12) *Hist. of the world, ubi sup. sect.* 4.

Having thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of antient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember, that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia*[p]: *Ashkenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphath* the second son in *Cappadocia*; or, in some province in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia*[q]. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds[r]; even when they began to spread themselves farther and wider into *Europe*, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians*, or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond.

Thus was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, that is from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europæa* eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west to the 80th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the arctic circle.

Upon the whole then, it appears that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, though the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of prophane authors, who were unac-

[p] See Vol. I. p. 368.

[q] Vid. Euseb. loc. Hebr. & Bochart. ubi supra l. iii. c. 8.

[r] See Rawl. hist. ubi sup. sect. vi.

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quainted, that their progenitor was *Gomer*'s younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account not only of their eldership, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both.

SECT. II.

The History of the CELTES, *under the names of* GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS. *&c.*

WE have already spoken of the migrations of these sons of *Gomer*, from *Asia* into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the last section; wherein we observed their regular progress from *Phrygia* their first settlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Italy*, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia* and *Galatia*, whilst themselves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians*. As for those of *Cymmerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which seems only a corruption of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*, above the *Euxine* sea and the north of the *Danube*, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holstein* was called *Cymbria Chersonesus*. The names of *Titans*, and *Sacks* were given only to those of lesser *Asia*, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of *Europe* by those of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A).

The Various names of the Celtes.

(A) *Cæsar*, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themselves, whilst the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood, that they both signified the same thing in the old *Celtic*, namely *warri-*

(1) *lib.* 1.

The name of *Galatians*, Γαλάται was given them also by the *Greeks*, but it is plain, it meant the same with the *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father, namely *Gomer*. It was not, however, in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalised their names in several parts of both the higher and lower *Asia*, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of *Gomerians* and *Gomerites*, as well as those of *Sacks* and *Titans*, in those parts, among antient geographers; which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celtes*, after their spreading themselves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the sequel. But those early exploits are so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too strenuously upon them. At the most, it is plain, that these *Asiatic* conquests did not remain long enough in their possession to deserve a place in this geography of their country. Those exploits will be best resumed in the history of those nations with whom they had to do. Whilst we confine their territories at present within those limits of *Europe*, in which we can speak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

Their Territories.

It

[a] See Pezron Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2. [b] Comp. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 7. Eustat. Comm. in Examer Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Geni. ix. Isidor Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & Pezron. ub. sup.
[c] Vid. Ptolom. Strab. Mela. & al.

ers (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give some other sense of these two names, as they are fetched from other languages; and indeed there is nothing more easy than to find in all languages such likeness of sounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celtes* and κέλτται though of such different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At least those are the most likely to be the truest, which are derived from the language itself unto whom the name belongs; excepting, however, such of them as, we observed there, were given in contempt and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*. But here it is certain, that the *Celtes* made too great a figure in the world, long before *Cæsar*'s time, to have been called *Galli* in derision.

(B) We must not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies against them from the north quarters (3), he seems to intimate, that

(2) *Vid. Pezron, Ch. ii.* (3) Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

there

IT is not eaſy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the *European Scythians*, for the reaſons given in the laſt ſection. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that the former extended from the *Danube*, their ſuppoſed boundary, to the fartheſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at leaſt twenty three degrees from eaſt to weſt, that is from that famous river to cape *Feneſtre*. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean* ſea, and weſt and northweſt by the weſtern and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the *Hyperborean* or frozen ſea, or only to the *Baltic*, we preſume not to ſay. The laſt, however, ſeems moſt probable, for reaſons we ſhall give in the hiſtory of *Scythia*. For it is probable, they did not advance towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern regions, till they found themſelves too ſtreightened in the more pleaſant climates of the ſouth; which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Europe*. However, it is certain, that in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, not only they but alſo the northern iſlands of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and even *Iceland*, were inhabited, and made part of the *Celtic Gallia*. As for the ſouthern iſlands on the *Mediterranean*, ſuch as *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, and others, we need not doubt, but they were much ſooner peopled than thoſe on the northern ocean. Geography.

So conſiderable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur

there were ſtill ſome of the deſcendants of that patriarch ſettled in ſome of the northern parts of higher *Aſia* even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till ſome years after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into *Paleſtine*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Comarians* as two diſtinct nations, though originally the ſame; the firſt with *Chamara*, their ſuppoſed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the ſouth banks of the river *Oxus*; and the latter a little farther north in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs ſomewhat from *Ptolemy* in their ſituation, doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of *Aſia* (5), where we may have occaſion to viſit them again in the ſequel of this hiſtory, as well as the *Sacks* another branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo*, (6) places a little farther weſtward in *Cappadocia* along the ſouth coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea.

(4) *Ptol. lib* vi. *c.* 11. & 13. (5) *Lib. i. c.* 2. (6) *Lib.* xi.

and

and ſhrunk into much narrower limits, that it contained no leſs than ſixty great people, diſtinguiſhed by the names of cities or diſtricts according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* ſays 64[d], but this is nothing to *Joſephus*, who reckoned the number of theſe nations about 315 [e], or to *Appian*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greateſt part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they muſt have made before that time, may be gueſſed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is almoſt 600 years before Chriſt, when *Belloveſus*, having penetrated through the *Alps*, with a numerous army, did in a ſhort time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Ciſalpina* [f]. For this and their ſucceeding exploits againſt that province, and their conqueſt of its metropolis, we may juſtly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, tho' we ſhould grant it to have been originally peopled by ſome other nation than the deſcendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not ſeem to us to be the real caſe, for though we have already ſufficiently diſcountenanced the fable of *Beroſus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* ſo ſoon after the flood; yet it is much more likely, that his deſcendants were the firſt that peopled it with the reſt of *Europe*, it being impoſſible ſo fine a country ſhould eſcape them in their progreſſive migration, than to ſuppoſe, that either *Kittim* the ſon of *Javan* or his deſcendants were got thither before them. To make this ſtill more probable, we muſt remind our readers of two things, namely, that the *Umbrians* were by many antient authors eſteemed the moſt antient people in *Italy* *. And *Pliny* in the place laſt quoted tells us, that when the *Hetruri-ans* entered that country, and made war againſt the *Umbrians* they deſtroyed 300 of their cities; which proves, that they muſt have been there a conſiderable time. Our next obſervation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient hiſtorians to have been the deſcendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes* †. And if it be ſo, it will be more reaſonable to believe, that theſe *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already paſſed the *Alps* and ſettled themſelves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn*'s time, ſince we find that he made no ſcruple to go and take refuge amongſt them, and was courteouſly received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the ſons of *Javan*,

[d] Annal. l. 3. [e] Bell. Jud. l. 2 c. 16. [f] Vid. Reyneco. ap. Rawley hiſt. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2. * Florus lib. i. c. 17. Plin. l. iii. c. 14. Dionys. Halic. l. i. c. 8. com. Serv. in Virgil. † Solin. ex Bocho. Isidor. & al. ap. Pezron. c. 12.

or,

or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their ſuppoſed deſcendants, could come thither ſo early by ſea; they who are only famous for their paſtoral life, and conſequently ſo unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever therefore either of theſe did poſſeſs themſelves of *Italy*, as ſome have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and ſome intricate teſtimonies from antient authors, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greateſt part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reaſon of their making ſo many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

Plutarch, indeed ſpeaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tells us, that ſome of them paſſing over the *Riphean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern ſea, the extreme or the northern part of *Europe*, whilſt others remained in the ſouth parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps* [g]. Where he adds, that having taſted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered thoſe territories which had been till then held by the *Tuſcans*. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Feneſtre* or *Finiſter*, the utmoſt verge of *Spain* weſtward on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata* or *Ciſalpina* on the other, including near one third part of *Italy* [h] weſtward, ſhews nothing leſs than their having confined themſelves

[g] In vit. Camill. [h] Vid. PTOLEM. ubi. ſup. MELA. lib. iii. 1, 2, CLUVER. & al.

(C) We need not obſerve further to our readers, how fond he *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations and how much they valued themſelves for their aſſumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or Τυτανες one ſignification of which is almoſt of the ſame import with that of *Aborigines* or *Terrigenæ*, out of the ſame oſtentation, we would not venture to affirm after *Pezron*, ſeeing it is capable of another ſignification, as we ſhewed in a former note. We may ſay in general, that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifeſtly forced; as *Latium* from *lateo, to be hid*, becauſe *Saturn* ſheltered himſelf there, and *Italy* from the *Greek Æolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7). Upon the whole then, thoſe who will not allow it to have been peopled at firſt by the *Umbrians* above mentioned, and theſe to have been a colony of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, muſt be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(7) *Reynecc. ub. ſup. Camden. Heylin. & al.*

ſelves

ſelves within the limits of thoſe two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of theſe *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of thoſe two provinces, rather than the firſt inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have ſhewn by this time to be at leaſt the more probable of the two.

UPON the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themſelves eaſt and weſt, from the head ſpring of *Iſter* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (E), quite croſs *Europe* unto *Cape Finiſter* and the ſtreights of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia*[1] or *Celto-galatia*, now *France*, with the *Low-countries*; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eaſtward, and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, ſince *Swiſſerland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Ciſalpina* or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, beſides the ſouthern and northern iſlands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occaſion to mention.

THESE extenſive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* mountains from eaſt to weſt; by the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth; and by the *Rhine* and *Britiſh* ocean on the north and noth-eaſt. In *Cæſar*'s time we find it ſtill leſſened by all that tract which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been

[1] Vid. POLYB. lib. iii.

(D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which, being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do ſhew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we ſhall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(E) *Herodotus* ſays much the ſame thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Iſter* hath its ſpring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traverſing the *European* regions enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(8) *De his vid. Wott. Archæol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobrit Hick. lexic. Brecrw. de or rig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. ſeptent. Lewis hiſt. Mag. Brit. Pezron. ubi ſup. & al. mult.* (9) *Comm. lib. ii. c. 4. & ſeq.*

ſometime

ſometime before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Ciſalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinius Priſcus*'s time, and advanced almoſt as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called *Comata*. *Cæſar* divided it into three nations, namely, *Belgæ*, *Aquitans*, and *Celtes* or *Gauls* [k] (F). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been diſmembered from it; as *Spain*, which had paſſed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire [l], and included all the ſouthern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean* from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this laſt contained at leaſt *Gaſcony*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphine*. Nevertheleſs, theſe three diviſions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæſar* had made the moſt of them in his account of that war (G). Other

[k] Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 1.

[l] Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 20.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Romans*. Thus we find alſo the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata* from the long robes, and the *Ulterior* or *Tranſalpine Brachata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(G) By which diſtinction it is plain, that he ſpeaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which ſtill ſpread themſelves vaſtly farther, at leaſt towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himſelf, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of thoſe three nations, it appears, that he goes no farther than his own conqueſts (10): ſo that it ſhould ſeem as if he had affected to compliment himſelf with the ſubduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, ſo famous both in *Europe* and in *Aſia*, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the ſame oſtentation, that he ranks, for inſtance, 15 people under the name of *Belgæ*; namely the *Bellovaci*, or thoſe who belonged to the city or diſtrict of *Beauvais*; the *Sueſſones* thoſe of *Soiſſons*; *Nervii* now *Cambraiſians*; *Atrebates* or *Artois*; *Ambiani* or *Amiens*; *Morini* whoſe capital was *Terouana*; *Menapii*, or the *Gantines*, *Antverpians*, and *Brabantines*; *Caletes* or thoſe of the diſtrict of *Caulx*; *Velocaſſes*, now *Vexinois*; *Veromandui*, or *Verequandois*, now St. *Quintin*; *Aduatici*, now not known, and variouſly gueſſed at; the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæreſi*, and *Pæmani*, concerning which we are alſo much in the dark. Now it is

(10) *Vid. Godwin. annot. in Cæſ. Comm. ibid.*

ther diviſions of *Gallia*, which were made by *Auguſtus* and other *Roman* emperors (H), after the conqueſt of it, will be beſt ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory.

Seas

plain, that all this pompous liſt did take up little more than the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The ſame may be ſaid of another third, *viz. Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve diſtinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorica*, ſo named from the *Celtic* word *Armor*, which ſignifies thoſe countries which are upon the ſea coaſt; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at moſt the weſtern provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtæ*, to whom *Cæſar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and ſouth from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine* *, and eaſt and weſt at moſt from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, part of which laſt was already under the *Romans*. But how ſhort did all theſe three come of the *Celtic* territories, when ſome authors tell us, that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each ſide of the *Rhine* were ſtill called *Celtes* (14)? ſo that all that were on the other ſide of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more ſo out of thoſe of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was ſo called, and its inhabitants *Celtes*, in *Cæſar*'s time, by way of excellence above the reſt, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all the ſeven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three *Gallic* provinces which he ſubdued, one of which only he diſtinguiſhes by the *Celtic* name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have ſpoken of the iſles of *Great Britain*, both as they were firſt inhabited, and are ſtill in ſome parts, by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*; which laſt name as well as the antient language of that nation, is ſtill preſerved amongſt them, eſpecially in the north part of *Wales*. But as they make ſo great a figure in antient hiſtory, from their being firſt planted by ſome colonies of that nation, their hiſtory will be better referred to another book, wherein we ſhall reſume that of the weſtern and northern empires according to our firſt plan of this work.

(11) *Vid. Plin. l.* iv. *c* 17. (12) *Comment. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *& alib.* * *See page* 245 *in the note.* (13) *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 9. *Plutarch in vit. Camil. vid & Mel. Cluver. & al.* (14) *Dio. Caſſ. l.* xxxix.

However,

SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the western, *British*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in these territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles

However, it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the same peop'e; for it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themselves *Brithained*, and are as great strangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welsh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It seems therefore, that those antiquaries have too lightly rejected the story of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called *Britannia* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brith painted* and *Tain region*; because the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans Picts* or *Painted*

It does not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the same with the *Gomros*, or antient inhabitants of *Britain*, they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendants of *Gomer* did so pride themselves, for the nick-name of *Brithained* or *Painted*; much less that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preserved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themselves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welsh*, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under *Brutus*, or *Trotus*, as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Brito*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a considerable part of this island; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welsh*, and the *Brithained* or *British*, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with Sir *John Price* (16), that these isles were at first peopled by the antient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*; for who can think, that they should have been so long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the dispersion? for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed to have come from *Troy* hither, by which time the others had spread themselves all over *Europe*. And is it not also more probable, that these gave it the antient name of *Albion*, which in their language signifies *white*, from the whiteness in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other side of the water, than that it received it from *Albion*, the brother of *Borgion*, the son of *Neptune*?

(15) *Lewis Introd. in hist. Britan. c.* iv. *& lib.* ii. *c.* 14. (16) *Dessen's hist. Brit.*

miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableneſs inriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere* in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much ſmaller at eight or nine miles diſtance, and is calculated to ſtand near half a mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or ſending out more water than a very inconſiderable ſtream, ſcarce ſufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwiſe called *Apennine*, which are of very great length, and of ſuch prodigious height, that they are always covered with ſnow of incredible hardneſs. The latter were ſuppoſed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apennine* from *Hannibal Pennius*, but much more probably from the old *Celtic* word *Penn*, *a head*, by reaſon of the exceeding height and whiteneſs of them. So that *Apennine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, *white heads*, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the *Celtic Alp* or *Alb*, *white*.

The chief rivers are the *Iſter*, which runs into *Scythia*, and empties itſelf into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine*

We may add, that *Beroſus* and thoſe who have followed his ſteps (17) have given us a liſt of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them alſo over the *Gomeros* on this ſide of the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will ſee by the following liſt of their names how ſeveral cantons of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and ſixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonenſis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunenſis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follows: 1. *Samothes*, by others called *Dis & Diſcelta*, 2. *Magus* 3. *Sarron*. 4. *Druis*. 5 *Bardus*. 6 *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*. 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Faſius*. 14. *Allobrox*. 15. *OEgyptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius*. 18. *Galates* II. 19. *Nammes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this liſt ſeems rather to be that of the princes of ſeveral cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular ſucceſſion of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one ſole monarch. Nevertheleſs as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, long before this *Brutus* (ſuppoſe him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further ſeen when we come to that part of our hiſtory) the moſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomeros*, its *original* inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire farther weſtward, where they have continued ever ſince.

(17) *Vid. Vitus Baſinſt. biſt. Brit. lib.* i. *not.* 25. & *auct. ab eo citat.*

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which ſprings from the mountains of *Switzerland*, and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *Britiſh* ſea. The *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak, as they divided the *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitania* from each other *. The *Durius* now *Ducro*, which deſcends from the mountains of *Sierra* in *Aſturia* into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which croſſes great part of *Spain* and *Portugal* and falls into the ſame ocean below *Olyſipon* or *Lisbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tarteſſus* now *Guadalquivir*; theſe two empty themſelves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro*, which deſcends from the ſame mountains of *Sierra* with the *Durius*, but taking a contrary courſe from it, runs eaſtward into the *Mediterranean* and empties itſelf into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhoſne*, which hath its ſpring from the mountains of *Switzerland* but deſcends a contrary way, and croſſing the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the ſouth part of *France* and empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* about *Marſeilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adeſis* now *Adige*, which deſcend, the former from *Piedmont* and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a ſmall diſtance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Thoſe of *Italy* and of the *European* Iſlands will be ſeen in another chapter.

WE ſhall only add, that the greateſt part of the names of theſe and of other ſmaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garumna* from *Garw*, *rough*, expreſſes its great rapidity. *Rhodanus*, from *Rhedog*, *to run ſwiftly*, implies its ſwift courſe. *Arar* now *Saon* is ſo called from its ſlowneſs, its deſcent into the *Rhoſne* being ſcarce perceptible. *Durius* or *Duero* from *Dour*, *water* or *river*, whence the names of a great many cities and towns ſituate near the water-ſide ended in *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewiſe the names of countries and diſtricts which end

[m] Vid. CAMDEN, Brit. LEWIS introduct. in hiſt. Britan. PEZRON. antiq. lib. iii. ſub. voc. tan. & alib.

* The authors, p. 242 in the note, ſay that *Aquitain*, according to *Cæſar*, lay between the *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, and the *Pyrenees*; and that the *Celtæ* extended only from the *Ligeris* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*; whereas *Cæſar* tells us, in the place quoted, that *Aquitain* was bounded on the one ſide by the *Garumna* or *Garonne*, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, and that the *Celtæ* were divided from *Aquitain* by the *Garumna*, and from the *Belgæ* by the *Sequana*: This it was thought proper to obſerve here, as it ſeems from what is above ſaid, that the authors intended ſome other diviſion than what they have given us, and which it is impoſſible to diſcover.

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in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Lusitania*, &c. are formed from the *Celtic Tain* and *Stan*, *a region* [m], and imply *the country of waters*, *of the Britons*, and *Lusians*, which last were a *Celtic* people, from whom came the *Portugueſe*. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other antient names which are palpably of the ſame extraction, concerning which the curious may conſult the authors above named.

Natural and artificial rarities in ſo ſpacious a field would take up too much room in this hiſtory, and are ſo well known to the curious, that we think, they may be ſafely omitted, thoſe only excepted which have ſome immediate relation with ſome remarkable facts as ſhall fall in the courſe of this hiſtory, when we come to reſume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapideum*, otherwiſe the *Campus Lapideus*, or *ſtony ſhore* or *field*, of above a mile in length upon the coaſts of the *Gallia Narbonenſis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is ſaid to have fought the giant *Albion*, the ſon of *Neptune*; which place is ſtill called by the inhabitants *Les Crauz* [n], from the multitude and largeneſs of ſtones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which ſignifies *rocks* or *ſtones* [o].

[m] Hiſt Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498. [n] Vid. Lewis introd. in hiſt. Brit. c. iv.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, and trade of the antient Celtes.

THO' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their deſcent being, as we have ſeen, from *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, in which reſpect they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it muſt be owned, that our knowledge of their government comes vaſtly ſhort of the two firſt, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the ſlowneſs and length of their migrations into *Europe*, where we find them firſt ſettled into a ſpacious and regular polity. A late antiquary [a] hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the diſperſion of *Babel*, *Gomer* or his immediate deſcendants did preſently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Aemon*, and afterwards

[a] Pezron. antiq. Na. Celt. paſſ. & ch. 15.

terwards of his ſon *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they ſpread themſelves farther, and ſent their colonies from leſſer *Aſia* even into *Spain*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mercury* or *Teutat*, were their three next ſucceſſors; and it was this laſt, according to our author, who ſettled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe* into a regular government, and gave them laws; and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*. According to this ſyſtem then this *Gomerian* polity muſt have begun about the time of *Terah*, *Abraham's* father, or even of *Nahor*, if *Manes* be admitted to have been, as ſome hiſterians think, the father of *Aemon*; tho' *Saturn* was the firſt who took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for from antient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we ſhall find a proper place for the hiſtory of thoſe princes, ſince deified by a great part of the world; for the preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that nothing is more likely, than that their government was originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, ſince we find it in the ſame form even in *Caſar*'s time, when they had ſpread themſelves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they had ſo far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that hiſtorian, that inſtead of one monarch they were divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and did not yield the abſolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invaſion from a common enemy [b]. This is further confirmed in part by another hiſtorian [c]; who tells us, that the *Cimmerians* or northern *Gomerians*, being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whoſe diſagreement about defending or abandoning their country occaſioned the loſs of it, as well as the lives of thoſe who reſolved upon oppoſing the invaders. It is indeed hard to conceive, how ſo warlike a nation, extended over ſuch large tracts of ground, and in ſuch a difference of climates, ſhould continue long under one head, without ſplitting itſelf into ſeveral kingdoms; ſo that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preſerved ſo much of their antient affinity and government in *Cæſar*'s time, as to unite themſelves under one head in caſes of common danger.

Their government.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their ſovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary above-mentioned, that *Mercury* did poliſh and give them laws; and by others [d], that *Samothes*, otherwiſe called *Dis* and *Diſcelta*, a man of ſingu-

[b] Comment. l. 6. & al. HERODOT. l. iv. [c] PEZRON. ubi ſupra. [d] Vid. LEWIS hiſt. Brit. cap. 2. & auct. ab eo citat.

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lar learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character; and that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes* when they re-entered *Asia*. The mistake of these authors in affirming, that he wrote in *Hebrew*, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the descendants of *Heber* excepted, may be easily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we shall have further occasion to speak; and as to his using the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, since it was the most universal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the same with the *Samaritan* or antient *Hebrew*. The reader may see what has been heretofore said upon that subject †. It is added, that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, such as their divines and philosophers, were called from him *Samothei*. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethern the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline.

The *Curetes*, of whom we shall speak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all causes whether criminal or civil, and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it was by them excluded from assisting at their sacred rites; after which no man dared converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even more than death itself.

Religion. Their religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worshipped the same gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *thunder*. *Mercury*, whom some authors call *Heus* or *Hesus*, probably from the *Celtic Huad* which signifies *a dog*, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. It will not, however, be easy to reconcile the greatest part of these *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* says of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we shall shew in the sequel.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 320. & Vol. III. p. 405, & seq.

All

All that need be ſaid at preſent on that head is, that the *Celtes* after having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worſhipping of *Jupiter*, and ſhewing his ſepulchre at the city of *Gnoſſus*; for which reaſon, whilſt *Callimachus* calls them lyars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, eſpecially the chriſtian fathers, juſtly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How theſe gods, or at leaſt their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be ſhewn, when we come to ſpeak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour loſt to inquire what gods or religion the *Celtes* had before they deified their kings; but ſince that time we find them very much addicted to all kinds of ſuperſtition, divination, aſtrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, ſince known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). Theſe were,

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the ſame reverence and eſteem; inſomuch, that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his ſons was of their ſociety. It is not eaſy to trace their original; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not ſeem to be ſatisfied with all he has ſaid about them (1). Their name of *Curetes* ſeems derived from the *Celtic* word *Curo*, to *ſtrike* or *beat one thing againſt another*, whence the *Greek* κρούω by the tranſpoſition of a letter, which ſignifies the ſame. And this ſeems to have been given them on account of their ſtriking their ſhields with their javelins, which an antient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noiſe and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as ſome pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they muſt have been different from the *Bards*, who, though in all other reſpects of the ſame order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and muſical compoſitions. Upon this account it is, that theſe *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæſar* (4) to have been the inventers of muſic and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Beroſus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

(1) *Geogr. lib.* x. (2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *ap. Pezron.* (3) *de Bell. Gall. vid. & Lewis hiſt. Brit. c.* v. *Pezron c.* xiii. *Heylin & al.* (4) *Bell. Gall. l.* vi. (5) *Nat. hiſt. vid. Camden, Lewis, Pezron.*

were, as *Cæſar* tells us [e], the performers of ſacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people.

Learning. They alſo inſtructed youth in all kinds of learning, ſuch as philoſophy, aſtronomy, aſtrology, the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote againſt the fear of death. Theſe they taught their diſciples by word of mouth, eſteeming them too ſacred to be committed to writing.

Other more common *ſubjects*, *ſuch as their hymns* to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and eſpecially before a battle, all theſe were written in elegant verſe, and recited, or rather ſung, by them upon all proper occaſions. *Diodorus*, ſpeaking of the *Celtes*, tells us further, that theſe poets uſed to accompany their ſongs with inſtrumental muſic, ſuch as that of organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in ſuch veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, when one of theſe poets or *Bards* appeared, both ſides immediately ceaſed fighting, ſo that their fury gave way to wiſdom, and *Mars* to the muſes. But the true reaſon was, that they were univerſally believed to be prophets as well as poets, ſo that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to diſobey what they ſuppoſed came from their gods.

These prophetic philoſophers kept academies, which were reſorted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth but even of other countries, inſomuch, that *Ariſtotle* ſays, that their philoſophy paſſed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither [f]. Other authors add many things in praiſe of their virtue and morality [g]. But a *Roman* hiſtorian [h]

[e] De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12. [f] Ap. Laert. de vit. Philoſ. c. i. [g] See Vitus Basinstoc, Camden, Lewis, & al. [h] Sueton. in vit. Claudii.

The *Druids*, ſome think, were ſo called from *Beroſus*'s *Druys*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for thoſe days (6); but we think with *Camden*, that *Cliny*'s is far more probable, who thinks, that they were ſo called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Droſs*, *an oak* (7), which tree was held ſo ſacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed moſt of their religious rites near ſome large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no ſacrifice without ſome leaves of that tree. As we ſhall ſhew more fully in their hiſtory.

(6) *Vid. Caius ant. Cantab. Perion, Baſinſtok.* (7) *Vid. Caſ. ubi ſup. ex Beroſ. & Cæſar. Com.*

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makes no ſcruple to call their religion an impious one, and as ſuch to have been forbidden by *Auguſtus* and aboliſhed by *Claudius*. *Lucan* is no leſs ſevere againſt them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it muſt be owned, that they had ſome barbarous cuſtoms, ſuch as ſacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than thoſe of any other animals [i]. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman cuſtom they uſed in their divinations, eſpecially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a ſcymitar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs. *Cruel Cuſtoms.*

BUT though they reſembled the *Scythians* in ſome of their barbarous cuſtoms and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their paſtoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with ſpacious walls, towers, and ſumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the *Romans* with following the oldeſt law in the world, which ever leaves to the ſtronger what the weaker cannot defend [k]. And indeed ſo greedy were they of conqueſt and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with ſuch ſtrength and fury, that nothing could withſtand them. And ſo ſudden and violent were their onſets, that, like fire and ſtorm, they drove all before them. They ſeldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people [l]. As for the priſoners they took in war, they ſold them to their great men, who made ſlaves of them, and appointed the moſt ſightly of them for their retinue. Inſtead of the ſkins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more ſavage *Scythians*, theſe choſe to adorn themſelves with their ſpoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dreſs, as we have had occaſion to hint a little higher.

WE have alſo obſerved, that they were expert horſemen, ſo that, conſidering their martial genius and diſcipline, their cavalry ſeldom failed of doing execution. They were no leſs famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing them. In other reſpects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to almoſt all other nations, and ſo ſhall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and ſcymitars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewiſe ſhields and head- *Warlike diſcipline.*

[i] MELA. lib. iii. c. 2. [k] Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Camil. [l] Id. in vit. Mar. Vid. & STRAB. TACIT. DIO. HERODIAN, MELA, & al.

pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the ſame manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the buſineſs of their poets to record the actions of thoſe that ſignalized themſelves in ſongs and ſtories, which were afterwards ſung at their games and other ſolemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had ſuch an effect upon them, that they choſe to die with their weapons in their hand, rather than to be made priſoners. It was alſo their cuſtom before a battle to obſerve the moon, and, if poſſible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not ſo much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a ſuperſtitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedemonians*. They uſed alſo, like other nations, to conſult their prieſts or augurs upon all emergencies, but eſpecially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, theſe prieſts uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, till the onſet was begun; but if their augury proved otherwiſe, they gave ſuch heed to it, that nothing but abſolute neceſſity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws uſed likewiſe to be written in verſe, and ſet to ſome warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions, ſo that their very youth were verſed in them, and knew the theory of military diſcipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They ſeem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inſpire them with a deſire of conqueſt and glory, and cheriſh the warlike temper for which they have been ſo famed in hiſtory. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be ſeen in another chapter, and we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this, that they ſignalized themſelves no leſs in *Aſia*, both before and ſince their migration into *Europe*.

Language. Their language, which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak of, was the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, preſerved ſtill by the *Welſh*. This has been ſo fully proved by numberleſs antiquarians, that we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to them, without entering into ſo ſpacious and intricate a field [m]. Thoſe who are acquainted with it muſt

[m] De his vid. Camd. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierw. inquir in orig. ling. Lluyd. Davies & Robert Gram. Wooton, Hick. lexic. Lewis & Pezron. ubi ſup. & al. mult.

readily

readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*; and that, though it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in proceſs of time, yet it retains ſtill ſo much of the admirable ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and conſtruction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the ſame tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, ſeem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would

(B) With reſpect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been ſaid of it in the hiſtory of the *Jews* *, and it would be endleſs to enumerate in how many inſtances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welſh*, doth imitate it. We ſhall, however, give our reader ſome few inſtances of it by way of ſpecimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is ſo near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8), who was maſter of both, has given the learned world a ſpecimen of a conſiderable number of phraſes out of the *Old Teſtament*, which are ſo alike in both, that they ſeem to have been originally the ſame, and their difference to be only owing to diſtance of time and place, and other ſuch like cauſes, by which a language is naturally altered. 2. It diſtinguiſhes the caſes like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by prepoſite articles. 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the prepoſition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it ſometimes a harder, ſometimes a ſofter ſound, more for the ſake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aſpirations and gutturals, which are more or leſs denſe like thoſe of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third perſon ſingular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari*, thou loveſt; *Cara*, I love; *Carwn*, we love; *Carwch*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With reſpect to its genius, it is ſtrong, maſculine, very poetical, and figurative, and though, perhaps more through corruption than primitive orthography, it ſeems harſh in the pronunciation by reaſon of its vaſt number of conſonants, yet when put into verſe, and ſpoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very ſoft, melodious, and muſical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed alſo by hiſtorical facts (9). But we dare not be ſo ſanguine as he in ſo delicate a point, leſt we ſhould be thought to write rather the panegyric than the hiſtory of that antient nation and tongue.

* *See before Vol.* III. *p.* 401. *& ſeq.* (8) *Ch. Edward's ſpecimen printed An.* 1675. *Vid. & Lloyd Gram. & al.* (9) *Pezron Ant. ling. Celt paſ. & p.* 3.

Here,

would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations, have suffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former's having still preserved themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, choosing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? And as this at once inspired them with an over-weening value of themselves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preserving them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neighbours?

Poetry. It were labour lost to endeavour to find out what their antient poetry was, in which their *Cimbres* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here is to observe, that as these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eastern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we observed in the last note, this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their music, of which we have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have brought it from *Crete*, where, having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms, and shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, espe-

Here, however, the reader may find the most rational account for that surprising affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *High-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* la guages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to antient history; in which it seems at least highly probable, that all these were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and used the same language, till in process of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it split itself into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still the same in them; as may be seen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the history itself.

cially

cially when the *Curetes* were nurſing up young *Jupiter*, of which we have ſpoken already [n]. How far they improved theſe, and what other arts they cultivated, muſt be only gueſſed at from their manner of life; for ſince their warlike diſpoſition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting ſome grandeur in their equipages, dreſs, and houſhold furniture, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, all thoſe arts and manufactures that tended to it to have been likewiſe encouraged amongſt them. To theſe we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their ſlaves and inferior ſort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with reſpect to dreſs and equipage, we do not find that they uſed any in their food. Pulſe of all ſorts was their common diet, eſpecially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be the ſame with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies *millet*, and is a very nouriſhing grain. Milk was alſo a conſiderable part of their diet; and as to fleſh, they eat very ſparingly of it, if we except that of ſwine, called in the *Celtic Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* Συκα or Σικα, and the word *Sick*, uſed by the country people in ſeveral parts of *Europe* to call their hogs.

CONCERNING their antient traffick we have not much to ſay; only when *Mercury* the ſon of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the weſt, that is of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, he is ſaid to have poliſhed them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worſhipped as the patron and protector, and had every where ſtatues reared to his honour, as *Cæſar* himſelf aſſures us †. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren, he ſo poliſhed them by degrees, as to vie in moſt reſpects with all other nations in learning and politeneſs, as will further appear by what we have to ſay of that deity under the next ſection. *Traffick.*

[n] See NEWTON's Chronol. p. 14. † Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of *Mercury* ſeems to have been given him from the *Celtic Merc*, *merchandiſe*, and *Ur*, *a man*; as if he had been called by way of excellence, *the man*, *maſter*, or *founder of merchandiſing*. That of *Teutat*, which he is ſuppoſed to have taken at his going or returning from *Egypt*, ſeems likewiſe to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, ſignifying *the father of the people*, ſuch as he was upon this and many other accounts.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The chronology and history of the GOMERIANS *or* CELTES.

IT muſt be owned, that all that has been ſaid concerning the time of their migration from *Aſia*, as well as of their moſt famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to ſay fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to ſettle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about theſe [illegible] we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confuſed than the hiſtory of thoſe two nations. Sir *Iſaac Newton* [a] thinks, that theſe two nations had already ſpread themſelves over leſſer *Aſia* and *Europe*, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is, about the latter end of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges. But before that time they had ſignalized themſelves in *Aſia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a ſucceſſion of kings. The firſt of which was, according to the author whom we chooſe to follow, contemporary with, if not before, *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this hiſtory. The perſon we mean is the learned *Pezron* [b], who has taken greater pains, and made more conſiderable diſcoveries, concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any hiſtorian we know of. It were indeed to be wiſhed, he had built leſs upon conjectures; and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without ſome ſolid teſtimonies from antiquity, and that his hiſtory of the *Celtes* carries a greater ſhare of probability, than any that has been attempted concerning this antient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conqueſts, and ſettlements. We ſhall upon the cloſe of this hiſtory make ſome kind of apology for preferring his notion, that *Uranus*, for inſtance, and *Saturn*, as well as their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Aſia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of biſhop *Cumberland*, who ſuppoſes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, to have been *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, and ſo on; becauſe it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his ſyſtem carries from antient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable hiſtory at leaſt of thoſe heroes, and of the *Celtic* and

[a] Chronol. p. 10. [b] Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & ſeq.

Titanic

Titanic nations, divested as much as possible from the fable, and that there is at least more reason to believe, that there really were such men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the several parts of *Asia*, before their spreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by antient geographers and historians under other names, such as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the same people and the descendants of *Gomer*, and that their names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilst they not only preserved still that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

THUS

(A) This really holds true with respect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference, however, that they sometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been observed more than once; which was doubtless owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and such like, as well as to their regular progress and spreading to the right and left of north *Asia* and *Europe*; so that there is no other way to distinguish them but by those countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others speaking of them in those respective provinces of *Asia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians*, *Chomarians*, and *Cymbrians*. Thus *Ptolemy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes*, were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewise seems to mean the same thing, when, speaking of them, he says (2), beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Persians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *a proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, because as *Ptolemy* observes elsewhere, the *Chomarians* in *Bactriana*, who were a more civilized sort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Chomar* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we shall shew in the sequel

Thus then it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, though they used in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we observed in the first section had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the

(1) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 13. (2) *Nat. hist. l.* vi *c.* 17. (3) *Ubi sup l.* xi.

THUS then from *Phrygia*, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, quite up to the province of *Bactria*[c]; these *Ptolemy* expressly calls *Sacks*,

[c] MELA. lib. 1. c. 2.

Scythians. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both less known to the antients, and consequently with less probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it; but which we own is not altogether so clear as could be wished.

He first supposes, that the *Comerians*, or, as they had been since opprobriously called, *Sacks* or *Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have shewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it seems they built a city which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the son of *Uranus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*; our author supposes him to be the same with *Sanchoniatho's Elion*, or *most high*, because this first is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* princes.

These conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as synonymous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Isaiah* (6), which the septuagint renders Γίγαντες οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς *the Giants who subdued the earth*, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the *Titans* or *Celtes*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the *Celtes* over all other nations; so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that as the fable of the *Titans* seems to have been founded upon some antient facts, and that these since deified heroes being said to have signalized themselves for their wonderful exploits, in those very regions of which the *Comerians* had made themselves masters under the name of *Sacks*, since absorbed into that of *Titans*, it is much more probable, that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*; especially considering, that the greatest part of their names and surnames, which were still retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans* concerning the *Titans* and *Curetes* being contemporary in that island, the sepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn*'s sister and wife, being shewn there, and their boasting, that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (7).

(1) *Vid. Steph. de urbib. sub. voc. Acm.* *Ptolem. Geogr. lib.* v. c. 2. & *Numism. Paper ap. Pezron* c. 8. (5) *Ch.* xvi. 7. (6) *Isai.* xiv. 9. (7) *Lib.* v.

Comerians

Cimerians, and *Curetes* [d]; his words are, the *Saccæ*, which inhabited along the *Jaxartes*, were the *Cimarians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Saccæ* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogræcia*, and all those provinces which lie along the *Euxine* sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of *Asia*, till their course was stopt, (not by the *Bactrians*, who seem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called *Chomarians* by *Ptolemy* †, who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis) but, by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the *Chomarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time spread themselves much further northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the *Margiana*, and entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by, the rest, they were called in scorn *Parthians*, which signifies in the *Celtic*, *parted*, or *divided from*. This is affirmed by *Justin* [e], only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the antient *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us [f], called all the nations towards the north of *Asia*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewise confirmed by several other authors [g], though it doth not appear to us, that the *Persians* were descended from them †.

THAT the *Saccæ* possessed themselves of at least the best part of *Armenia*, is expresly affirmed by *Strabo* [h], who adds, that they called that country by their name *Saccacena* (B). It likewise appears from the same author, that they passed over

[d] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13. † Id. ibid lib. ii. [e] lib xli c. 1. [f] Geogr. l. xi. [g] Vid. ARRIAN. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. STEPH. BYZ. in voc. Parthy. JORNAND. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud PEZRON. c. iv. † Vid. sup. Vol. IV. p. 407. & 471. [h] lib. xi.

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccastena*, as we find it more properly spelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which signifies *region*, and is still preserved by the *Persian*, as *Indostan*, *Chusistan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celtæ* softened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitan*, *the country of water*, *Britan*, *the country of the Brits* (9).

(8) *Isidor. seu Charax. Parthen. Stathm. ap. Pezron. c.* 5. (9) *Id. ibid.*

the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part eſpecially which is upon the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea [i]. This expedition ſeems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon* [k], the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Doeas*, where they gave their name; the former to the capital city called *Acmonia*, in which we are alſo told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the ſpacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiſcyra* along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* ſea their progreſs towards the *Palus Mæotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbrian* and *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, from which they needed but to croſs the *Tanais* to enter into their *European* territories.

We muſt now leave thoſe colonies extending themſelves towards *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whither *Acmon* is ſuppoſed either to have returned from *Cappadocia* [l], or, which is more likely, where he continued after his anceſtors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called *Acmona*, and ſaid by the ſame authors to have been founded by him; likewiſe another grove dedicated to him, and ſome ſpacious plains called *Doeantes* from his brother *Doeas* [m] (D). From which one may reaſonably

[i] Strab. ubi ſupra. [k] Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph. Byzant. ſub voce Acmon. [l] Pezron. ch. viii. [m] Byzant. ubi ſupra.

(C) That theſe two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the teſtimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that *Themiſcyra* means no more than *the city of Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* ſignifying *a city*. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddeſs of juſtice, he ſuppoſes her to have been the grand-daughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or propheteſs; and that *Doeas Acmon*'s brother was of the ſame profeſſion; his name in the *Celtic* ſignifying *a diviner*, from *Ddoe*, or *Duoe*, *God*.

(D) If any ſuch monuments were really in two different provinces of *Aſia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expreſly affirm, and the others in ſome other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon*'s government, and there will be no neceſſity to ſend him into the one to bring him back into the other, ſince his colonies could eaſily atchieve the conqueſt of the latter, and leave thoſe monuments in honour of their prince.

(10) *Ibid.* † *Vol. V. p.* 243. *Not.* (B).

But

ſonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worſhipped here likewiſe; and conſequently, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe him a fabulous perſon, any more than his deſcendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and the reſt of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being deſcended from them, we find it expreſly affirmed by a very antient anthor [n], who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet ſays, that the κέλτοι were ὀψίγονοι Τιτάνες, *the deſcendants* or *late poſterity of the* Titans. If it be objected, that the *Druids* in *Cæſar*'s time did boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from *Dis* or *Pluto* [o], it will appear, that he alſo was a *Titan* prince, who had the weſtern part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his ſhare, whilſt *Jupiter* kept the eaſtern part to himſelf; ſo that both *Cæſar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point, *Pluto* being the great grandſon of *Acmon*, the firſt prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

THIS prince was the ſon of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Manens*, his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, ſeems to imply as much. He is ſuppoſed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah* the father of *Abraham*. So that, including *Maneus* in the liſt, we have a ſucceſſion of ſix *Titan* princes, whoſe government, according to him, laſted about three hundred years [p]. And are as follows,

Man or *Manens*	*Saturn*
Acmon	*Jupiter*
Uranus	*Theutat*

[n] CALLIMACH. hymn. in Delum. verſ. 170. & ſeq. [o] Vid. Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi. [p] PEZRON. c. 15.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly abſorbed into that of *Titans*; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*, which either ſignifies *ſons of the ſun*, or *of the earth*, as we ſhewed elſewhere †; whilſt that of *Sacks* ſtuck only to thoſe who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Aſia*. It is not eaſy to ſay, when or why they aſſumed the name of *Titans*; but if we ſuppoſe with our author that word to ſignify *ſons of the earth*, which anſwers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, becauſe it was the original ſettlement of their progenitors *Gomer* and his deſcendants, whilſt thoſe colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and ſettle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, muſt be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the loſers gave to them.

† *See before p. 230, in the note.*

We have already mentioned how impoſſible it is to adjuſt the chronology of theſe princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give ſome light to it out of ſome antient writers; we ſhall give what he has there ſaid in his own words.

I have taken no ſmall pains to find out what antient authors have ſaid on this head. I find that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Iſaac* had attained the one half of his age, or ſome years after *Abraham*'s death, and this is what may be made out from antient hiſtorians, ſuch as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and ſome others, who all agreed, that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the firſt king of *Aſſyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of thoſe who made the verſes of the *Sibyls*, which expreſly ſay, that *Saturn* with his brother *Titan* and *Japhet* began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were thoſe whom people called the children of heaven and earth, becauſe they excelled all others in virtue and ſtrengh. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly anſwers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* muſt therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* muſt already have been very potent, both in *Aſia* and alſo in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah Abraham*'s father. All this ſeems plain to me upon examining thoſe monuments of antiquity which are ſtill extant. But the chronicle of *Euſebius*, which has been regulated from antient hiſtories, and eſpecially thoſe which related to the iſland of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about thoſe times, *Cres*, one of the *Curetes* who took care of *Jupiter*'s education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the iſland received its name from him. *Euſebius* by the words Κατὰ τὲς χρόνες, *about theſe times*, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham*'s life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, muſt have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah*'s life. But I have many reaſons to believe, that *Euſebius* was miſtaken in making him of ſuch old ſtanding, and that this *Titan* prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, *that is the 98th year of* Iſaac's *life*, and that he could not precede *Moſes* above 300 years.

Thus far *Pezron*; according to whoſe account it might be eaſy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter*'s predeceſſors reigned, by tracing ſo many generations back; eſpecially becauſe we have the length of *Jupiter*'s life recorded, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which if

if it come ſhort of the number of his contemporary *Iſaac*, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

Maneus. WE have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* [q].

Acmon. CONCERNING *Acmon*, if he be the ſame with the *Elium* of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or *the ſon of Acmon*, we have nothing particular; except that he had a ſon named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Ouranus*; and that being killed by a wild beaſt, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worſhipped by his deſcendants [r] (E).

Uranus. *Uranus*, according to the ſame antient author, ſucceeded

[q] POLYHIST. ap BYZANT. ſub voce Acmon. [r] SANCHONIATH. lib. iii.

(E) If his deſcendants paid him thoſe divine honours preſently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* obſerves, one of the antienteſt heathen deities in all antiquity. But we ſee no reaſon for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; thoſe groves which were conſecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to thoſe of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, whilſt the idolatrous worſhip of them was not introduced till many ages after.

Theſe *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom the *Greeks* called ἀλήται or *wanderers*, ſuch as the *Gomerians* really were, are alſo ſuppoſed to have been of gigantic ſtature, like thoſe we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as ſuch. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as ſynonymous, as we hinted before; and the ſeptuagint have tranſlated the words *the valley of Rephaim*, or *giants*, *the valley of Titans* (12). The *Greeks*, which called them Γίγας and Γίγαντες, ſeem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which ſignifies *proud*, *fierce*, *arrogant*, ſuch as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe their monſtrous ſtature might incline them to be, and ſuch as we find thoſe to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the *Titans*, kings and prieſts as well as people, were extremely given to ſuperſtition, divination, magic, and all ſuch like vile practices, an antient father had reaſon to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

† *See before*, *Vol. II. p.* 257. *N.* (E) & *Vol.* iv. *p.* 187 *N.* (W) & *alib.* (11) *Chap.* xvi. 7. (12) 2 *Sam.* v. 18. (13) *Euſeb. pr. evang l.* ii. *c.* 5.

his

his father, and married his own ſiſter, Γῆ *Ge*, or *the earth* (F), by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom, called *Itus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, alſo ſucceeded him. *Sanchoniatho* obſerves, that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards; but tho' he knew not the reaſon of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, *a Man*, and *en*, *heaven*, it will appear highly probable, that he was called *Our-en*, *a man of heaven*, from his being very much addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology. From this the *Greeks* might eaſily alſo call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We paſs by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks* and other writers, and ſhall only add, that his new conqueſts in *Aſia* and *Europe* ſeem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic, to his policy than to his ſkill in aſtrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having inlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious ſon and ſucceſſor *Saturn*, who, having intercepted him, put him into cloſe confinement, where he either died with grief, or was diſpatched by the order of that unnatural ſon.

Saturn. *Saturn*, ſurnamed afterwards *Chronus* or *Cronus*, is ſaid by *Sanchoniatho* to have been the eldeſt ſon of *Uranus* [r], whilſt other authors affirm him to have been the youngeſt of all [s]; and that his eldeſt brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while conteſt the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. *Saturn* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt, who took upon him the regal dignity; for we are told [u], that all his predeceſſors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themſelves with the title of princes; and an antient father tells us [w], upon the authority of *Pherecides*, *that he was the firſt that wore the diadem*, whence he is ſuppoſed to have been ſurnamed *Cronus*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies *crowned* (G). He likewiſe tells us in another place, that he

[r] Ubi ſupra [s] Hesiod. in Theog. Apollon. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. Pezr. c. x. [u] Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 13. [w] Tertul. de Coron. c. 17.

(F) It is obſervable, that the *Greeks* who have tranſlated this name have alſo retained the antient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic Tit*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. We ſhall find many more ſuch *Greek* names in the ſequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which ſome have abſurdly derived from the *Hebrew*

he much *delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a ſhort coat; of the* Galatic *dye*, from which perhaps came alſo the royal purple, ſo much worn by kings and perſons of the higheſt rank (H).

Saturn, though he was no leſs politic and crafty than prone to ambition, could not ſo well conceal his treaſonable deſigns, but that *Uranus* had ſome ſuſpicion of them, and to be beforehand with him diſpatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by ſome private means [x]. But *Saturn*, who perhaps was appriſed of it by his mother *Titea*, whoſe jealouſy had ſo far tranſported her (I) as to encourage him, if not to inſpire him with the firſt deſign of his unnatural rebellion, ſoon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprize, but to bring her over to his ſide. This cauſed an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a conteſt of ſeveral years proving the ſtronger of the two, impriſoned his father, as we have ſeen above, and made himſelf abſolute; after which it is ſuppoſed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he aſſumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in *Aſia* but in *Europe* as far as *Spain*, and gained alſo ſome provinces in *Africa*, a leſs title than this could not well ſuit his ambitious mind.

[x] HESIOD. ubi ſupra.

Hebrew סתר *Satar*, *to hide*, becauſe he went and concealed himſelf in *Italy* from his ſon *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian Satorn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which ſignifies, *ſtrong* and *potent*; for ſo he really was, till weakened by his ſon's unnatural rebellion, as the hiſtory will ſhew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him alſo the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the *Hebrew* word אל *El*, which ſignifies *ſtrong* and *mighty*, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia*; *Pezron* obſerves, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the *Greek* κόκκος, and *Latin Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the *Celtic Coch*, which ſignifies *red* (14).

(I) This jealouſy and reſentment, *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occaſioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but becauſe though ſhe had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what moſt of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to deſtroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her ſon's rebellion (15).

(14) *Chap.* 10. & *Lexic. Cel. Latin ſub voc. Coccus.* (15) *Id. ibid.*

He had two notable counſellors beſides his mother, the one from his youth, named *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, a great philoſopher and conſummate politician; ſome add that he was alſo a great conjurer [y]; the other was his ſiſter *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). Theſe three did ſo far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and eſpecially with his other brothers, what with their addreſs and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, ſo that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conqueſts did ſo vaſtly exceed thoſe of his predeceſſors, and himſelf proved ſo ſucceſsful both at home and abroad. But his happineſs was ſoured many different ways: he was extremely miſtruſtful of his children; he had himſelf dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, leſt his crime ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame kind. This made him ſacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as ſome think, or, as others believe, to the ghoſt of his father. He was extremely given to ſuperſtition and divinations; and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increaſe his ſuſpicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by ſome of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. He had ſtill another private enemy to ward againſt, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at leaſt in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was ſo intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of ſurpriſing him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into ſome province of *Aſia*, and kept them in cloſe confinement, till his ſon *Jupiter* came with a conſide-

[y] Sanchoniat. ubi ſupra.

(K) This cuſtom of marrying ſiſters had nothing extraordinary in thoſe days; we have ſeen in a former volume, that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewiſe of *Celtic* extraction, and ſignifies *a lady* as *Rhey* ſignifies *a lord* (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japet*, a name preſerved only among the deſcendants of his ſon *Gomer*. *Sanchoniatho* likewiſe names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the ſon of *Japhet*. It is very probable, that *Saturn*, in recompence of their friendſhip to him, gave that part of his conqueſts in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that the famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

(16) *Pezron. ubi ſupra.* (17) *Id. ibid.*

rable

rable army of *Cretans*, and reſtored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

WHAT we have obſerved concerning *Saturn*'s jealous temper and cruelty to his children, muſt in all probability have been the cauſe, why his wife *Rhea* took ſuch pains to preſerve her youngeſt ſon *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and ſending him to be privately educated in another (N). This

(M) This remarkable tranſaction has been preſerved to us by an antient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather of *Evemerus*, whoſe tranſlator he was; and as he produced it to prove againſt the heathen, that the gods they worſhipped had been mere men, he introduces it with this ſingular preface: *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis cõtinentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accuſandis religionibus ſequi aut probare videamur.* It ſhould ſeem by theſe words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic teſtimonies of hiſtorians, and knew full well how to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add, that many other fathers and apologiſts have appealed to the like hiſtorical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as ſuch by thoſe againſt whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter*'s birth. The *Cretans* did pretend, that he was born in that iſland on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there alſo, becauſe ſuch a god as he could not die, yet, abſurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia*. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymniſt adds, that the place was ſince held ſo ſacred that no woman dared to approach it. It was alſo called by way of excellence *the ſacred top*, and the *Puerperium*, or *place of Rhea's lying-in*. As for the *Cretans*, they might be eaſily led into the belief of his being born among them, becauſe he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmoſt privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and theſe being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him ſo powerful an army to go to his father's reſcue. And it is not improbable, that they were the perſons that inſpired him with that pious deſign, which might probably cure the father of his unjuſt ſuſpicion, and entitle the ſon to the ſucceſſion of his kingdom.

(18) *Lactant. Inſtit. lib. i. c.* 14. *Apol. cap.* x. *& alib. paſſ. Athenag. Arnob. Auguſt. Jul. Firmic. & al.*

(19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Theophil. Antioch. Min. Felix,*

(20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*

This action therefore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did rather increaſe than diſpel his jealouſy. His ſurprize to find himſelf over-reached by his wife, and to ſee this ſon, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and ſtrength ſufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time deprive him with the ſame facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to conſult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his ſon *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he loſt no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his ſon was again retired thither after he had atchieved his deliverance; but he ſoon found, that the *Cretans* were all in his ſon's intereſt, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* ſince called *Peloponneſus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel deſign againſt him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, who, we obſerved before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon ſome other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception,

The ſtory of *Saturn*'s cruelty, in ſacrificing ſo many of his children to his jealouſy, may alſo have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring them, as *Jupiter*'s depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occaſion to their accuſing him of caſtrating him.

(O) We have already taken notice, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by antient hiſtorians both to have been the oldeſt people in *Italy*, and to have been the deſcendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that *Saturn* would have truſted himſelf, in his deſperate circumſtances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether theſe were the ſame with the *Aborigines*, or another colony incorporated with them in proceſs of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from *Janus*, ſcarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by ſome other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus* for having affirmed (z1), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken ſome pains to prove that they were really in *Italy* before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were deſcended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this ſhould not ſeem altogether ſo plain, as it is impoſſible to grope

† *See before p. 229, note* (C)

(z1) *Lib. de Error. profan. relig.*

into

on, and, as ſome affirmed, admitted him into a kind of partnerſhip with him in his kingdom [z]; ſo that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoining to the *Tyber*, was ſince called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impoſſible to gueſs, except that his tomb being ſhewed in *Sicily* [a] may induce one to ſuppoſe, that he went and ended his days there.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called, *Jou* (P), becauſe he was the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s children, did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his ſons, having probably found means to ſtrengthen his party whilſt he was taken up againſt his father, raiſed a war againſt him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, both by ſea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army. *Jupiter.*

THIS war ſeems to be the trueſt original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* againſt the gods, which the poets have ſo interlarded with their inventions, that it is ſcarcely

[z] TERTUL. Apolog. ubi ſup. [a] PHILOCOR. ap. CLEM. ALEXAND. admonit. ad Gent.

into thoſe dark and remote ages with any tolerable ſatisfaction, the words of *Firmicus*, *in Italia a Spartis abſconditu*, if there has no error crept into them, may be underſtood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himſelf, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and ſettle in *Sparta*, or upon ſome other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At leaſt the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. ſhews it plainly. It is therefore abſurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth upon the authority of *Verro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the *Celtic Jou*, or, as we pronounce it, *Joo*, which ſignifies *young*, is in all reſpects ſo much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* ſeems plainly to be the ſame with *Jou pater*, which laſt was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worſhiped as the greateſt of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the antient *Latins* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the *Celtic* has ſtill preſerved his antient name of *Jou*, and call *Thurſday*, or the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz jou*, and *Di jou*, *the day of Jove* (22). We ſhall have occaſion by-and-by to ſpeak of ſome of his other names.

(22) *Vid Pezron. ch.* xii.

poſſible

poſſible to diſcover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the antient city of *Tarteſa* in *Spain*, a ſea-port town a little to the north of *Cadis*[b] (R), whither it ſeems he went in perſon with a great fleet and a puiſſant army, and having brought over ſome of their confederates to his ſide, and gained this ſignal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

[b] Tertul. Apolog, Scholiast. in Iliad. viii. ad verſ. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11.

(Q) We have deferred till now to obſerve how much this ſyſtem of hiſtory, for we dare not venture to give it a ſtronger name, doth claſh with that of our learned *Cumberland*, who, as we have fully ſhewn in the beginning of this hiſtory*, makes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus Ham*, *Mizor*, *Mizraim*, *Zadic Melchizedek*, and ſo on; that our readers might ſee which of the two carries the greateſt probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both ſupported by ſome collateral kind of proofs, and upon a ſuppoſition, that this fragment we have left is the relick of a fuller hiſtory, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We ſhall not repeat what we have ſaid elſewhere on this laſt head †, much leſs do we deſign to draw a parallel between theſe two ſyſtems and their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may ſay without partiality concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as chriſtians. But the latter, eſpecially the apologiſts, ſeem plainly enough to have been generally of the ſame mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned againſt their ſtupid worſhippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberleſs *Celtic* etymons, the greateſt part of which are both eaſy and natural and confirmed by hiſtorical facts, muſt be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been ſaid concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*. *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, beſides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be ſeen in our author, and ſome few which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at leaſt, juſtify our giving it a place in this hiſtory, as we have that of our learned biſhop in the firſt volume.

(R This ſeems alſo confirmed by what *Juſtin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the foreſts about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after *Voſſius*, that it ought

* *Vid ſup* Vol. I. p. 295. *N* (C) † *Ibid. p.* 309. *not.* B. & *alib.* (23) *lib.* xliv. *c.* 4.

Jupiter, after the example of his predeceſſors, married his own ſiſter *Juno* (S). But as he was ſeldom without ſome amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous iſſue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleaſures ſo cloſe, but he allowed himſelf proper ſeaſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and *Banditti* who ſheltered themſelves in the foreſts of *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vileſt outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus*, [c] (T) one of the moſt delightful parts of *Theſſaly*, his chief reſidence, he was under a kind of neceſſity to rid thoſe

[c] EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. inſtitut. lib. i. c. 10.

to be read *Cinetes*, becauſe the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already ſhewn, that the latter were the prieſts or ſoothſayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that ſome of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwiſe in a kind of aſcetic life, ſhould be induced to make thoſe foreſts their abode? But we ſhall have occaſion by-and-by to ſay ſomething further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profeſſion in thoſe parts of *Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghuin*, which ſignifies *fair*, *white*, and by way of excellence, beautiful; ſuch as *Juno* is ſaid to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Gloſſaries* call her alſo *Jolinta*, a *jolly* or *fine woman*.

Thus *Jupiter* had ſome other names among the *Greeks* which ſeem to flow from the ſame fountain, as Ζευς, from which they irregularly made their Διὶς Διὸς Διᾷ, &c. in the oblique caſes. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, ſeems more plainly derived from the *Celtic Dhew*, *God*, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, *bright*. He was likewiſe ſurnamed Πικος and *Piccus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tells us was then much uſed in auguries (24), which bird ſeems to be ſo called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends, that he was called *Picus* from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it ſeems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like *Jupiter*, ſo ſurnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word *peck* or *beak*, ſignifies a *bird's bill*; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is derived.

(T) Hence the laſt quoted father obſerves, that after his apotheoſis the place of his reſidence came to be called by his ſuperſtitious worſhippers *heaven*, or to be ſynonymous to it (25).

(24) *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l.* x. *c.* 18.

(25) *Pezron. c.* xii.

countries

countries of ſuch vermin, that his ſubjects might have the freer acceſs to his court.

Before his death he is affirmed by the laſt quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern, or *European*, part of it to his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, ſurnamed alſo *Ageſilaus* (U), whilſt himſelf kept the *Aſiatic*, or eaſtern, part of it [d]. We obſerved alſo before, that he gave ſome part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived jealouſy of him, or detected him in ſome criminal deſign againſt him, he is reported to have cauſed him to be put to death.

This *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whoſe beauty *Jupiter* was not proof againſt, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a ſon named *Theutat*, ſince *Mercury*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting ſomething againſt him. We cannot gueſs whether *Atlas* had been unfortunately

[d] Id. Ibid.

(U) This laſt name which ſignifies *a leader of the people*, or *Ageſander*, as it is found in other writers (26), and ſignifies *a leader of men*, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we obſerved a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the antient city of *Tarteſa*. Here likewiſe he is ſuppoſed to have found out ſome rich mines of gold and ſilver (27), by which he grew ſo rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in *Greek* Πλοῦτος, which ſignifies *rich*, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara* of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came from the above-named *Tarteſa*, a country ſituate in the utmoſt parts of *Spain* weſtward (28).

Hence likewiſe, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the eaſt or ſun-riſing, and *Pluto* of the weſt or ſun-ſetting, came alſo probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewiſe, might the mythologiſts of thoſe fables think it very reaſonable to aſſign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the ſame deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was alſo called by the *Greeks Talamon*, from the *Celtic Tell-mon* or *man*, on account of his high ſtature, and as he was alſo a great aſtronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have ſince made of him.

(26) *Æſchyl. Callimach. Athen. Heſych. ap. Pezron. ibid.* (27) *Vid. Strab. Geograph. l.* v. (28) *Ibid.*

drawn

drawn into ſome rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by ſome accuſed to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual ſeditions which ſhe raiſed againſt him, which yet he did find means to diſcover in good time [e].

ON the other hand, the *Cretan* hiſtorians extolled his virtues up to the ſkies. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ennius*, upon their authority, beſtow the greateſt encomiums on him for his ſtrength, valour, prudence, juſtice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and puniſhing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholeſome laws and regulations for the public good [f]. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62 [g], this great, and ſince deified, hero, reſigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the iſle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnoſſus*, where his ſons erected a ſtately monument, which was ſhewed many ages after by the inhabitants [h]. The ſame authors add, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His ſon *Cres* or *Cret* (from whom that iſland of *Crete* is ſuppoſed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* ſignifying *bold* and *daring*), was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the laſt devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that iſland [i] (X). How the reſt of his kingdom was divided among the reſt of his ſucceſſors is not to be gueſſed at, only we find, that his ſon *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to ſpeak, had the weſtern part aſſigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto* [k].

Mercury is allowed by all antiquity to have been the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have ſeen above. We have given

Mercury.

[e] PEZRON. & auct. ab eo citat. [f] DIOD. SICUL. lib. v. ENN. ubi ſupra. CALLIM. Hymn. in Jov. [g] SUID. ſub voce Πιτος. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. [h] CICER. EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. lib. I. c. 11. [i] Vid. PEZRON. ibid. [k] SUID. ſub voce Πλῶτος. Chronic. Alexand. ubi ſup.

(X) This is at leaſt intimated by *Lactantius*'s words out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii ſui (Jovis) eum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that ſociety. *Euſebius* ſeems alſo to confirm his having ſucceeded his father in the government of that iſle, when he makes him the firſt king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we underſtand him after *Pezron*, he was the firſt who reigned in that only iſland, whereas his father's kingdom is ſaid to have reached from *Euphrates* to *pain*, beſides ſome parts of *Afric*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

(29) *Euſeb. ap. Pezron. cap.* xii.

already in a former note the etymon of thoſe two names †. The *Greeks* did likewiſe call him Ἑρμῆς, *Hermes*, (Y), and the *Latins Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wiſdom, and eſpecially for his ſkill in auguries, magic, and philoſophy. He was active, couragious, and eloquent; and ſo prudent, that he always kept cloſe to his father's intereſt. For all theſe good qualities he became his chief favourite and counſellor, and was alſo by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us, that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate farther into their myſterious arts and ſciences, and that at his return he aſſumed the name of *Theutat* [1] (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, caſting, and working of metals, which art he

† See before p. 255, in the note. [1] Cyril. Alexand. lib. cont. Julian.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which ſignifies *divination*. For *Mercury* ſeems to have out done all his anceſtors in the knowledge and conſtant practice of that art, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we gueſs upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and *Mercury*; ſo that this *Faunus* muſt not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, eſpecially with *Faunus* the father of *Latinus*, in whoſe time *Æneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, muſt have lived at fartheſt about the time of *Joſeph*'s being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thoyth*, who, as we have ſeen in the firſt volume *, was worſhipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learning, wiſdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himſelf a more honourable one in the *Celtic Theu-tat*, as we obſerved before, ſignifying *the father of his people*, ſuch as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how theſe Gods, or at leaſt their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious ſubject doth well deſerve to be treated of in a treatiſe by itſelf, and we hope, if we have not quite cleared that point thro' the former parts of this hiſtory, we have at leaſt furniſhed the world with ſome conſiderable materials towards ſuch an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from ſuch a deſign as this.

(30) *Idem, cap.* xiv. * *Vol. I. p.* 516.

is

is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again dimanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

HE not only taught them the metallic trades, but how to make an advantageous traffic of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar*'s time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village *.

SOME attribute the invention of the olympic games to him, others to *Hercules*, but, if *Pausanias* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them [m]. They may, however, be supposed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventer. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* [n] and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure and retiring into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, *Livy* acquaints us [o], that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Theutat*; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the *Romans*, except that the unweildiness of so vast an empire did probably cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of

* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16.
[m] Lib. viii. qui est Arcad.
[n] Sub voce Ἑρμῆς.
[o] Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.

the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to ſpeak of them; they will be the ſubject of other volumes, in which the hiſtory of the *European* kingdoms will be reſumed.

These inteſtine diviſions having once weakened the ſtrength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did eaſily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewiſe. Among the firſt *Iberia* or *Spain* was diſmembered from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Romans* together with the ſouthern provinces, ſince called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the provinces on the other ſide of the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did alſo incroach upon them on the north ſide, and very probably ſeized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither ſide of the *Danube*. For it ſeems moſt natural, that in their firſt migrations the ſame boundaries, which parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, did alſo part the *Celtic* and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering ſword of their neighbours *, or through their inteſtine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occaſion it, ſure it is, that ſeveral powerful colonies of theſe *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into leſſer *Aſia*, where, finding almoſt every where ſome antient monuments of their progenitors, they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of it by main force, and gave ſome of their new-gotten names to them; ſuch as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, and ſome others, without which it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe latter excurſions and exploits from thoſe by which they had ſignalized themſelves before their migrations into *Europe*. The firſt of thoſe, as far as it can be diſentangled from the latter, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the following hiſtories, either of thoſe nations whom they there conquered, or of thoſe by whom they were driven out of their conqueſts.

As for thoſe whom we have ſeen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are ſatisfied by this time, that if we have choſe to follow a new guide through thoſe dark and remote ages, he has at leaſt conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed; and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to ſuch a vaſt number of *Celtic* etymologies, do at leaſt carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with any where elſe; and we may add, than we ourſelves could ever have attained,

* See before, Vol. IV. p. 385.

tained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. Theſe etymologies, which ſeem to ſtrike a light to every paſſage quoted from antient authors, and which we can aſſure our readers we did not take upon truſt, will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify likewiſe our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at beſt but a confuſed medly of ſome dark and imperfect hints ſtolen out of the writings of *Moſes*, and jumbled with the hiſtory and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

WE ſubmit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the teſtimony of antient authors, than that which our learned biſhop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us out of his *Phœnician* hiſtorian. As for ourſelves,

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have ſuppoſed his hiſtory to have been a forgery writ on purpoſe to invalidate the authority of *Moſes*, as if he had ſtolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records *; yet we cannot but think it manifeſt, that he had copied that ſacred hiſtorian, and that very bunglingly too, beſides blending and adjuſting his coſmogony and theology with the hiſtory and fables of his time.

What elſe can we think of his dark and univerſal *Chaos?* His vehement wind engendering *Môt* or *motion*, (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word), which produced the ſeeds of all things animate and inanimate? The ſun, moon, ſtars, and *Zophaſemin* or *ſpeculators of the heavens?* What means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty Word, which ſpoke all things into being; his *Bau* or *Baut*, but the *Tohu* and *Bohu* of *Moſes?*

Whoever compares alſo the hiſtory he gives us of the ſecond and third line with what we read in *Geneſis*, and with what has been quoted in the laſt ſection out of antient authors, concerning *Eliun*, *Chronus*, &c. will eaſily ſee, that it is a mere confuſed mixture of ſacred and prophane hiſtory, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerombaàl*, prieſt of *Jahvoh*, from whom *Porphyry* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was ſurnamed *Jerubbaal* (31), and might have been miſtaken for a prieſt of *Jahvoh*, becauſe he is recorded to have ſet up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other uſe of thoſe *Jewiſh* memoirs than to put them in a phantaſtical *Phœnician* dreſs, ſuch as beſt ſuited the theology of the heathen world, and was moſt likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond thoſe of the ſacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

* *Vid. int. al.* Dodwell's *diſſertat. de Sanchoniath.* (31) *Judg.* vi. 32. (32) *Ibid.* vi. 24. & viii. 27.

we

we wish we could meet with such another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, history, that of the *Scythians*. But hence we must be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the best of those few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

SECT. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of *Scythia*, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the *Greek* σκυζεθαι, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic Scheten* or *Schuten*, *to shoot*, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others [a], to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that, according to this supposition the word *Scy-*

[a] Vid. GOROP. BECAN. HEYLIN. PEZRON.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the *pontic Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia* then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot having straggled out of the way whilst he refreshed himself with sleep, as he was in search of them he met with a monster, half woman and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and staid with her till she was tired, she asked him at parting how he would have her dispose of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest seam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and send the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scytha*, who was the youngest and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(1) *Herodot. lib. iii.*

thian

thian did properly signify a great *Shooter* or *Archer*. We have, however, observed heretofore, that the *Tartars* and *Muscovites* called themselves *Mogli*, which we suppose only an abbreviation of *Magogly*, *the sons of Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whose language, as was before observed, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vast territory, which extended itself from the *Ister* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almost the 110th degree of east longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Asia*, including, however, the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circassian Tartary*, which did lie between and sever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was also distinguished into *European* and *Asiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanais*, which falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and from the *Asiatic* by the *Rha*, now *Volga*, which empties itself into the *Caspian* sea [b]. But the *Sarmatians* differed so little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe *Herodotus* [c], that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former seems to us the most probable, when we consider how easy, short, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their first setting out, and that we find in the very centre between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia* a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Josephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We shall not repeat here what we have so lately urged against this last opinion †.

Upon the whole then, we may safely venture to say, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Asia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, descending, as is supposed, from the *Riphean* mountains (B) into the *Palus Mæotis*.

[b] PTOLEM. MEL. STRAB. CLUVER. & al. [c] HERODOT. l. iv. † See before, p. 233, in the note.

(B) Some modern geographers (z), who prove plainly enough that these could not be those of *Siberia*, which are at the distance

(z) *Well's Geogr. c. ii. note* (R), & *Bochart. ubi sup. lib. iii. c.* 10.

of

Mæotis. For beyond theſe mountains northward we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of thoſe remote regions, ſo that theſe were the proper confines of the *Aſiatic Scythia* on the weſt. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen Sea*, called alſo by the antients, the *Scythian Sea*, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, *the Dead Sea*, and by ſome other names which expreſſed its extreme coldneſs and frozenneſs. On the eaſt they are ſuppoſed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Caſſian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and on the ſouth by the *Eoum* or *Indian Sea*, and by mount *Caucaſus*, and the *Caſpian Sea* [d].

As to the northern parts of *Scythia*, their extreme coldneſs made them uninhabitable by any but wolves, bears, and other ſuch-like northern wild beaſts; and this is probably the reaſon why they ſeem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than theſe was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of its being ſurrounded by the *Hyperborean* or *Northern Ocean*, they ſeem rather to have had from conjecture than from experience. But the ſouthern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia*, within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond, *Imaus* and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former and the *European Scythia*, which as we obſerved before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by ſome means ſo blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

[d] Ptolem. ubi ſupr. Mela, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. Cellar. Cluver. Wells, & al.

of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion, that they were imaginary, and ſupplied by the fertile fancy of the antients to furniſh a head to that river. The caſe is hardly worth diſputing; and yet ſince we find that *Riphath* was *Gomer*'s ſecond ſon (3), whoſe migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it ſeems more reaſonable to think, he might leave his name to thoſe mountains S. E. of *Moſcow*, from which the *Don* takes its ſource, as moſt other geographers have ſuppoſed he did, than to believe that thoſe antients, who could know nothing either of *Riphath* or his migrations, ſhould yet ſo luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(3) *Gen. x. 3.*

The

THE *Aſiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary* and *Ruſſia* in *Aſia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without, *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi*, or *Oſtiacoi*, and *Tauguti*. That within, or on this ſide *Imaus* had *Turkeſtan* and *Mongal*, the *Usbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartars*, beſides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. Theſe three laſt being then uninhabited, as we ſuppoſe, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks*, and *Maſſagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which make now the *Circaſſian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

OTHER ſeas, beſides the *Frozen* and *Indian Ocean*, were the *Caſpian* (C), and the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*; the firſt beginning in the province of *Aſia Minor* called *Pamphylia*, runs eaſtward through *Aſia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and ſouthern. The ſecond lies in *Scythia* or the greater *Tartary*: and the third is between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine Sea* [e]. Its rivers, beſides thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is ſuppoſed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all theſe are in *Great Tartary*. To theſe we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jacick*, and the *Oxus*; theſe empty themſelves into the *Caſpian Sea*: in this ſea there were likewiſe ſome iſlands not diſtinguiſhed by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the *Scythian Iſlands*.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that thoſe northern regions are altogether inviſible and impaſſable by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by thoſe who inhabited the more ſouthern parts of it [f], who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtleſs miſtake the large flakes of ſnow, which fall in abundance in thoſe cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were ſtill more abſurd to ſeek for artificial rarities here, among a

[e] Vid. ibid. vid. & WELLS, ubi ſupra, c. xii. [f] lib. iv.

(C) Miſtaken by ſome antients for a gulph; but, as it has no viſible communication with the ocean, it may be rather called a great lake, if ſea be thought too big a name for it *.

* *See Vol. IV. p.* 361, *& ſeq.*

people who were ſtrangers to every thing but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whoſe confines we have already fixed eaſtward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the ſouth-weſt to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Iſter*, or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* ſea. As to its northern limits, though it is not eaſy to gueſs at them, they have been ſuppoſed to ſtretch to the ſpring heads of the *Boryſthenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and ſo to that of the *Tanais* (D) [g].

The antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaſpæa*, which lay eaſtward, joining to *Scythia* in *Aſia*, and *Sarmatia Europeana* on the weſt; theſe two were contiguous to each other, and ſtretched ſome length from north to ſouth, but what divided them aſunder is not eaſy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly ſo called, were the *Arimaſpæi* on the north, the *Getæ* or *Dacians* along the *Danube* on the ſouth, and the *Neuri* between thoſe two. So that it contained the *European Ruſſia* or *Muſcovy*, and the leſſer *Crim Tartary* eaſtward, and on the weſt *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is ſuppoſed to have reached northward to that part of *Swedland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oœnes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E), this part they divided from northern

[g] Vid. Mel. lib. ii. c. 1. Cluver. Cellar. & al.

(D) This is upon the ſuppoſition, hinted before, that the firſt planters of the world did ſpread themſelves along the rivers for the ſake of paſturage and correſpondence; but it is plain, all theſe northern parts were ſo unknown to the antients, that all we can ſay concerning theſe boundaries is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, ſince they were ſo afraid of, and ſo little acquainted with, ſnow.

Mela adds, that about the *Riphean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north latitude, the ſnows fell in ſuch abundance, that thoſe parts were uninhabited and unpaſſable by any but wild beaſts (4).

(E) Theſe *Oœnians*, were ſo called for living moſtly upon the eggs of their ſea fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes* were ſuppoſed to be ſo called from their having feet like

(4) *Lib.* ii. c. 1.

horſes.

thern *Germany*, now the weſt part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they ſuppoſed ran up into the northern ocean, and dividing *Lapland* into two parts, made the weſtern part of *Sweden* with *Norway* into an iſland, and *Finland* into another; ſuppoſing this alſo to be cut off from the continent by the gulph of that name.

THIS *Scythia* had no other ſea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the gulphs of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the *White* ſea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine* and *Palus Mæotis*, which bounded it on the ſouth. Lakes of any conſideration we find not, except thoſe of *Ladoga* and *Onega* in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the ſouth, the *Donetz* or little *Tanais*, *Boryſthenes* or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Nieſter*, and the *Iſter* or *Danube*, all which emptied themſelves into the *Euxine*, and on the north-eaſt the great and little *Dwina* which empty themſelves, the firſt into the *White* ſea, and the other into the gulph of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Viſtula* on the weſt, which runs into the *Scythian* ſea, and divided *Sarmatia* from *Germany* (F).

THE

horſes, or from their going barefoot and hardening their feet like horſes hoofs. The *Panoti* were ſo called from the largeneſs of their ears, which was ſuch that they could cover their whole body with them inſtead of other raiment (5). Some other monſtrous people and creatures are alſo mentioned by *Herodotus*: Of the firſt ſort are the *Arimaſpæans*, ſo called from the *Scythian Arima*, *one*, and *Spon*, *eye*; not becauſe they had but one eye, as was abſurdly believed by ſome of the antients, but rather, as *Bochart* juſtly conjectures, becauſe they were ſuch excellent archers, at which exerciſe it is neceſſary to ſhut one eye, that the nick-name of *one-eyed* was given them upon that account. To theſe we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another ſort who had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous ſatyrs, beſides ſome monſtrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up and guarded the golden oar or duſt (6), all which ſhews how little was known of theſe regions at that time.

(F) The ſame author (7) mentions ſeveral other rivers of which he gives a curious deſcription, as well as of thoſe ſouthern ones which we have mentioned above; but we ſhall refer the reader to our author for thoſe particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, becauſe they are either not taken notice of by our modern

(5) *Vid. Mel. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (6) *Herodot. lib.* iv. (7) *Idem, ibid.*

The whole extent therefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis* and ſtreights of *Anian*, and in latitude from *Caucaſus* to the arctic circle above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one ſort of which were *Androphagi*, or *Men-eaters*, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the *Argippeans* or *Baldheads*, a wiſe and peaceable people, eſteemed ſacred by all their neighbours [h]; but he ſpeaks of all thoſe remote nations only by report, and with ſuch diffidence, that he rather confirms what we ſaid before, that thoſe regions were moſt likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

Cities we find none in either *Scythia*, no not even a metropolis, though *Herodotus* mentions a branch of *Scythians*, called royal *Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he ſays, from the *Aſiatic Sarmatians* [i]. Theſe, as ſhould ſeem from the ſequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection, but ſuch was their way of living, that they never choſe to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or ſafety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curioſities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large ſtone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be ſeen the print of *Hercules*'s foot, ſaid to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being ſix inches thick, and containing full ſix hundred am-

[h] Lib. iv. p. 356. & ſeq. Littlebur. Edit. 2. vid. & Mel. lib. iii. c. 9. [i] Herod. ubi ſupra, p 372. [k] Id. ibid. p. 384.

geographers, or at leaſt are not reckoned of ſuch great note and uſefulneſs.

We ſhall, however, take notice of what he ſays of the *Boryſthenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatneſs to the *Danube*. This noble river, ſays he, beſides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fiſh and pleaſant water, and doth breed a ſort of whale without ſpinous bones, which the *Scythians* uſed to ſalt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds, that towards the mouth of it that river yields abundance of ſalt, which is inceſſantly made by the hand of nature.

phoras

phoras or fifty hogſheads. The occaſion of caſting this monſtrous veſſel, we ſhall have occaſion to mention in its proper place.

SECT. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, arts, and trade of the antient Scythians.

Government.

ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origin of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the firſt ſection of this chapter. How ſoon they began to ſettle themſelves into a regular government, is as impoſſible to gueſs as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at leaſt, that is *the royal* and *free Scythians*, were under a monarchical one, and that theſe two made a much greater figure than all the reſt. But whether the former was the eldeſt branch, whether it governed immediately over all the reſt, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vaſt country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the *Philiſtines*, whether their ſucceſſion was hereditary or elective, whether deſpotic or ſubject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What ſeems moſt probable to us from the little remains we have left of their hiſtory is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might ſtill have a kind of authority over ſome of the reſt, whilſt thoſe who were more remote from the centre had lords, laws, and cuſtoms of their own, eſpecially thoſe who inhabited the farther parts of it eaſtward and northward; and this may be the reaſon of that variety of names and characters, which we find in thoſe few antient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in proceſs of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king, finding himſelf unable to make head againſt the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely thoſe of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrſians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*, to come to his aſſiſtance; all theſe ſeem to have been different branches of the ſame ſtock, and only degenerated from the royal one by diſtance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and cuſtoms, as the ſame author there tells us†. The reſult of this ſummons was, that the three laſt named nations

† Lib. iv.

joined

joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refuſed to aſſiſt him, under pretence that he was the firſt aggreſſor. Hence we conclude, that they had ſhaken off the yoke of the *royal Scythians* ſome conſiderable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe eight tribes or nations in another place; at preſent we confine ourſelves to the two moſt conſiderable, *the royal* and *free Scythians*, as being the moſt conſiderable and the beſt known of all the reſt.

Laws. WHAT their laws were, we can only gueſs from the excellent character that is given to that nation by antient hiſtorians. Such indeed ſeems to have been their juſtice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and ſo ſimple and primitive their way of living, that they could not ſtand in need of a great number of them. *Juſtin* [a] ſums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious ſtrength, yet could ſo well maſter their affections, that they made no other uſe of their victories than to increaſe their fame. Theft among them was reckoned ſo great a crime and was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of loſing them. Theſe they eſteemed their greateſt wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themſelves with their ſkins. Inſtead of houſes, they uſed to convey ther wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horſes or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and ſilver were as much deſpiſed by them as they were eſteemed by other nations, ſo that they could not covet that which was of no uſe to them. Did the ſame moderation and diſintereſtedneſs reign among other nations, it would ſoon put an end to our deſtructive wars. What is ſtill more wonderful, theſe virtues, which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philoſophy, were natural to them, and they reaped thoſe advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A).

A nation

[a] Lib. ii. c. 2.

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated ſoever it may ſeem in their praiſe, is nevertheleſs confirmed by ſeveral antient hiſtorians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the teſtimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to con-

(1) *Annotat. in Juſtin. Delphin. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Note* 8.

firm,

A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to ſecure their property, ſome others they had with relation to religion, cuſtoms, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of aſſiſting at their royal feaſt, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the courſe of this hiſtory; upon the whole, what appears of them ſeems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetouſneſs, and to cheriſh that martial ſpirit, for which they are ſo juſtly famed in hiſtory.

IT ought not to be objected here, that ſome of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, ſome of them being of ſuch a fierce and cruel diſpoſition, as even to eat the fleſh of their enemies. Thoſe, as was hinted before, were, if under the ſame goverment, at ſuch great diſtance from the centre of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in thoſe remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; ſo the diſtance and barren-

firm it (2), he would not have ſo lightly accuſed *Juſtin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With reſpect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3), that *Anacharſis*, a *Scythian* of no ſmall conſideration, having in his travels aſſiſted at a feſtival, which the *Cizicians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got ſafe back to *Scythia* he would introduce the ſame worſhip there. Accordingly after his return he retired privately into ſome woody part of that country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but a *Scythian*, who ſaw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and ſhot him with an arrow upon the ſpot. And even one of their kings loſt his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce ſome of the *Grecian* rites and dreſs, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

With reſpect to the ſecond particular, the ſame author tells us, that it often happened, that ſome women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a ſhameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feaſt to all thoſe who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouſe in cups made of the ſculls of the ſlain, and in proportion to the number of them; whilſt thoſe, who had not as yet ſignalized themſelves like them, were forced to ſtand at a diſtance, beholding the feaſt and excluded from taſting of it.

(2) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. (3) *Lib.* iv. (4) *Id. ibid. vid. & Mela lib.* iii. *c.* 9. *D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*

neſs

neſs of their country might make them leſs heeded, and probably more incapable of being reſtrained by the common laws. However, it muſt be owned, with reſpect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* hiſtorians have not wilfully miſrepreſented them, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

If we may gueſs by ſome few ſucceſſions we find mentioned in hiſtory, it ſeems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not ſo deſpotic as not to be depoſed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the inſtance we hinted at in the laſt note, where *Scyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*, his ſubjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Octomaſades*, who ſoon after took off his head. In all other caſes their kings ſeem to have been in high eſteem with the people, as we may gueſs from the following circumſtance out of *Herodotus*.

When any of their monarchs fell ſick, they ſent immediately for three of their moſt famous prophets (C), who commonly told him, that ſome *Scythian* whom they named had perjured himſelf by ſwearing by the royal throne, which it ſeems was their moſt ſolemn oath. The accuſed perſon was thereupon ſeized, and accuſed before the king of having brought this diſtemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were ſent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three firſt accuſers. But if they acquitted him, a new ſupply of them was to be ſent for; and

(C) Theſe were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who conſulted certain omens, and divined, or made a ſhew of divining, by willow ſticks gathered up into bundles, which they looſened and ſpread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while ſome conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden cauſes and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* ſeem to have been very much addicted to this kind of ſuperſtition, by the great number of theſe ſham diviners which they had amongſt them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger ſhare of it; and as they did not pretend to prognoſticate by means of thoſe wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inſpiration from ſome of their deities, they were held in the greateſt veneration; and their oracles which were conſulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible anſwers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the ſame readineſs †.

† *Vid. Keyſler. antiq. Septentr. Diſſert. V.*

if

if the majority of them did abſolve him, then the firſt accuſers were tied hands and feet, and ſet in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had ſtopt the falſe prophets mouths, as they then called them, they ſet fire to the wood, which conſumed the cart and men, and ſeldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male children of thoſe whom the *king* condemned to death ſeldom eſcaped the ſame fate.

ANOTHER *inſtance* of their great reſpect for their monarchs is the pompous ſolemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleanſed the belly, and having filled it with bruiſed cypreſs, incenſe, parſley and aniſeſeeds, they ſewed it up again, and placed the corpſe on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral proceſſion, was obliged to imitate *the royal Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which conſiſted in cutting off one part of their ear, ſhaving their heads, wounding themſelves in their forehead, noſe, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow; and in this guiſe they accompanied the hearſe to the next province, till it came at length to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remoteſt in the kingdom, and was ſituate along that part of the *Boryſthenes* where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpſe was depoſited into a large ſquare hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompaſſed round with ſpears, which they covered with timber; and ſpread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a meſſenger, ſome horſes, all ſtrangled, and a number of neceſſary utenſils, and among others ſome golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raiſe the mound as high as they could. As ſoon as the year was expired, they choſe fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians*, thoſe monarchs having the power of chooſing whom they pleaſed to their ſervice, and never being attended by ſlaves. Theſe young men, with an equal number of horſes, were ſtrangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies ſtuffed with ſtraw. The bodies of the young men were ſet aſtride upon the horſes, and faſtened to them by an iron ſtake. The horſes thus mounted were ſet upon ſemicircular boards ſupported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient diſtance from each other round the monument, the horſes

having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose [b].

Religion. The *Scythians* worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Vesta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or *the earth*, which they esteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Vesta* for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to *Darius*, when he

Deities. came to subdue them to his empire *; besides these they worshipped *Apollo*, the celestial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under

Mars. the names *OEtosyrus*, *Artimpasa*, and *Thamimasades*. But their favourite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* speaks of, he doth not tell us: neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any other antient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves indeed, and very sumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they affected to have one or more oaks of a monstrous size, which were accounted so sacred, that it was sacrilege, and was punished with the severest death, to lop so much as a branch or sprig, or even to wound the bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, insomuch, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrustate, with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned these things by word of mouth, and had never seen them himself, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be built like those of other nations.

How spacious these groves must have been, may be seen in

Altars. the last quoted antiquarian, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which, *Herodotus* tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of small wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three stades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to

[b] Herodot. l. iv. * Idem ibid. See Vol. IV. p. 486. note (L). † Vid. Keysler. antiq. Septentr. Differt. 3. & alib. pass.

render

render the top of it eaſy of acceſs. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to ſupply thoſe which had been putrified by the inclemeny of the winter. On the top of each of theſe heaps was erected an old iron ſcymitar, which ſtood there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, beſides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they ſacrificed horſes, which were a martial creature; and, what was ſtill more ſhocking, every hundredth man they took priſoner from their enemies. This laſt bloody of- *Human* fering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the cap- *ſacrifices.* tive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, aſcending to the top of the altar, they went and waſhed the deity's ſword. As to the victim, they only cut off his right arm cloſe to the ſhoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it expoſed in the place where it fell, and the reſt of the body in that where it was killed.

As to their other victims, which they ſacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they obſerved the ſame rites every where without variation; they brought the beaſt and tied its four feet together with a ſlip-knot, and he who officiated as prieſt came behind, and at once looſed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilſt it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then ſtrangled it with a cord which he twiſted with a ſtick; and as ſoon as it was dead he ſet about flaying and dreſſing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The fleſh was put into pots, and whenever theſe were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones inſtead of it. When the fleſh was ſufficiently boiled, the prieſt made an offering of part of the meat and inteſtines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the reſt was, we may ſuppoſe, beſtowed to feaſt the prieſt and votaries. Thus in caſes of neceſſity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furniſh them with all things neceſſary for the ſacrifice. Of all beaſts the horſe was eſteemed the nobleſt, and conſequently the moſt acceptable victim. As for ſwine, they deteſted it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be ſuffered to live among them. They took care alſo to offer to their gods the firſt fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the ſpoil they took in war. Some conſiderable part of the latter they were wont to ſend to the *Delphic Apollo:* it was uſually conveyed thither by a number of their moſt honourable vir-

gins, and under a ſufficient eſcort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obſtacles of the journey, our author tells us †, obliged them to diſcontinue it. This is all that we can find remarkable concerning their religion.

But before we come to ſpeak of their manners, cuſtoms, and ſuch other particulars, it will be neceſſary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been ſo often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and ſometimes almoſt deſtroyed; we muſt not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the diſhonour of that antient and warlike nation. Some of them we ſhall have occaſion to confute in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and others are of ſo horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, eſpecially when we compare them with the character which *Juſtin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately ſhewn; this caution once premiſed, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of thoſe authors concerning the cuſtoms of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without ſome mixture of barbarity.

Contracts. Thus we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured ſome wine into an earthen veſſel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle ſome of their own blood, which they drew by a ſlight inciſion made in ſome part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the points of ſome warlike weapons, ſuch as a ſcymitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered ſome dire imprecations on the firſt breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they deſired ſome of the moſt conſiderable among the by-ſtanders to pledge them, and to be witneſſes of the contract, which being uſually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned ſo ſacred, that they thought no puniſhment ſevere enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

Valour. Their warlike temper and exploits were ſufficiently known to the antients; ſcarce is there any nation to be met with in hiſtory ſo famous for conquering wherever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themſelves remain-

† Herodot. lib. iv.

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ing ſtill unconquered. Their frugal and ſimple manner of life may indeed be ſuppoſed to have been a great preſervative againſt ſuch invaſions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were expoſed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the caſe, ſince we find they were once invaded by the king of *Perſia*, at the head of a moſt puiſſant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conqueſt of greater *Aſia*, which could not be wreſted out of their hands, but by the blackeſt treachery. But upon the whole, ſuch was their ſtrength and courage whenever they entered into an offenſive or defenſive war, that, as *Thucydides* himſelf tells us, no nation, either in *Europe* or *Aſia*, could equal them either for ſtrength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing reſiſt their power, provided they were but unanimous among themſelves †.

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, inſomuch, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at leaſt one enemy with their own hands [c], as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without ſome conſiderable encouragements to inſpire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if *Herodotus* doth not bely them: for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the firſt priſoner they took, and to preſent the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; theſe were either returned or regiſtered, and intitled the perſon to ſeveral privileges, ſuch as being preſent at ſome public feaſts, ſharing the ſpoil of their enemies, and ſuch like; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at leaſt one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did riſe in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they uſed to take the ſkins of the ſlain, to ſtretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horſes bridles, where they ſerved both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always moſt eſteemed who wore the greateſt number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went ſo far with ſome of them, that they took off and dreſſed the whole ſkins of the ſlain, and covered both their quivers and horſes, and ſometimes decked their own bodies with them *.

† Lib. ii. ſect. 97. [c] Vid. HERODOT. ubi ſupra. PLAT. de leg. lib. vii. Hypocrat. N. Damaſcen. Juſtin. & al. * HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

HAD

Had they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country, and in determent to all invaders of it, but as they might naturally enough think such men deserved no better fate, who attempted the conquest of a country, which had nothing to tempt or satisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (D). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to those whose territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Thucydides*, that, as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their vast territories, they made mutual incursions one tribe against another, which they again retaliated upon the first opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity so far, as not to join their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it.

How populous the *Scythians* were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made such frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose, that it must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, hardiness, and other such like advantageous circumstances, which rendered them lusty and strong, prolific, and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be

(D) This was the argument which, *Justin* tells us (5), they made use of to dissuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war against them; for, said they to his heralds, it were madness for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade so poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds: whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with the utmost fierceness at the sight of so rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a message they sent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia*; that as they had neither cities, houses, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treasures in their country, except their families, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery, the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) *lib. ii. c. 2.* (6) *Vid. & Herodot. l. iv.*

other

other than a populous nation: for we are told, that very few died of ſickneſs, but all in general lived to a good old age; inſomuch, that, many of them being weary of the world before death took them out of it, it was uſual with ſuch to haſten their exit by throwing themſelves from ſome eminence into the ſea, or into ſome river [d]. *Herodotus*, however, who ſeems in doubt whether they were indeed ſo populous as ſome, or ſo thin as others repreſent them, gives us an authentic inſtance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it ſeems a cuſtom, not uncommon to other nations *, at their firſt taking the field to muſter their fighting men, and to make every man caſt an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could eaſily compute not only the number of their men, but alſo that of their ſlain, or of thoſe who either ran away, or abſented themſelves from the war. It was at ſome ſuch muſter as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes* [e], being preſent, and obſerving theſe heads of arrows to amount to an immenſe bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and caſt, or made into that large capacious veſſel we have lately ſpoken of, and which our author tells us, was ſtill extant in his time, and though full ſix inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is, about fifty hogſheads, and remained ſtill a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making an exact eſtimate from this ſtory, ſuppoſing it literally true: but might not this unwieldy veſſel have been at firſt deſigned only to keep the arrows which every ſoldier threw in, and the other part of the ſtory have been foiſted in, in proceſs of time? However, ſuppoſing the fact as related, and that it muſt have been a prodigious army that could furniſh metal enough for ſuch a monſtrous veſſel, yet might it not therefore neceſſarily follow that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, conſidering the vaſt extent of it. But what ſeems to be a ſtronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually ſending out, chiefly towards the ſouthern parts of the world, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

As they cultivated no art or ſcience except that of war, *Arts and* nor ſcarcely any trade or commerce except paſturage, the *Sciences.*

[d] MELA, lib. iii. c. 5. Herodot. & al. p. 484. [e] lib. 4.

* See Vol. IV.

reader

reader must expect us to be very barren on these two heads. *Thucydides*, in the place above quoted, seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture: and another *Greek* author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the *Hellespont* *. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that like some of his predecessors, he has mistook them for the *Celtes*, who, as we have observed in a former section, were become great merchants both by sea and land under their king *Mercury*. For, as for the *Scythians*, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by-and-by. They do not so much as seem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Asia*, after their twenty eight years invasion of it: neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes*, or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous things he has said of them from the common report of their neighbours; since it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hostile way.

Language

Their language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cause it to split itself into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the *Muscovitish*, *Slavonic*, *Polish*, *Danish*, *Swedish*, *Saxon*, and many others; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to make us believe them sprung from the same mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a visible vein of the *Celtic* still preserved, as we have seen to this day among us, and which runs through all those various languages; that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Neither is it so much to be wondered at, that they should have branched out into such a vast variety, as that they should still preserve so much of their pristine affinity as we find they do. We have

* Dictys Cret. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.

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in a former ſection endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phraſes that are found not only in thoſe northern languages, but alſo in the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Perſic* which ſhew them to have been ſo many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if thoſe few relicks of the *Scythian*, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and diſtricts, do not ſo plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extraction, we muſt remember, they have paſt through ſo many different hands, and have ſo often changed their dreſs, eſpecially among the *Greeks*, that they may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have quite loſt their antient form. We may add, that ſome of them are perfectly *Greek* or tranſlated from the *Scythian* into that language (E).

THEIR chief manufactures ſeem to have conſiſted moſtly in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the ſkins of beaſts, they muſt have had ſome notion of tanning them, as well as thoſe with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewiſe reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they fabricated their own weapons, which were ſcymitars, javelins, axes, but eſpecially bows and arrows, at which they are ſaid to have been ſo expert, that their very children were trained to ſhoot at a mark even as they rode on horſeback; inſomuch, that it became a common proverb, *That the* Scythians *were as dexterous at their bow, as the* Greeks *were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have ſent his ſon to be brought up under them to learn the uſe of the bow. They were no leſs expert horſemen[f] (F), inſomuch, that we find them called ἱππηοτοξόται by *Herodotus* *Manufactures.*

[f] HERODOT. lib. i.

(E) Of this kind is the name of the *Oænes*, a *Scythian* tribe, ſo called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the *Greek* ὠὸν. The *Nomades* were ſo called from νομὴ *paſture*. Of the ſame extraction, were the *Hyppopodes*, *Androphagi*, and ſeveral others, which we need not point out to the reader

(F) This the learned *Bochart* obſerves the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where ſpeaking of the army of *Magog* or *Scythia*, he calls their horſe סוסים ופרשים לבושי מיכלול. *Suſſim uparaſhim lebuſhi Miklol*, *horſes and horſemen*, *cloathed with perfection*, or *compleatly diſciplined and armed*, or, as *Kimchi* renders it, *expert in all kind of weapons*, and our *Engliſh* verſion *cloathed with all kind of Armour*; for ſuch it appears the *Scythian* horſe were.

(7) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 3.

and *Lucian*. And their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men [g]. The antients observe, that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shewn the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that their horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they whenever occasion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed tells us of one province of them, whose inhabitants called themselves *Olbiopolitans*, and the *Greeks Borysthenians*, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale [h]. But the rest of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, chosing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of antient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts [i], as we are told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such like weapons, if their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the story we have related above of the large copper vessel that was made of them be literally true, there was still less art required in making them, since they might easily cast them in a mould. Their bows might also be made of the same metal like those of other antient nations, though it is not improbable, they might also have some smiths to forge iron and steel weapons, besides those they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be supposed, they could make their waggons without the help of such artists, though upon the whole it doth

[g] Id. lib iv. LUCIAN. in Toxar. & Hermot. MELA, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. BOCHART. ubi supra, & al. [h] HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 2. MELA, & al. [i] Id. ibid.

appear

appear, that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and uſed none they could poſſibly do without.

THEIR chief riches and food conſiſting in their numerous herds, they entruſted the care of them to *Shepherds*, who were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the martial men, and had ſlaves and captives under them. They uſed to move from paſture to paſture, with the perſons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. Theſe did chiefly live upon honey and milk, eſpecially that of their mares, from which creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a ſtrange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities. What proviſions the warlike ſort made, when they were abſent from their flocks, we cannot gueſs, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to ſeize upon all the cattle they could meet with. *Shepherds and martial men.*

FROM an inſtance or two we read of their kings, it ſeems as if they allowed of polygamy, and were not over ſtrict in their marriages. Some we find took wives from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the ſame liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reaſon the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feaſts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a god ſhould drive men into all the violent tranſports of madneſs, ſeems to ſhew that drunkenneſs was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to feaſting. One wine feaſt they had, however, once a year in every diſtrict, for thoſe who, as we hinted before, had ſignalized themſelves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was uſed at funerals, and with which we ſhall cloſe this article, ſince we have no more to ſay concerning their other cuſtoms. *Polygamy.* *Feaſting.*

WE have already ſpoken of the funeral obſequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other perſon died, his neareſt relations cauſed his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from houſe to houſe among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feaſted them in their turn, ſetting part of the ſame things before the deceaſed, which they did to their gueſts. This was continued forty days, after which the perſon was buried, and his attendants went and purified themſelves, not by any ablution, but by the ſmoke of ſome hemp ſeed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon ſome burning ſtones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincenſe uſed in *Greece*, and ſo tranſported the company as to ſet them a howling aloud. This ſerved inſtead of waſhing, which the *Scythians*, our author tells us, never practiſed. Not *Funeral obſequies.*

How their women preserved their beauty.

even the women, who used, instead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paste, which they made with cypress, cedar and frankincense, ground upon a rough stone, and soaked in water; which paste, being taken off the next day, rendered their skins clean, shining, and sweet [i].

There remains, that we should say a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really descended from the same stock, as we supposed it in the beginning, or whether they did spring from some other of *Magog*'s brethren, yet since they inhabited so considerable a part of *Scythia*, and made such figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit at least those of the greatest note.

Sarmatians.

The *Sarmatians*, we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been the offspring of the *Scythians* (G) and *Amazons*. These warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-slayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians* having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been persuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could

[i] Herodot. ubi supra.

(G) Some authors, however, from a passage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be descended from the* Medes, and another out of *Justin*, who tells us, that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Medish* (9), have supposed, that the *Sarmatians*, who most resemble the *Parthians*, were the offspring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chaldee* שוּאָר מָדַי *Sheer Madai* (10), a *residue* or *sprout* of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who spoke at a much greater distance of time and place than he. However, if what they say be true, it proves what we observed before, that the descendants of *Gomer* and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only separated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* signifies *separated*, it seems probable, that they were rather *Gomerians* or *Celtes* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themselves into a country of the *Medes* were by them called *Parthians*, or *banished* (11).

(8) *lib.* vi. *c.* 7. (9) *lib.* xli. (10) *Vid Mela, lib.* iii. *c.* 4 & *alib. Bochart. lib.* iii. *c.* 14. (11) *Vid. Pezron. Ant. Nat. ch.* iv.

not

not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other side of the *Tanais*. Hence our author says, the *Sarmatian* women retained still the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the rest of the *Scythian* females; and the language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, because the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves spake it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had dispatched an enemy in the field [k].

THE *Taurians* had this inhuman custo n, that they sacrificed to a virgin all that were shipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the person on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcase down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and reserving only the head to be stuck on a pole. These *Taurians* pretended, that the virgin *Dæmon* whom they thus worshipped was *Iphigenia Agamemnon*'s daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands. The *Agathyrsians* are said to have had their women in common in order to link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies and other ill effects of matrimony. The *Neurian* province being infested whith dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They observed the customs of *Scythia* in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they resumed their own shape [l].

Taurians.

Agathyrsians.

Neurians.

THE worst of all were the *Androphagi* or *men-eaters*, who observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common with the rest, but their dress and breeding of cattle. The *Melanchœnians* were so called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the *free Scythians* did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at least as common food, but only on some particular occasions, such as we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the rest did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whose houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls was three hundred stades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they celebra-

Budians *or* Androphagi.

[k] Id. ibid. MELA, ubi supra. [l] Id. il id. [m] Id. ibid.

ted

Gelonians. ted the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themſelves to the keeping of cattle, and theſe to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, theſe *Gelonians* had ſo much better minds than the *Budians*, that they ſeemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other ſuch animals: their ſkins ſewed together were uſed for garments, and the teſticles againſt hyſteric diſeaſes. The *Oœnes*, *Panoti*, *Arimaſpæi* in *Scythia Europæa* we have ſpoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more reſemble the *royal Scythians* than any others, in moſt particulars, eſpecially in their warlike genius, and ſimplicity of living.

Scythian Nomades. The laſt two nations or tribes of *Scythians* worth our notice were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting, as we have ſeen, upon the north-weſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, and the *Maſſagetes* on the eaſt. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted ſomewhat fabulous, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate note (H). The

(H) Concerning theſe ſo famed and ſo much queſtioned female warriors, it were endleſs to trouble ourſelves with all that has been written on either ſide; thoſe ſeem to come neareſt the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been ſaid of them by the antients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whoſe neighbourhood lived theſe *Amazons* if they were not originally of the ſame blood, with the occaſion which gave birth to this ſtrange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their huſbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a ſtrange country; if, I ſay, we conſider all theſe circumſtances, there will be nothing ſo improbable in the brave and maſculine method they took to ſave themſelves from ſlavery and to revenge the ſlaughter of their huſbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women were antiently held in great authority and veneration, for their ſkill in divination above the men, inſomuch, that the latter are even upbraided by antient authors (12) for ſuffering them to aſſiſt at and ſteer their councils as they pleaſed, and to have even preſided in all courts of judicature and other aſſemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned deciſive, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to be divinely inſpired (13). Being therefore

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap.* viii *& alib Polyæn. in Stratagem l* vii. *Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæſ. Comment l.* i. *c.* 50. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* vii. (13) *Vid Keyſler. antiq. Septentr. diſſert* 5.

thus

The *Nomades* differed so little from the *royal Scythians*, except in this appellative, that we shall need say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; after which they removed to fresh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return [p]. THE

[p] MELA, lib. iii. c. 6.

thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery, we need not wonder, that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence; and, like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and stoutest among them to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and atchievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose, that so many historians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia* with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermosciria*, on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously, murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands who had escaped the slaughter, that so, being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell

(14) *Vid. S. W. Rawl. hist. lib.* iv. *c. 2. sect.* xv. (15) *Justin. ex Trog. l.* ii. *c. 4.*

upon

Maſſagetes. The *Maſſagetes* did likewiſe imitate the *free Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; but they upon the conquerors with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours ſue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they ſhould yearly have a month's intercourſe with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breaſts, that they might be *no obſtruction to their ſhooting*, whence they came to be called *Amazons*; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author *, or ſent them back to their fathers, according to *Herodotus*.

Theſe ſurpriſing exploits were atchieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, *Lampedo* or *Lampeto*, and *Marthesia* or *Marpeſia*, who boaſted themſelves to be the daughters of *Mars*; and having carried their conqueſts into *Aſia* and built ſome cities there, this laſt, who had been left there with an army to ſecure their conqueſt, whilſt the former returned home loaden with ſpoils, was afterwards ſurpriſed, and cut off with the reſt of her female warriors by ſome bands of barbarians.

She was ſucceeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Orthya*, whoſe valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raiſe the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this ſucceeded *Antiopia*, whoſe ſiſters, *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theſeus*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by thoſe two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is ſaid to have come at the head of an army of her viragoes to the aſſiſtance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that ſhe was the inventreſs of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of theſe heroines ſmell ſo much of the fable, that we ſhall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody rencounter between *Thomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Perſia* has been taken notice of in another chapter †; and the amorous one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thaleſtris* ſhall be ſpoken of in its proper place. It is under this laſt that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is ſaid to have received its final period.

We muſt not omit ſome other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of theſe female worthies, which happened in the reign of ſome of the foregoing queens; it is not eaſy to gueſs which; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his hiſtory of the *Scythians*.

* *Juſtin ex Trog. l.* ii. *c.* 4. & *Pauſan. in Attic. c.* ii. *Herodot. l.* iv.

(16) *Vid. Juſt. ubi ſupra*

† *Vid. Vol. IV. p.* 530.

(17)

The

they uſed, beſides bows and arrows, for which thoſe were ſo famed, javelins and ſcymitars. Braſs ſerved them inſtead of ſteel

The *Grecians*, who had obtained a ſignal victory over the *Amazons*, near the river *Thermodon*, were carrying off the reſidue that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, in three ſhips, into their own country. While they were at ſea, the *Amazons* conſpired againſt them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but, being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the uſe of the rudder, ſails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis*, in the territories of the *free Scythians*. Here they got aſhore, and marching up into the country, they ſeized upon the firſt ſet of horſes they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language, ſex, and dreſs, could not tell what to make of theſe invaders, they took them at firſt to be youths, but after a ſkirmiſh or two, in which ſome of them were taken priſoners, had convinced them of the contrary, they reſolved not to kill them, but to ſend a party of youths to watch their motions; with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they ſhould flee from them, and as ſoon as they ceaſed their purſuit, encamp at the neareſt diſtance they could, reſolved if poſſible to have ſome children by theſe brave women. Theſe obſerving, that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hoſtile deſign, ſuffered them to continue in their neighbouring ſtation, whilſt they, having nothing but their horſes and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their cuſtom to withdraw themſelves from the reſt about noon, either ſingle or by couples, to comply with the neceſſities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths obſerved, they did ſo likewiſe; by this means one of theſe walking alone met with a ſingle *Amazon*, and though they could not ſpeak to each other, yet ſhe found a way to let him underſtand, that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, ſhe would likewiſe bring a companion with her. The upſhot was, that both the camps were preſently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no ſooner got a ſmattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to underſtand by their new huſbands, that they had their parents and poſſeſſions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a deſire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But theſe replied, that as they had ever been uſed to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horſe, and all ſuch warlike exerciſes, to which they ſuppoſed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccuſtomed, they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained ſtill the ſame conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their ſeveral portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their re-

steel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Massagetes* only [q]. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had; that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms, all his relations met and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate; because these last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations and intimate friends. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods. They neither sowed nor planted, but contented themselves

Some barbarous customs.

[q] Herodot. lib. i. ad finem.

turn, their wives acquainted them farther, that since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side of the *Tanais*. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Maotis*, they arrived and settled in the country of *Sarmatia*, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is, that the *Sarmatian* women are by far the greatest warriors of all the *Scythians*; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach, their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into *Europe* and *Asia*; as for those of *America*, they shall be spoken of in their proper place.

with

with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the *Iaxartes* did yield them a very great plenty [r]. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the noblest of all the *Scythians* [f], being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowess, and exceeding them in opulence. *Their worth.*

SECT. VII.

The history of the SCYTHIAN *kings.*

Scythian chronology not to be attained.

WHAT has been observed in some of the foregoing sections, concerning the barrenness of *Scythian* records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any index, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of *Asia*, and engaging into wars with some of the *Asiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to *Europe*, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, such as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Israelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of, their former affinity. And this seems to have been most probably their case, because they cultivated no art, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celtes* indeed had their *Curetes*, and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verse, as we have shewn in a former section; but we do not find any footsteps of the *Scythians* having had any such persons among them; so that tradition, such as it could be got, seems to have been the only fountain from which our antient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confused and irregular a manner as they had received it.

THE following is a list of *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and

[r] MELA, CLUVER. & al. [f] Vid. STRAB. l. xi. pass. DIOD. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al.

Mela; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they ſucceeded one another in the order we have ſet them down, or even whether they all reigned over the ſame nations, or ſome of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we ſhall to the liſt of their names ſubjoin ſuch particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we ſhall be forced to cloſe this hiſtory.

Kings of *Scythia*.

1 *Scythes.*
2 *Napis.*
3 *Phithra.*
4 *Sagillus* or *Protothyas.*
5 *Madyes.*
6 *Thomyris.*
7 *Jancyrus.*
8 *Indathyrſus.*
9 *Targitaus*
10 *Calaxais.*
11 *Scholypethes* or perhaps rather *Scythopetes.*
12 *Panaxagoras*
13 *Tanais.*
14 *Saulius.*
15 *Spargapiſes.*
16 *Aripethes.*
17 *Scyles.*
18 *Octamaſades.*
19 *Ariantes.*
20 *Atheas.*
21 *Lambinus.*

Scythes. *Scythes* is that fabulous ſon of *Hercules*, begotten on a monſter of whom we have ſpoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be deſcended [a]. This hiſtory ſeems to have been invented by the *Greeks*, for no other end than to fully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vaſtly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accompliſhments, as the reader will eaſily ſee by comparing the hiſtory of theſe, with what we ſhall relate, in a ſubſequent chapter, of the more obſcure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation.

Sagillus. *Sagillus* is ſaid to have ſent his ſon *Panaſagoras*, who is perhaps the ſame with *Protothyas*, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horſe, to the aſſiſtance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, againſt *Theſeus* king of *Athens*. To perſuade him to it, ſhe let him know, that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere neceſſity that had obliged them to diſpatch their ſurviving huſbands, and to erect themſelves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, ſhe uſed all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her aſſiſtance; his ſon came accordingly with a large army of horſe, but preſently after his arrival, upon ſome diſguſt which that prince took at thoſe brave heroines, he left them

[a] Herodot. l. iv.

them to the mercy of their enemies, who ſoon after gained the victory over them [b].

Madyes, of whom we have ſpoken in a former chapter *, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Indathyrſus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the ſon of *Prototothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the *Scythians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and purſued them into *Aſia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Aſia* in ſubjection twenty eight years. The occaſion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of this *Aſiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may, however, be eaſily gueſſed at. *Scythia*, we obſerved, was more fruitful of men than of food and ſuſtenance; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable froſts and ſnows: where ſhould they then diſcharge their over-ſwelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the ſouth, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accuſtomed to an eaſy and delicate life, as thoſe were to a hardy and warlike one, were moſt likely to yield them if not their country, yet at leaſt a free paſſage through it, and aſſiſt them with all neceſſaries of life, that they might be the ſooner rid of them? Hence it is, that they ſo ſwiftly paſſed into *Aſia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by king *Pſammitichus*, either by preſents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewiſe ſome incurſions into the land of the *Philiſtines*; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Bethſheam* from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on this ſide *Jordan*, and called it by their name *the city of the Scythians*, or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the hiſtory of the *Medes* †. In their return through *Syria* ſome of their ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, and for their ſacrilege were puniſhed with hemorrhoides, or, as others ſay, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other ſex; which did alſo cleave to their poſterity as a brand of infamy. Madyes.

THEY might probably have held their dominion in *Aſia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that hiſtory. What became of the reſt that ſurvived the ſlaughter we can only gueſs at: Many of them might ſubmit themſelves to the *Medes*, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is ſuppoſed, and

[b] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4. * See Vol. IV. p. 385. † Ib. p. 387.

ſerved

ſerved *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whoſe army is ſaid to have conſiſted of all the families of the north; but the greateſt part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia* [c], where they met with an unexpected reception from their ſervants and ſlaves. This ſtory is ſomewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Aſiatic* expedition, and the time they ſpent in it: *Juſtin*, who calls this their third expedition, ſays, it laſted but eight years [d], during which their wives, having given them over for loſt, on account of the great diſtance between them, had married their ſervants and ſlaves; to whom, as we have obſerved, their maſters uſed upon all ſuch excurſions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As ſoon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upſtart race of ſlaves ſent to forbid their maſters to approach nearer at their peril.

But *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks of this expedition as their firſt into *Aſia*, and affirms it to have laſted twenty eight years, adds [e], that their wives, unuſed to be ſo long idle, had taken their ſervants and ſlaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was ſprung, which obſtructed their maſters return into *Scythia*, after they had ſuffered themſelves to be driven out of their *Aſiatic* conqueſts by the *Medes*. This laſt is the more probable of the two in many reſpects, and agrees better with thoſe other authors, who affirm, as was obſerved before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Aſia* twenty eight years. However that be, this ſlaviſh offspring, having timely notice of their maſters returning home, had ſo well fortified and intrenched themſelves againſt them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not ſome of the wiſer *Scythians* bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem, which quite diſcomfited that rebellious rout.

They had already had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with equal ſucceſs on both ſides, when one of the *Scythian* lords told the reſt, that it was a ſhameful thing for them to fight with their ſlaves as with their equals, and that if they deſigned to force them into ſubmiſſion, they muſt fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and ſcourges, ſuch as they were formerly wont to chaſtiſe them with. This advice was followed with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and the ſlaviſh rebels were taken with ſuch a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the moſt cruel deaths, whilſt their miſtreſſes,

[c] Herodot. lib. i. [d] lib. ii. c. 5. [e] lib. iv.

conſcious

conſcious of their guilt, ſought to avoid their huſbands reſentment, by hanging, or ſome other ſpeedy death (I). After this ſignal victory over their rebellious ſlaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Juſtin*, enjoyed a long and unmoleſted peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. We muſt, however, except the invaſion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

Tomyris. *Thomyris*, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom, we are told, * *Cyrus* the great did, or at leaſt pretended to, court in marriage, and was ſending an embaſſy to treat about it. But ſhe ſuppoſing that her kingdom, rather than her

* HERODOT. lib. i. ad fin.

(I) It is plain by theſe *Scythians* leaving their wives, ſervants, and baggage behind, that they deſigned to return again from *Aſia*; for it is ſcarce probable, that their deſign was to conquer ſome ſpacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we obſerved above, that they only went to aſſiſt thoſe new colonies, which they were obliged to diſcharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good ſettlement there, after which they deſigned to return to their own homes, as uſual.

However that be, this adventure ſeems plainly to contradict a ſtory which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they uſed to put out the eyes of their ſlaves: for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that this ſlaviſh army that oppoſed their return, was wholly a new offſpring, unleſs we can believe that their wives took their blind ſlaves into their beds almoſt as ſoon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itſelf between the maſters and ſlaves, it is ſo far from being a fiction, or ſo much as doubted of in thoſe parts, even at this day, that we are told, that the *Novogradians*, whoſe city ſtands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cauſe a coin, which they call a *Dingoe Novogradſkoi*, to be ſtampt in memory of it, which had a man on horſeback, ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever ſince throughout all *Ruſſia* †.

It is probable likewiſe, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the cuſtom has been ſince eſtabliſhed among the *Muſcovite* women of preſenting their future ſpouſe, even in the time of their courtſhip, with a *Pudkey*, or *whip*, wrought with their own hand, in token both of a greater ſubjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* anceſtries, or moſt probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

† *Vid. Fletch. Ruſſ. Commonwealth, c.* iv. *ap. Rawl. l.* ii. *c.* 28. *ſect.* iv.

perſon,

perſon, was the object of his wiſhes, ſent expreſs orders to the ambaſſadors not to proceed farther. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refuſal, or at her ſuſpecting his artifice, advanced with his army againſt the *Maſſagetes*, who were then under her dominion. What the iſſue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the ſtory of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exaſperated princeſs took of him, we have already ſeen in another chapter †, and ſhall not repeat it.

Jancyrus. *Jancyrus*, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble anſwer which he ſent to *Darius* king of *Perſia*, when he ſent to demand of him the uſual preſents of earth and water in token of ſubjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that aſſuming monarch's army; and as ſuch ſeems to be the ſame with *Herodotus*'s *Indathyrſus* ᵗ, or to have been his immediate ſucceſſor. The occaſion of this war with the *Perſians* is variouſly related by *Juſtin* ᵘ, and the laſt quoted author: the former tells us, that the *Scythian* monarch had exaſperated *Darius* by refuſing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces ſome *Scythian* princes, accuſing him with being the firſt aggreſſor, and having invaded the *Perſian* territories, whilſt *Darius* himſelf pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Aſia* 120 years before, when they held it in ſubjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling theſe accounts and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch, but by ſuppoſing the *Jancyrus* of *Juſtin* to have been the father of *Indathyrſus*, and that, finding that the refuſal of his daughter had provoked the *Perſian* king to a war, he reſolved to be before-hand with him, and to ſend his ſon *Indathyrſus* to invade his territories; and that dying ſoon after he intailed that war upon his ſon, from which he afterwards reaped ſo much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to tranſmit a circumſtance ſo much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius*'s ſeeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the ſame reaſon, that he makes the *Perſian* army to have been rather harraſſed and ſtarved out of *Scythia*, than repulſed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received ſuch an affront from the king of *Scythia* as the refuſal of his daughter, it was too diſhonourable a pretence to ground his invaſion upon; and a more glorious motive muſt be ſought out, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, to cover the true and real one.

† Vol. IV. p. 530. ᵗ l. iv. ᵘ l. ii. c. 5.

However

HOWEVER that be, *Indathyrsus*, having received the proud challenge from the *Persian* king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elsewhere shewn to signify not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection †, sent him this haughty reply; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter* and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This present accordingly was dispatched to him soon after: it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther explication; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes, which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. These and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of submission. But *Gobryas*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter; namely, that the *Persians* must not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice. Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the *Persian* army (K).

ACCORDINGLY, the king of *Scythia* summoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*; the *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*,

† See before, Vol. IV. p. 568. 5. F.

(K) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us, that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Persian* army into the farthest parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as *Darius* then was; neither will those circumstances he then found himself in permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that these messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.

and *Taurians*. Theſe, being aſſembled in council and having debated the occaſion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three firſt were the only ones who eſteemed it a common cauſe, and reſolved to join *Indathyrſus* in the defence of it. As for the other five, they ſent him word, that as he had been the firſt and only aggreſſor, by invading the *Perſian* territories without their participation, ſo they did not think themſelves at all concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing againſt him. That they would therefore ſit quiet at home, till ſome hoſtilities had convinced them, that the *Perſians* deſigns were equally levelled at them, in which caſe they would ſoon convince them, that it was not their deſign to ſit idle and ſuffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyrſus was ſo exaſperated at this unexpected meſſage, that he reſolved, at the ſame time that he made the beſt defence he could with his *royal* and *free Scythians*, and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if poſſible, the enemy into their country. To this end he reſolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and ſprings, and to deſtroy all the graſs and proviſion as they went. He divided his army into two columns; the one, under the command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budians*; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himſelf; whilſt the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopaſis*, that, in caſe the *Perſians* ſhould come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Mœotis* to the river *Tanais*; and upon their retiring harraſs them as much as they could. *Taxacis* was ordered to keep ſtill a day's march before the *Perſians*, and to tire them with frequent ſkirmiſhes, in order to draw them into the territories of ſome of theſe five nations that had refuſed to join with them: and if that did not ſucceed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their diſcretion ſhould ſuggeſt to them.

THESE orders being thus fixed, they ſent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could ſpare; after which *Indathyrſus* commanded the beſt of his horſe to march towards the enemy, whilſt the reſt followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Perſian* army advanced about three days march from the *Iſter*, deſtroyed all the product of the ground and fled away. This cauſed the *Perſians* to purſue after them, as faſt as the others retired ſtill farther back, till they had drawn

drawn them through *Sarmatia* into the territories of the *Budians*, where they burnt and laid waſte all that came in their way. They continued their purſuit till they came to a great deſert of about ſeven days march; and here *Darius* not thinking it proper to proceed farther, ſet himſelf about building ſome ſpacious cities at equal diſtances from each other. Theſe, however, he left unfiniſhed to go in purſuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the *Scythians*, who failed not to lay all waſte as they went through, that the *Perſian* army might find nothing there to ſubſiſt on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former ſection*: the reſult of which was, that the *Perſian* monarch was forced to retire with the loſs of the greateſt part of his numerous army (*L*), glad to eſcape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer ſtill this invaſion would have coſt the *Perſians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the *Iſter*, kept their promiſe to the *Scythians*, and left them to deſtroy it, may be eaſily gueſſed; but they only deceived them with a promiſe that they would demoliſh it, and made a ſhew as if they were going about it in good earneſt, by taking off ſo much of it on the *Scythian* ſide as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* paſſing and demoliſhing it, which, however, they ſoon rejoined again, when the flying *Perſians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once more eſcaped the fury of the purſuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worſt of epithets for their treachery and co-

* Vol. IV p. 567. & ſeq.

(L) If *Herodotus*'s account of this tranſaction may be credited, *Darius* was not ſo much repulſed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable inſtance of contempt which they occaſionally ſhewed to him, juſt as the two armies were going to engage: He tells us, they were both drawn up in order of battle, when a hare accidentally ſtarting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmoſt confuſion purſued after it. One would expect that the *Perſians* would have taken the opportunity of falling upon them whilſt they were in this hurly-burly; but, it ſeems, *Darius* judged quite otherwiſe of an enemy that ſhewed ſo little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; ſo that he thought it high time to take *Gobryas*'s advice and to ſecure his retreat as ſoon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

wardice. As ſoon as they found, that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they reſolved to be revenged of him ſome other way, and to make themſelves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, ſo lately conquered by the *Perſian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waſte as far as the *Helleſpont*, and repaſſing the *Iſter* returned into *Scythia*, loaden with the immenſe ſpoils of that province.

Saulius. *Saulius*, this was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharſis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had ſeen uſed among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharſis* had choſen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worſhip in, yet he was diſcovered in the midſt of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* haſted to the place, and found him playing on a cymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predeceſſors, in a lineal deſcent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Cyrus*, and *Gnarus*, and of one of his ſucceſſors, viz. *Indathyrſus* [i].

Aripithes. *Aripithes* had a numerous iſſue, but particularly one ſon named *Scythes*, not by a *Scythian*, but by an *Iſtrian*, woman, who therefore brought him up in all the *Grecian* cuſtoms and learning. *Aripithes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrſians*, this ſon found means to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's kingdom [k].

Scythes. *Scythes*, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives, who was alſo a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* cuſtoms, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to thoſe of his own country. To indulge himſelf in them, and avoid giving offence to his ſubjects, he bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Boryſthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, cauſing the gates to be ſhut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his *Scythian* dreſs, cloathed himſelf after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendants. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worſhip, cuſtoms, and dreſs; after which he reſumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the ſame practice, he built a palace in that

[i] Herodot. ibid. [k] Id. ibid.

city,

city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but whilst he was in the midst of it, a *Borysthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, because when possessed with the god we lose, you say, *the use of* our reason; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that god has taken possession of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers performing the *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

AT their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did so enrage the *Scythians*, that as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother *Octamasades* in his room. *Scythes* being informed of the occasion of this revolt fled into *Thrace*, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces*, king of *Thrace* advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Octamasades* received a message from the *Thracian* king to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son and hast my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will send *Scythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Octamasades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Scythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off [l]. Octamasades.

Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately spoken upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus* [m]. Ariantes.

THE last king we shall mention in this history (M), and under

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid,

(M) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous

under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow [n], was *Atheas*, or, as he is called by others,

[n] Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian* extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of much recenter date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius*'s expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitaus*, the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes*; that this prince had three sons, viz. *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow, with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning hot; but the youngest, coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to him. They add, that the *Auchatian Scythians* were descended from the eldest, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they called *Paralates*, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of *Scholotes*, which, our author tells us, was also the surname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks*. The miraculous golden utensils, we are told, were preserved with utmost care, and that their kings did assist at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colaxais, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing, however, the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have started at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers or snow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered, we may reasonably suppose, these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the antient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtless than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended

thers, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince, being engaged in a war with the *Istrians*, a people of *Mysia* on the south banks of the mouth of the river *Ister*, sent to *Philip* king of *Macedon* to desire his assistance, and upon his complying promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilst he had a son alive. *Philip*, who was then besieging *Byzantium*, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, especially considering, that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistance of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

Atheas had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their inrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. *Philip*, vexed at heart to see himself thus baffled, resolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilst he was raising the siege in order to enter into a war with them, he

pretended divine extraction of their founder, and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days, than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms, and the divine original of their first founders. Hence we would further observe, that it is most likely, that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the *royal Scythians*, but that some of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and necessity had divided for them, especially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the most pleasant parts of the country.

With respect to this pretended daughter of the *Borysthenes*, it will not be amiss here to observe once for all, that it was a common custom in those early and ignorant times for the first planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but also to the most considerable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their posterity, who every where affected to boast of something miraculous in their origin, chose rather to derive it from the river itself, than from their real parent who gave name to it. We shall meet in the history of the fabulous and heroic times with instances more than enough of these sons and daughters of rivers, to justify the truth and shew the necessity of this previous observation.

sent

ſent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a ſtatue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Iſter*, which he deſired liberty to come and ſet up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who ſmelt his deſign, ſent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but ſend the ſtatue, and he would take upon himſelf the care both of the erecting it, and of its remaining ſafe there; but that he would by no means ſuffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he perſiſted in ſpite of him, to come and ſet up ſuch a ſtatue, they would ſoon melt and caſt it into arrows againſt him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refuſal, and both monarchs being highly exaſperated againſt each other, a bloody battle enſued, in which, our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength and courage, were overcome by the craftineſs of the *Macedonian* king; twenty thouſand women and children were carried off priſoners, beſides a vaſt quantity of cattle, and twenty thouſand of their fineſt mares, which they ſent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and ſilver they found none among them, and this, our author obſerves, was the firſt proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that reſpect.

However, this overthrow is not ſo univerſally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it conſiſt well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces *Mithridates* haranguing his army, part of which conſiſted of *Scythians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a ſhameful flight [o]. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not ſo conſiderable as to hinder them from ſignalizing themſelves upon many occaſions, both againſt the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and againſt ſeveral other nations; and during a conſiderable time, as the ſequel of this work will ſufficiently ſhew.

Lambinus is ſuppoſed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the laſt king of *Scythia* [p].

[o] l. xxxviii. c. 7. [p] Vid. Hevel. lib. iii. p. 172.

CHAP.

EUROPAE PARS
PONTUS EUXINUS
PONTUS
BITHYNIA
PROPONTIS
PAPHLAGONIA
GALATICUS PONTUS
POLEMONIACUS PONTUS
CAPPADOCIUS PONTUS
GALLOGRAECIA
MYSIA MINOR
CHERSONESUS
Samothrace
Thasos
Lemnos
Hellespontus
Sigeum
Tenedos
Sigrium prom.
Ereſus
Chryſe
MARE AEGAEUM
Scyros
Icaria
Amorgos
Calymn.
Carpathus
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEI
Carambis op. eprom.
Cimolis
Cytoron op. e M.
Armene
Abonutrichos
Sinope
Amiſus
Eupatoria
Themiſyra
Cotyorum
Pharnacia
Iſchopolis
Ceraſus
Harmoniaſa
Aiba
Trapezus
Gangra
Olyaſus mon.
Plegra
Heneti
Hedua
Zagira
Amaſtris
Heraclea
Thynias
Gomnas
Flaviopolis
Parthenius Flu.
Tolistobogii
Neocaeſarea
Comana pontica
Iris Flu.
Sebaſtopolis
Nicopolis
Zela
Cabira. Dionolis
Sebaſte
Sebaſtia
Phanarea
Cocalia
Satala
Thermodon Flu.
Lycus Flu.
Eupatoria Magnopolis
Amaſia
Magaba Mons
Ancyra Galatia
Gema
Vindia
Tavium
Trocmi
Halys Flu.
Sangarius Flu.
Sangaris sive Gallus Flu.
Marjandyni
Claudiopolis olim Bithynium
Olympus M.
Bleucium
Pompaeopolis
Prusa
Nicaea
Azani
Cotyaeum
Dadaſtana
Gordiucombe et Iuliopolis
Olympeni
Dorylaum
Midaum
Synaus
Nicolia
Ancyra Phrygiae
Cotyaeum
Peſſinus
Tectoſages
Dindymus
Gordium
Doimaeum
Synnada
Afrana
Parnaſſus
Herpa
Archelais
Garſauria
Diocaeſarea
Nyſſa
Eumenia
Acmonia
Tiberiopolis
Nora caſtellum
Nazianzum
Dacora
Caeſarea
Saſima olim Mazaca
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Euphrates Flu.
Arabiſſus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Cocuſos
Cibiſtra
Mopſucrena
Taurus Mons
Eleutherocilices
Anazarbus
Caeſarea
Pindeniſſus
Epiphania
Erana
Nicopolis
Alexandria
Pylae Syriae
Amanus Mons
Aeolis
Lydia
Phrygia Propria
Magnesia ad Sipylum
Smyrna
Philadelphia
Hierocaeſarea
Metropolis
Caeſtrus Flu.
Thyatira
Hermus Flu.
Caicus Flu.
Pergamus
Adramyttium
Antandrus
Alexandria Troas
Aſſus
Sigeum
Rhoeteum
Dardanum
Abydus
Arisbe
Percote
Lampſacus
Parium
Apollonia
Adramyttium
Myrlea
Cyzicus
Artaxata
Tigranocerta
Caſtabala
Tyana
Commena
Arabiſſus
Melas Flu.
Lycaonia
Iconium
Lyſtra
Caſtyna
Derbe
Laodicea
Colossae
Apamea Cibotos
Philomelium
Antiochia ad Maeandrum
Tralles
Nyſa
Magneſia
Ephesus
Trapezopolis
Aphrodiſias
Appollonia
Aenoanda
Gabiene
Pappa
Isaura
Amblada
Neapolis
Pylae
Othasa
Taurus M.
Fluviopolis
Verenice
Iremopolis
Fluviarchia
Adana
Pyramus Flu.
Cydnus Flu.
Tarsus
Selinus Flu.
Seleucia
Antiochia
Sagalaſſas
Apamea
Tenoſsus
Sandalium
Pisidia
Petnelissus
Milyas
Cragus
Trachia sive Aspera
Perga
Selge
Coracesium
Arsinoe
Aulaea
Side
Attalia
Aspendus
Eurymedon Flu.
Melas Flu.
Cestrus Flu.
Pamphylium
Mare Pamphylium
Chelidoniae Insulae
Dolichiste
Acamas
Promont.
Megiſter
Daedalis Mons
Daedalus Cypr.
Cyprus
Arsinoe
Paphos nova
Paphos vetus
Citium
Salamis
Carpaſia
Soli
Lapathus
Aphrodiſium
Clides
Syria
Antiochia
Mare Syrium
Pars
Rhodus
Lindus
Ialyſus
Camirus
Cnidus
Halicarnaſſus
Myndus
Caſtri Flu.
Pedaſa
Tendeba
Alinda
Stratonice
Caria
Lagina
Mylaſa
Labraunda
Bargylia
Euromus
Didymi
Miletus
Lade
Lebedus
Colophon
Notium
Myus
Pyrrha
Heraclea
Amiſon
Bubon
Orthoſia
Bangaſa
Alabanda
Myonnesus
Teos
Erythrae
Chios
Clazomena
Cyme
Phocaea
Myrina
Grynium
Pitane
Aegae
Cape
Elaea
Hierocaeſarea
Thyatira
Magneſia ad Sipylum
Hermus Flu.
Caicus Flu.
Pergamus
Adramyttium
Antandrus
Alexandria Troas
Aſſus
Sigeum
Rhoeteum
Dardanum
Abydus
Arisbe
Percote
Lampſacus
Parium
Apollonia
Cyzicus
Granicus Flu.
Rhyndacus Flu.
Prusa
Nicaea
Azani
Olympeni
Dorylaum
Midaum
Synaus
Nicolia
Ancyra Phrygiae
Cotyaeum
Sangarius Flu.
Gallus Flu.
Sangaris sive
Marjandyni
Prusa
Claudiopolis olim Bithynium
Olympus M.
Bleucium
Pompaeopolis
Flaviopolis
Parthenius Flu.
Tolistobogii
Neocaeſarea
Amaſia
Eupatoria Magnopolis
Magaba Mons
Ancyra Galatia
Gema
Vindia
Tavium
Trocmi
Halys Flu.
Peſſinus
Tectoſages
Dindymus
Gordium
Doimaeum
Synnada
Afrana
Parnaſſus
Herpa
Archelais
Garſauria
Diocaeſarea
Nyſſa
Eumenia
Acmonia
Tiberiopolis
Nora caſtellum
Nazianzum
Dacora
Caeſarea
Saſima olim Mazaca
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Euphrates Flu.
Arabiſſus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Cocuſos
Cibiſtra
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Taurus Mons
Eleutherocilices
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Melitene
Cocuſos
Cibiſtra
Mopſucrena
Taurus Mons
Eleutherocilices
Anazarbus
Caeſarea
Pindeniſſus
Epiphania
Erana
Nicopolis
Alexandria
Pylae Syriae
Amanus Mons

CHAP. XIII.

The History of the antient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

SECT. I.

A brief account of ASIA Proper.

AS the ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Aſia Minor*, we ſhall premiſe a general deſcription of that country, for the better underſtanding of the particular accounts which we ſhall have occaſion to join, as we come to treat of the ſeveral regions contained therein.

Aſia Proper.

THE different and various acceptations of the word *Aſia*, even in its ſtricteſt ſenſe, has created a great deal of confuſion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into conſiderable miſtakes. To obviate theſe inconveniencies, the incomparable biſhop *Uſher* [a] adviſes thoſe who are to give any account of *Aſia* to begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impoſſible to underſtand the antient hiſtorians or geographers. He looks upon this as one of the moſt difficult points in hiſtory, there being a ſeeming contradiction between the ſacred and prophane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Aſia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful diſtinction of times and places. In reading the antient hiſtorians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater* and *Leſſer Aſia*, *Aſia Proper* or *Aſia properly ſo*

[a] In his geographical and hiſtorical diſquiſition touching *Aſia properly ſo called*.

called, the Lydian Asia, the Proconsular [illegible] *Asiatic Dioceſs.* That vaſt continent, which [illegible] known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Asia*, was divided by the antient geographers firſt into the *Greater* and *Leſſer Asia*. The leſſer, commonly termed *Asia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Caria*, and *Lydia*, was named *Asia Proper* or *Asia properly ſo called*, as is plain from *Tully* [b]. Where it is to be obſerved that *Tully*, in enumerating the regions contained in *Asia Proper*, makes no mention of *Æolis* or *Ionia*, though undoubtedly parts of *Asia Proper*, becauſe they were comprehended partly in *Lydia* and partly in *Myſia*. *Lydia*, beſide the inland country commonly known by that name, contained alſo the adjoining countries both of *Ionia*, lying on the ſea-ſide between the rivers *Hermus* and *Mæander*, and of *Æolis*, extending from *Hermus* to the river *Caicus* according to *Ptolemy* [c], or according to *Strabo* [d] to the promontory *Lectum*, the antient boundary between *Troas* and the ſea-coaſt of the *Greater Myſia* (A). The remaining parts of *Æolis* and *Ionia* are by *Pliny* [e], *Strabo* [f], *Hellanicus* [g], and *Scylax* [h], placed in *Myſia*; nay *Myſia* itſelf, after the *Æolians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it, was commonly called *Æolis* [i], which *Stephanus* not being aware of makes *Aſſos* of *Æolis* a different city from *Aſſos* of *Myſia* near *Antandrus*. From what we have ſaid it is plain, that *Asia Proper* comprehended *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*. This tract was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*, on the eaſt by *Galatia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, on the ſouth by part of *Lycia* and the *Rhodian*

[b] Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. [c] lib. v. cap. 2. [d] lib. xii. [e] lib. v. cap. 30. [f] lib. xv. [g] Id. lib. xiii. [h] Scylax. in Periplo. [i] Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 18. Plin. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That *Myſia* reached to the mouth of the river *Caicus* is acknowledged, not only by *Ptolemy* (1), but alſo by *Strabo* (2); and yet, becauſe it was poſſeſſed in his time by the *Æolians*, he tells us, that *Æolis*, properly ſo called, extended from *Hermus* to *Lectum* (3). In like manner *Pliny* (4) makes the promontory *Lectum* the boundary betwixt *Æolis* and *Troas*; though elſewhere, following other authors, he places *Aſſos* in *Troas* (5). But *Hellanicus* (6), *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* (7) make it a city of *Æolis* near the *Helleſpont*.

(1) *lib.* v. *c.* 2. (2) *lib.* xii. (3) *lib.* xiii. (4) *lib.* v. *c.* 30. (5) *Id lib.* ii. *c.* 96. & *l.* xxxvi, *c.* 17. (6) *Strab. l.* xiii. (7) *Id. l.* xv.

dian

dian ſea, on the weſt by the *Helleſpont*, by the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Myrtoan* ſeas. It lies between the thirty fifth and forty firſt degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty five to ſixty two degrees.

As *Aſia Proper* is but a part of *Aſia Minor*, ſo the *Lydian* *Aſia* is only a part of *Aſia Proper* (B). *Aſia* in this acceptation comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the deſcription we have already given of it, and is that *Aſia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts* and St. *John*'s revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. *Paul*'s journey [k]. *When they had gone throughout* Phrygia *and the region of* Galatia, *and were forbidden of the holy Ghoſt to preach the word in* Aſia; *after they were come to* Myſia *they aſſayed to go into* Bithynia; *but the ſpirit ſuffered them not. And they paſſing by* Myſia *came down to* Troas. Where it is to be obſerved, that the *Greater Phrygia* through which they paſſed into *Galatia*, *Myſia Olympena* bordering upon *Bithynia*, and *Helleſpont* where *Troas* was ſituate, though provinces of *Aſia* properly ſo called, are yet in expreſs terms diſtinguiſhed from the *Proper Aſia* of the *Romans*; as is likewiſe *Caria*, by what we read elſewhere in the ſame book [l]. As theſe cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Aſia*, ſo what remains of *Aſia Proper*, together with the *Seven Churches*

The Lydian Aſia.

[k] Acts xvi. [l] Acts xx. 16, 17.

(B) That in antient times *Lydia* was called *Meonia* and the *Lydians Meonians*, is manifeſt from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9), *Dionyſius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11), *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Meonia* was called *Aſia* is no leſs plain from *Callinus*, who flouriſhed before *Archilochus* (13), from *Demetrius Scepſius*, contemporary with *Crates* and *Ariſtarchus* the *Grammarian* (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologiſt, *&c.* Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called *Aſia*, is expreſly affirmed by the antient ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Aſia* is altogether uncertain; ſome deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, ſeated on mount *Tmolus*, others from one *Aſias* king of *Lydia*, who according to the *Lydians* communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Aſia*, than any other part of that continent.

(8) *Herodot. l.* vii. (9) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv. (10) *Dionyſ. in Periegeſi.* (11) *Strab. l.* xiii. (12) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 29. (13) *Strab. l.* xiv. (14) *Id. l.* xii. (15) *In Bacch.* (16) *In* Ασία. (17) *Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. (18) *Herod. l.* iv.

mentioned in the *Revelatians*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Aſia*. In the firſt place *Pergamus* is placed by *Xenophon* [m] in *Lydia*, and alſo by *Ariſtotle* [n]. The ſame *Ariſtotle* [o] tells us, that *Smyrna* was at firſt poſſeſſed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandenſis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*, as alſo *Epheſus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus* [p]. *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatira*, are reckoned by *Ptolemy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus* [q] (C).

The Proconſular Aſia.

The *Proconſular Aſia* (ſo called becauſe it was governed by a proconſul) according to the diſtribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Auguſtus*, comprehended the following countries, viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Myſia*, *Phrygia*, and the proconſular *Helleſpont*. And this is *Ptolemy*'s *Aſia Proper* [r]. By the ſame emperor *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were made a *Pretorian* province [s], and *Aſia* a conſular, containing all that part of *Aſia* which lay on this ſide of the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Conſtantine the Great* the *Proconſular Aſia* was much abridged, and a diſtinction brought in between the *Proconſular Aſia*, and the *Aſiatic dioceſs*; the one being governed by the proconſul of *Aſia*, and the other by the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant* of *Aſia* (D). The *Proconſular Aſia*, according to the deſcription which *Eunapius* gives us of it [t], ſeems to have been much the ſame with the *Lydian Aſia* abovementioned. In the reign of *Theodoſius the Elder*, who ſucceeded *Valens*, the conſular *Helleſpont* was taken from the *Vicarius* of *Aſia*, and

[m] Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. lib 7. [n] lib. de Poetica, p. 97. [o] Aristot. lib. de Poetica apud. Plutarch. in lib. de vita & poeſi Homeri [p] Herodot. lib. 1. [q] Steph. de urbib. [r] Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. [s] Strab. l. xvii. [t] Eunap. in vita Maximi.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolemy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by ſome in *Lydia*, the confines of thoſe countries having been ſo often altered, that it was not poſſible, as *Strabo* witneſſes (19), to aſcertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the ſame city is oftentimes placed by one of the antient geographers in *Phrygia*, by another in *Lydia*, and by a third in *Caria*.

(D) We find in the Imperial Conſtitutions two reſcripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365, (that is, towards the latter end of the firſt year of his reign), and directed to *Clearchus Vicarius Aſiæ*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius*, *Vicarius Diœceſeos Aſianæ* (20). This diſtinction was brought in by *Conſtantine*, and continued under the Chriſtian emperors that ſucceeded him.

(19) *Strab. l.* xiii. (20) *Cod. Theodoſ. lib. v. tit.* 11. *Ne quis. in ſcio dom.*

added

added to the *Proconſular Aſia*; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconſular Aſia* was abridged of all the inland part of *Lydia*. And this is the reaſon, why *Palladius* [u] makes a diſtinction between the biſhops of *Lydia* and thoſe of *Aſia*. However, the ſouthern part of *Lydia*, lying between the *Mæander* and *Cayſter*, and the maritime provinces from *Epheſus* to *Aſſos* and the promontory *Lectum* were left to the *Proconſular Aſia* [w].

THE *Aſiatic dioceſs* (E) is ſometimes taken in a more ſtrict ſenſe, as diſtinct from the *Proconſular Aſia* and the provinces under the juriſdiction of the proconſul, and ſometimes in a more extenſive ſenſe, as comprehending alſo the *Proconſular Aſia*. According to this acceptation all *Aſia* in the reign of *Theodoſius the Younger* conſiſted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the juriſdiction of the proconſul of *Aſia*, viz. the *Proconſular Proper*, which he governed by himſelf, the conſular *Helleſpont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other iſlands called *Cyclades*, which were firſt made a province by *Veſpaſian*, and placed under a preſident [x]; eight were under the vicarius or lieutenant of *Aſia*, viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Piſidia*; theſe eight made up what was properly called the *Aſiatic dioceſs* [y] (F). Theſe are the terms we moſt commonly meet with in reading the antient hiſtorians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned biſhop *Uſher*, who thought it well worth his while to examine

The Aſiatic *dioceſs.*

[u] Pallad. in vita Chryſoſt. [w] Hieroclis, notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. ſacra. p. 27. Photius de ordine Metropolitar. p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subſcript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Conſtantinop. vi. Act xviii. &c. [x] Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. [y] ALCIAT. Parerg. l. v. c. 13.

(E) The word *dioceſs*, in the dialect of the times we are here ſpeaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending ſeveral provinces under the juriſdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *Notitia Imperii*, which was compiled in the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, the *Aſiatic dioceſs* is ſaid to conſiſt of ten provinces only, the firſt and chief province of all, viz. *Aſia* itſelf, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, *Iſidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this dioceſs, and among them *Galatia*, which was without all doubt a province of the dioceſs of *Pontus* (22).

(21) *Notit. utriuſque Imperii. de Eccleſ. ſuburbicar. p.* 347.

(22) *Vid. Salmaſii. Euchariſtic.*

the

the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise [z].

The name of Asia.

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of *Iapetus*, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Asius* son of *Atys* king of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named *Asia*. *Bochart* [a] is of opinion, that it took its name from the *Phœnician* word *Asi*, signifying *the middle*, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communicated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle between *Europe* and *Africa*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* [b]. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

Climate and fertility.

This country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the *Romans* who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully* [c] to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely *Marc Anthony*, who as we are told by *Plutarch* [d], squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* in the space of one year the sum of 20,000 talents.

Its present division.

This country is at present divided into four parts, viz. *Natolia*, properly so called, the western part; *Carmania* the southern part; *Aladulia* the eastern, and *Amasia* the northmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them *Nadalu*, is divided into five parts under the government of five *Beglerbegs*, who reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tocat*, *Trabezond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular

[z] Usher in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c. [a] Phaleg. l iv c. 36. [b] Plin. in Prefat lib iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Asia, l. i. c. 2. [c] Cic. pro Q. Ligario. [d] Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio.

histories

hiſtories of the various kingdoms, antiently comprehended under the common name of *Aſia Minor*.

The HISTORY *of the* PHRYGIANS.

SECT. II.

The Deſcription of PHRYGIA.

AS we can ſcarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at ſecond hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we ſhall not dwell long on ſo dark and perplexed a ſubject, nor pretend to ſupply the defect of better authorities with ſuch precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the moſt ordinary uſually do, vent on ſuch occaſions (G).

WHENCE the ſmall country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*), which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria* and empties itſelf into the *Hermus* [e], others from *Phrygia* the daughter of *Aſopus* and *Europa*. The *Greek* writers tell us [f], that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and theſe from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence they firſt paſſed into *Aſia* and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brigia* to the country which they ſettled in; but we ſhall have occaſion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion [g], that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a *Greek* verb, ſignifying *to burn* or *dry*, which according to him is a tranſlation of its *Hebrew* name, derived from a verb of the ſame ſignification (H).

No

[e] PLIN. lib. v. c. 29.
[f] MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen. Aug.
[g] Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the *Phrygian* hiſtory are *Democritus*, *Hermeſianactes*, *Timolaus*, *Aretaxes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to ſome of the moſt material points of that hiſtory.

(H) The *Greek* word Φρυγία ſeems to be derived from the verb Φρύγειν, *to burn* or *parch*; and hence that place on mount *OEta*

(23) *Plutarch. de fluviis & Laert. in Democrito.*

where

Its divisions.

No leſs various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave riſe to the proverb related by *Strabo* *, viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Myſians* had diſtinct boundaries, but that it was ſcarce poſſible to aſcertain them. The ſame writer adds [h], that the *Trojans*, *Myſians*, and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian* [i] extends to the *Piſidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again, *Pliny* [k] places *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, which together with *Dardania* is reckoned by *Strabo* [l] among the provinces of *Myſia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy* whom we chooſe to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on the weſt by *Myſia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean ſea*, *Lydia*, *Meonia*, and *Caria*; on the

* Strab. l. xii. & l. xiv. [h] Strab. ubi ſupra. [i] Claud. l. ii. in Eutrop. [k] Plin. lib. v. [l] Strab. ubi ſupra.

where *Hercules* was burnt took the name of Φρυγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πέφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Now as that part of *Phrygia* which was waſhed by the rivers *Cayſter* and *Mæander* was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Καλακεκαυμένη, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witneſs (24), it is not improbable, but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at firſt peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Καλακεκαυμένη, *burnt*, is variouſly reported. *Diodorus* (25) ſpeaks of a fiery monſter called *Ægis*, which appearing there conſumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of *Typhon* (26), who, ſay they, was in that place thunder-ſtruck by *Jupiter*. But without having recourſe to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but conſider, that this part of *Phrygia* we are ſpeaking of is deſcribed both by *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (27) as a dry ſoil, impregnated with ſulphur, bitumen, and other combuſtible ſubſtances, which in all likelihood gave riſe to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are ſpeaking of is by ſome of the antients reckoned a province of *Myſia*, by others of *Mæonia*; but *Heſychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and moſt of the other hiſtorians and geographers place it in *Phrygia*. *Bochart* is of opinion (30), that by *Gomer* in ſcripture is meant *Phrygia*, and that the *Greek* word *Phrygia* is a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* גומר *Gomer*, which he derives from the verb גמר *Gamar*, importing, among other ſignifications, *to burn* or *conſume*, in which ſignification he ſhews it to have been frequently uſed both by the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*.

(24) *Strab. l. xiii. & Diod. Sicul. l. iii.* (25) *Diodor. Sicul. l. iii p.* 142. (26) *Strab. l. xiii.* (27) *ubi ſupra.* (28) *Heſych. l.* 12. (29) *Diodor. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Phaleg. l. iii. c.* 8.

ſouth

ſouth by *Lycia*, on the eaſt by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41ſt degree of north latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones* and *Anthemiſenii* towards *Lycia*, the *Moccadelis* or *Moceadine*, the *Cyddeſes* or *Cydiſſes* towards *Bithynia*, and between theſe the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenſes*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To theſe we may add the *Berecyntes* and *Cerbeſis* mentioned by *Strabo* [m].

Phrygia is commonly divided into the *Greater*, and *Leſſer Phrygia* called alſo *Troas*. But this diviſion did not take place till *Troas* was ſubdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is no more conſidered by ſome *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two diſtricts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus* who under *Conſtantine* bore the great office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the eaſt; the other *Phrygia Salutaris*, from ſome miraculous cures ſuppoſed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

Its ſoil and climate.

THIS country, and indeed all *Aſia Minor*, as lying in the fifth and ſixth northern climates, was in antient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all ſorts of grain, being for the moſt part a plain country, covered with a deep rich ſoil, and plentifully watered by ſmall rivers. It was in ſome parts productive of bitumen and other combuſtible ſubſtances. It was well ſtocked with cattle, having large plains and paſture-grounds. The air was anciently deemed moſt pure and wholeſome, though it is now in ſome parts thought extremely groſs, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in ſuch regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. In ſhort, whatever deſirable things nature has frugally beſtowed here and there on other countries were found in this, while well manured, as in their original ſeminary.

THE cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the abovementioned diviſion of *Conſtantine* took place. It was ſeated at the confluence of the *Marſyas* and *Mæander*. *Pliny* [n] places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, ſurrounded by the rivers *Marſyas*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, which empty themſelves into the *Mæander*; wherein he ſeems to confound the ſitua-

[m] STRAB. l. xii. [n] Plin. l. v. c. 29.

tion of the antient *Celæne* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celæne* indeed ſtood at the foot of the hill on which the *Marſyas* has its ſpring; but *Antiochus Soter*, ſon to *Antiochus Selucus*, who built *Apamea* of *Syria*, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marſyas* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apame*, wife to *Seleucus Nicanor* [o]. As there are many other cities bearing the ſame name, this for diſtinction ſake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but as to the original of this appellation there is a great diſcrepancy among authors (I).

Laodicea, now *Eſkihiſſar*, ſeated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was firſt called *Dioſpolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at laſt *Diocæſarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus*, that *Jupiter* appearing to *Antiochus* the ſon of *Stratonice* in his ſleep, commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Dioſpolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increaſed by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his ſon *Polemon* [p], who, being honoured by *Cæſar Auguſtus* with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaiſance to that prince add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæſarea, the city of Jupiter and Cæſar*. However, the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* [q], prevailed.

[o] Strab. l. xii. Liv. lib. xxxviii. Marcianus lib. vi.
[p] Strab. lib. xii. [q] Id. ibid.

(I) As the word Κιβώτος ſignifies *Ark* or *Coffer*, ſome have ſuppoſed, that it was ſo called, becauſe the ark reſted on the hill from which the river *Marſyas* ſprings. But theſe writers confound the ſituation of *Celæne* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was ſituate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles diſtance. As thoſe who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Aſia Minor* uſed to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general reſort (30), *Salmaſius* thinks, it was called *Cibotos* from its being, as it were, the common treaſury of thoſe countries (31). It is worth obſerving, that there are no fewer than ſeven cities bearing the ſame name, *viz.* *Apamea* of *Bithynia*, *Apamea* of *Media*, *Apamea* on the *Tigris*, *Apamea* on the *Euphrates*, one in *Perſia*, one in *Syria*, and one in *Phrygia*; and all ſituate between two rivers, which made *Bochart* (32) conclude, that they were ſo called from the *Hebrew* verb ſignifying *to ſurround*, whereof the import is plainly expreſſed in *Jonas* (33) אפפוני מוכם *aphapheni majim*.

(30) *Lib.* xvii. (31) *Salmaſ. Plinianæ Exercitation. c.* xl. *p.* 380. (32) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (33) *c.* ii. *v.* 6.

This

This city was famous for its wool, which was univerſally preferred on account of its ſoftneſs, as the ſame author witneſſes [r], even to that of *Miletus* ſo much cried up by the antients, and beſides was of a very extraordinary blackneſs. With this the inhabitants carried on a very conſiderable trade, and were accounted the moſt wealthy people of all *Aſia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæſarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly miſtaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the apocalypſe, but at preſent not ſo much as the ruins of it are any where to be ſeen, that prophetical threat being fully accompliſhed; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot — becauſe thou art lukewarm — I will ſpue thee out of my mouth* [s] (K).

Hierapolis famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo*'s account [t], when expoſed to the air petrified in the ſpace of a year, and yet were endued with ſuch a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a preſent remedy againſt innumerable diſtempers to ſuch as uſed them [u]. Near this city was to be ſeen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overſpread with a thick fog, and exhaling ſuch a peſtilent ſteam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately ſtifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny* [w] except the *Galli* or eunuchs of *Cybele*; *Ammianus* and *Dio Nicæus* all eunuchs [x] (L). *Gordium*

[r] Ibid. [s] Revel. c. iii. ver. 15, 16. [t] lib. xiii. [u] STRAB. ubi ſupra. VITRUVIUS, l. viii. c. 3. ULPIANUS lege prima, ſect. xiii. [w] lib. iv. [x] AMMIAN. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. DIO. NICÆ. in vita Trajan. p. 252. ed. H. STEPH. 1592.

(K) *Terrari* in his dictionary tells us, that *Laodicea* is ſtill called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks Nove-Lefche*, that it is one of the archbiſhopricks of *Aſia Minor*, &c. But he is either miſtaken, or the town was not quite demoliſhed in his time; at preſent it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beaſts. Several travellers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, have taken the village *Laotick* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eſkibiſſar*, as it is now called, there are ſtill to be ſeen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inſcription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon*'s account of the *ſeven churches* (34).

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witneſs (35) ſays, that in his time this *Plutonium* or opening was incloſed with baliſters taking up about half an acre of ground in compaſs, that the peſtilent ſteam kept within

(34) *Spon. lib.* iii. (35) *lib.* xiii.

Gordium, the ſeat of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot which we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. This town was ſituated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygias*, where *Juſtin* places it [y]. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this deſpicable condition till the triumvirate of *Auguſtus*, when it was again made a city and called *Juliopolis* by one *Cleo*, a famous robber native of that place (M).

Coloſſe, now *Chonos*, on the ſouth ſide of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof St. *Paul* wrote that epiſtle which is part of our canon.

Sipylus, the reſidence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called alſo *Tantalis*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, ſuppoſing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. 'Tis obſervable, that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were ſucceſſively built on the ſame ſpot and deſtroyed by earthquakes.

Synnada, *Synada*, or *Symnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by *Conſtantine the Great* declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his diviſion of *Phrygia* into *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Beſides theſe and ſeveral

[y] Lib. xi. c. 7.

that incloſure, ſo that one might approach the baliſter without the leaſt danger; but whoever advanced one ſtep farther was immediately ſtifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witneſſes, *Apuleius*, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*, and ſome footſteps of what it once was are to be ſeen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it ſtood; inſomuch, that Dr. *Smith* after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo* having with a band of robbers poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſtrong hold on mount *Olympus* called *Collydium*, by frequent excurſions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of *Aſia* from gathering the annual tributes, on which conſideration he was by *Marc Anthony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Actiac* war revolting from *Anthony* he ſided with *Auguſtus*, who added great part of *Morena* to what *Anthony* had beſtowed on him, created him prieſt of *Jupiter Abrettenus* worſhipped by the *Myſians*, and high-prieſt of *Bellona* adored in *Commana* of *Pontus*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Conſtantinople*, *Severus* ſubſcribes as biſhop of *Synnada, the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris*

(36) *Ubi ſupra & Apuleius de Mundo.* (37) *Strab. lib.* xii. (38);

ſeveral other cities of leſs note mentioned by the antients, there were in later times ſome of no ſmall account, ſuch as *Saqua*, the habitation of *Etrogul* father of *Ottoman* the firſt king of the *Turks*, *Chara-chiſar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyrgus*, or the *Black-tower*, *Cillexuga*, *Einegiol*, &c. taken by the ſaid *Ottoman* from the chriſtian princes at the firſt riſe of the *Ottoman* empire:

THE rivers of this country which we ſhall take notice of, are the *Mæander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, a river ſo celebrated by the antients, for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. It riſes on the hill *Celænæ*, the ſame as *Aulocrene* mentioned by *Pliny*[z], at the foot of which ſtood antiently a famous city of the ſame name. *Pliny*[a] and *Strabo*[b] derive it from a lake on the top of the ſaid hill. It paſſes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and after 600 windings[c], by which it ſeems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itſelf into the *Archipelago* between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O).

[z] Lib. xxxviii. [a] ubi ſupra. [b] STRAB. lib. xii.
[c] DIO. PRUSÆUS, lib. i.

(38); and yet *Socrates* in his *eccleſiaſtical hiſtory* (39), and *Nicephorus*, blindly following him, place this city in *Phrygia Pacatiana* (40). And here we may obſerve by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* ſubſcribes as biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which ſome have looked upon as a miſtake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that beſides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, there was another of leſs note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one ſaid to be under the juriſdiction of *Laodicea*, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(O) The *Cayſter*, now *Minderſcare*, bears ſuch a reſemblance to the *Mæander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della valle*, *du Loir*, and *Monconis*, have miſtaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayſter Coutchouk-mindre* and *Minderſcare*, that is the *little Mæander*, or the *black Mæander*; and the *Mæander* itſelf *Boujouc-Mindre*, the *great Mæander*. Some have obſerved, that it forms in its courſe the following *Greek* characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, ε, ſome pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *poetarum omnium exercitatio & ludus*; but *Ovid*'s deſcription of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(38) *Concil.* v. *Collat.* viii. (39) *lib.* vii. *c.* 3. (40) *Nicephor. Calliſt. hiſtor. lib.* xiv. *c.* 11. (41) *Concil. Chalced. Act.* xvi. (42) *lib.* v. *c.* 29, & 30. (42) *Spon. Voyag. d'Italie, &c. tom.* i. *p.* 244. (43) *Epiſt.* 105. (44) *Metamorph. lib.* viii.

THE

The river *Marſyas*, ſo named from *Marſyas*, a celebrated muſician, who, challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and flead for his preſumption. Moſt of the antients tell us, that this river hath its ſpring near that of the *Mæander*; but *Maximus Tyrius* [d], who was upon the ſpot, derives them both from the ſame ſource, and ſo does *Strabo* [e]. It ruſhes down from a conſiderable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noiſe, on which account it was called by *Herodotus* [f] *Cataracta*. It has not only the ſame ſpring with the *Mæander*, but flows in the ſame channel through the town of *Celæne*, ſtanding at the foot of the river on which it riſes. In leaving the town the main ſtream divides itſelf into two branches, and forms theſe two rivers, the one the moſt winding river in the world, the other without ſo much as one turning during its whole courſe, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is after a courſe of ten miles only, the *Marſyas* is again received within the banks of the *Mæander* which it left at *Celæne*; ſo that in reality theſe two rivers are but two branches of the ſame original ſtream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble deſcription of it [g], and adds, that while it flows within the walls of *Celæne* it is named *Marſyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but, with this author's leave, *Marſyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* ſprings from mount *Olympus* and diſcharges itſelf into the *Mæander* not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different courſe from that of the *Marſyas*, which we have already deſcribed [h] (P).

Sangarius,

[d] Serm. xxxviii. [e] lib xii. [f] lib. vii. [g] lib. iii.
[h] Vid. Salmas. Plinian. Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582.

(P) The poets feign, that *Marſyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who flead him for his pride and arrogance, his death was ſo bemoaned by the nymphs and ſatyrs, that from their tears ſprung a river called after him *Marſyas*. This *Marſyas* is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Olympus*, and one of the moſt ingenious men of his age. He was the inventer of the pipe called *Syrinx*, and the firſt that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the ſpring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45) gravely writes, that in his time was ſtill to be ſeen the plane-tree on which this unhappy muſician ended his days. Others ſay, with the ſame appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us, that the riv-

(45) *Lib.* I. (46) *Sermon.* 38.

ers

Sangarius, *Sangaris*, or *Sangurus*, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note [1]; it ſprings from the hill *Dindymus*, waſhes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itſelf into the *Black-ſea*. *Phryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold ſands, takes its riſe near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Myſias*, *Orgos*, *Obrima*, &c.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, &c. *of the antient* Phrygians.

THE *Phrygians* deemed themſelves the moſt ancient people of the world, which opinion ſeems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at leaſt in the time of *Pſammitichus*, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told [k], that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elſewhere [l], thoſe great boaſters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, challenging only the ſecond rank to themſelves. And hence it is, that *Apuleius* [m] diſtinguiſhes them with the epithet of *firſt-born*. *Their antiquity.*

As to their origin, ſome ſuppoſe them deſcended from *Togarmah*, one of the ſons of *Gomer*; and of this opinion are *Joſephus* and St. *Jerom* [n], who adds, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus* [o], *Origin.*

[i] PLIN. l. [k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. [l] See Vol. I. p. 335, note (V). [m] de Aſino aur. l. xi. [n] JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 7. HIERON. in quæſt. Hebraicis. [o] lib. vii.

ers *Mæander* and *Marſyas* were both worſhipped by the inhabitants of *Celænæ*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common ſtream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the channel of that river for which the pious votaries had deſigned them. The river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him Mr. *Spon*, miſtakes for the *Marſyas* (47), runs a few miles under ground, but appears again before it loſes itſelf in the *Mæander*, which *Ovid* ſeems to have been ignorant of when he ſaid (48),

Sic, ubi terreno Lycus eſt epotus hiatu,
Exiſtit procul hinc, alioque renaſcitur orbe.

(47) *Voyage d' Italie. &c. tom.* i. *lib.* iii. (48) *Metamorph. lib.* xv.

Strabo

Strabo [p], *Pliny* [q], and *Eustathius* [r], led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brigians* a people of *Macedonia*, who, passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country which they settled in named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the *Phrygians* and *Brigians* bore antiently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brigians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to prove, that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brigians*, rather than the *Brigians* a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely, they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart* [s] is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he by the *Galatians* must necessarily mean the *Phrygians*, inhabiting that part of *Phrygia* which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendants of *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel* [t] northward of *Judea* near *Togarmah*, (which *Bochart* * takes to be *Cappadocia*) long before the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the scripture. But as the *Cimmerians* lay beyond the *Euxine* sea, at a vast distance from *Judea*, we can hardly think, that the *Jews* had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Afric*, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* [u], that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have no body else to bestow it on.

[p] lib. vii. x. xii. [q] lib. v. c 37. [r] Eustath. in Homer. & Dionys. [s] Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 8. [t] Ezek. xxxviii. 6.
* Phaleg. lib. iii. [u] ubi supra.

The

THE ancient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes and ill-usage could make them comply with their duty, which gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are said to have been the first inventers of divination by the singing, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alledged by some as an argument of their effeminacy. *Their character.*

CONCERNING their government thus much may be said, that it was monarchical, and that all *Phrygia* was, during the reigns of some kings, subject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*, *Manis*, *Gordius*, and his descendants, were certainly lords of all *Phrygia*. But some time before the *Trojan* war we find this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. *Apollodorus* [w] mentions a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*. *Cedrenus* [x] and others speak of one *Teuthrans* king of a small country in *Phrygia*, whose territories were ravaged by *Ajax*, himself slain in a single combat, his royal seat laid in ashes, and his daughter, by name *Tecmessa*, carried away captive by the conqueror. *Homer* [y] makes mention of *Phorcys* and *Ascanius*, both princes and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipylus* only and its district, a prince no less famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetousness and other detestable vices. Whether *Phrygia* was ever subdued by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas* [z], is much questioned by the learned. Most authors, that speak of *Gordius*, tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having sent to consult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for answer, that the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing *Their government.*

[w] lib. iii. [x] CEDRENUS, p. 104. SOPHOCL. in Ajace. CALABER. lib. iii. [y] HOMER. Iliad. B. [z] SUID. vit. Ὀρφεύς

(Q) *Phryges sero sapient*, *Phryx verberatus melior*, *Phryx non minus quam Spyntharus*, &c. which proverbs intimate their servile temper, and shew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their music too was suited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood was a kind of grave and solid music; the *Lydian* a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

Gordius on the throne. When ce we may conclude, that, ſome time before his acceſſion to the crown, an ariſtocratical or democratical from of government had been introduced.

Their trade, laws, learning.

As to their trade, all we can ſay is, that *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Aſia Minor*. Thither reſorted merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the neighbouring iſlands. Beſides, we know from *Syncellus*, that the *Phrygians* were for ſome time maſters of the ſea (he ſays 25 years); and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was ſtocked with many choice and uſeful commodities, and well able to afford conſiderable exports. They had a ſafe coaſt, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a conſiderable trade. But as moſt of the *Phrygian* records are loſt, we will not dwell on conjectures ſo hard to be aſcertained.

We have no ſet form of their laws; and as to their learning, ſince we are told that for ſome time they enjoyed the ſovereignity of the ſea, we may, at leaſt, allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy, and add to theſe, from what we have ſaid above, a more than ordinary knowledge of muſic.

Their language.

Some have been of opinion, that the *Phrygian* language bore a great reſemblance to the *Greek*; but the contrary is manifeſt from the few *Phrygian* words which have been tranſmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart* [a] and *Rudbechius* [b]. To theſe we may add the authority of *Strabo* [c], who, after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to diſcover any ſimilitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue after the experiment made by *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elſewhere [d], was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the moſt antient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Scythians*, refuſed to ſubmit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, ſay they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Bec*, or *Bekkos*, the firſt they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had ſuckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word ſignifying bread (R). A late

[a] Bochart. Quæſt. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia. [b] Rudbec, in Atlant. tom. i cap. 36. [c] Strab. lib. xii. [d] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 335 (V).

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes uſe of the ſame argument to prove, that the *High-Dutch* is the original or mother-tongue of the world, becauſe the word *Becker* in that language ſignifies *a baker*.

writer

writer[e], after obſerving that *Homer* in ſeveral paſſages diſtinguiſhes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to ſhew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S).

As to the religion of the antient *Phrygians*, we have already obſerved, that they were greatly addicted to ſuperſtition. They had many idols, but the goddeſs *Cybele* ſeems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthus*, *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, becauſe on theſe hills ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner (T). She was alſo named *Cubebe*, becauſe her prieſts *Their religion.*

[e] LAKEMACHERUS obſer. Philol.

(S) *Gothofradus Lakemacherus* in order to prove this chooſes the two following verſes (49);

Αυτα δ' αῤ Ηφαιστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ον Ξάνθον καλεῦσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον,

where *Homer* tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus* and by men *Scamander*. He ſhews, that as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word ſignifying *yellow*, the above mentioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the ſame name, as *Strabo* (50) witneſſes, to another river in *Lycia* on account of its yellow ſands. From hence he infers, that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word *Scamander*, he thinks, that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius* ſon of *Hector* and king of the *Phrygians*, whoſe territories were watered by this river, it being a common cuſtom among the antients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whoſe countries they had their courſe. Now as *Scamandrius*, ſays he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*, and that *Homer* by the language of men means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the ſame of all other paſſages in *Homer*, where ſuch a diſtinction is made; the more, becauſe two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, viz. *Bateia* and *Kumindis* are without doubt *Phrygian*; the one being the name of a hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird moſtly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(T) *Philoſtephanus* is of opinion, that the hill *Dindymene* was ſo called, becauſe it had διδυμας κορυφας *two tops*; but *Strabo* ſays in expreſs terms that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *Dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian Zinzum*; and from thence he derives the name of the hill

(49) *Iliad.* 20. *ver.* 73. (50) *lib* xiv *p.* (665). (51) *Bochart. de. Quæſt. Utrum Æneas fuerit unquam in Italia?*

priests, when seized with their frantic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius* [g] gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vast rock on the borders of *Phrygia*, called in the language of that country *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, by the direction of *Themis*, took the stones, which they had made use of to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of these sprung *Cybele the great mother of the gods*. The same rock conceived by *Jupiter* and brought forth *Acdestis*, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a most outrageous enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till *Bacchus* by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, put it in her bosom. This cost her dear, for soon after proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father shut up and condemned to starve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, she was in due time delivered of a son, who being exposed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbus*, and nursed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian* dialect signifying *a goat*. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was on that score greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Acdestis*; nay *Midas* king of *Phrygia*, then residing at *Pessinus*, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name *Ia*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out *the great mother of the gods*, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate

[g] Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. viii.

Dindymus; the more because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount *Dindyme* with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

(52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

of

of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence ſhe was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the ſame time came *Acdeſtis*, who, inſpiring with an enthuſiaſtic frenſy all who aſſiſted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a ſcene of horror and confuſion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emaſculating himſelf under a pine-tree, ſoon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herſelf accompanied her ſpouſe to the ſhades. *Acdeſtis* and *Cybele* drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint entreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Peſſinus*, ceremonies inſtituted, prieſts appointed, *&c.* Thus far *Arnobius*.

Euſebius[h] gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis* or *Atys*, copied, as he informs us, from the antient *Phrygian* mythologiſts. According to theſe, the firſt king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who being ſmitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* cauſed *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele* being unſpeakably grieved wandered long up and down *Phrygia*, ſeeking in the mountains and woods ſome allay to her grief. Her ſorrow being in length of time ſomewhat aſſwaged, ſhe admitted *Apollo* into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From theſe two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of this their chief diety (U).

THIS

[h] EUSEB. Præpar. Evangelic. l. ii. iv.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from thoſe we have quoted, and frequently among themſelves. *Cybele* according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of *Saturn*, and the ſame with *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Veſta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was expoſed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybelus*, nurſed there firſt by wild beaſts, and after by the wife of a ſhepherd who found her by chance, *&c.* The *Romans* having learnt from the books of the Sybils, that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy*, till the *Idean mother* was brought to *Rome*, ſent thereupon embaſſadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered to them a ſtone, which the inhabitants of *Peſſinus* called the *great mother of the gods*.

This goddeſs was pictured ſitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment feeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologiſts by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key ſhe holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the ſpring, and the ſeeds to ſhoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a ſymbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all ſorts of animals, which ſhe both produces and nouriſhes; finally *Saturn*, that is Time, is feigned to be her huſband, to ſignify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Euſebius* and others [i] are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies againſt ſuch diſtempers as young children are ſubject to, and that on this ſkill or knowledge are grounded all the ſtories that are related of her.

Cybele had her peculiar prieſts, ceremonies, and ſacrifices. Her prieſts were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi*, for the reaſon we have alledged above. the *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the *Greek* tranſlation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli*, from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Peſſinus*, where this goddeſs had a magnificent temple. They were alſo ſtiled *Idæi Dactyli*; but it is no eaſy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo* [k] informs us, that they were called *Idæi* becauſe they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the *Greek* word *Dactylus*, ſignifying *a finger*, they being at firſt ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers [l], viz. *Hercules*, *Pæon*, *Epimides*, *Jaſias*, and

[i] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. [k] Strab. lib. x. p. 473. [l] ubi ſupra.

gods. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). 'Tis to be obſerved, that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the ſame with *Veſta*, but acknowledged two goddeſſes bearing the ſame appellation, which their poets frequently confound; *Cybele* was that *Veſta* they called the earth and wife to *Saturn*, ſhe was called *Veſta* becauſe *Stat vi terra ſua*, as *Ovid* ſays, *vi ſtando Veſta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddeſs of fire, or rather fire itſelf, according to that verſe of the ſame poet, *Nec tu aliud Veſtâ quam vivam intellige flammam*.

(53) *Liv. Decad.* iii. *l.* 9.

Idas,

Idas, adding, that they had as many ſiſters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from thoſe *Strabo* ſpeaks of, viz. *Kelmis*, *Damnameneus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius* [m] acknowledges but two, *Fitia* and *Cyllenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Cherub*, ſignifying in the *Phœnician* language *valiant*, and add, that they were the guards of the firſt kings of *Phrygia* [n] (W).

THE

[m] APOLLON. in Argonaut. [n] Fr. Not. in Scholiaſt. Luciani, tom, ii. PITISCUS. Lexicon Antiquitat. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. c. vii.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54), that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*, that ſhe married *Jaſius* a *Samothracian* the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a ſon called *Corybas*; that after the death of her huſband ſhe went with *Dardanus* and *Corybas* into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the myſteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddeſs after her own name *Cybele*, and her prieſts *Corybantes* from her ſon *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionyſius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* inſtituted the *Samothracian* myſteries, that his wife *Chryſes* learnt them in *Arcadia*, and that *Idæus* the ſon of *Dardanus* inſtituted afterwards the myſteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and Sir *Iſaac Newton* (56) thinks, that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, ſome of them ſettled in *Phrygia* where they were called *Corybantes*, ſome in *Crete* where they were named *Idæi Dactyli*, others in *Rhodes* where they were ſtiled *Telchines*; others in *Samothrace* where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; ſome in *Eubœa* where, as they were well ſkilled in arts and ſciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called *Chalcis*; ſome in *Lemnos* where they aſſiſted *Vulcan*; ſome in *Imbrus*; and a very conſiderable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the ſon of *Endymion*, poſſeſſing himſelf of it, called it *Ætolia*. Theſe *Curetes* making themſelves armour uſed to dance in it at the ſacrifices, with great noiſe of pipes, and drums, and ſwords, which they ſtruck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming ſome kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of muſic in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Iſidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) aſcribes to the *Curetes* the invention of muſical rhymes, and of the letters

(54) *Diodor. p.* 223. (55) *Dionyſ l.* i. *p.* 38. 42. (56) *The chronology of antient kingdoms, &c. c.* ii. *p.* 146. (57) *Solin, Polyhiſt. c.* xi. *Iſidor. orig l.* xi. *c.* 6. (58) *Clem. Strom. l.* i.

called

The ceremonies performed by theſe prieſts in honour of this goddeſs were, 1ſt, At ſtated times they uſed to carry her ſtatue about the ſtreets dancing and ſkipping round it, and after having with violent geſticulations worked themſelves up to the height of frenſy, they began to cut and flaſh their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing ſeized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was tranſported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great ſolemnity carried by the prieſts into the temple of the goddeſs, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the ſame manner the dead body of *Attis* and carrying it to her cave; on theſe occaſions the prieſts were crowned with violets, which were ſuppoſed to have ſprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he had laid violent hands upon himſelf. The victims immolated in honour of the [illegible] goddeſs were a bull or a ſhe-goat, whence the [illegible] is called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At *Rome* a [illegible] early ſacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed [illegible] eſt and prieſteſs ſent for out of *Phrygia* on that occaſion, [illegible]er prieſts, (thoſe at leaſt who were known under the name of *Galli*)

called *Epheſian*. And Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, they were at the ſame time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Epheſian* from the city of *Epheſus* where they were firſt taught. Theſe *Curetes* were no leſs eſteemed for their ſkill and knowledge in religious matters and myſtical practices, than for their arts and ſciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the myſteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete* and the *Terra Curetum* thoſe of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noiſe to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn* who ſought his deſtruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Paleſtine*, and thinks, they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philiſtines* called *Crethim* or *Cerethites*. We muſt not forget, that *Cybele* or the *Great Mother* was ſometimes repreſented with a key, and ſometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made ſome think that ſhe was the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs *Aſtarte*, whoſe chariot was alſo drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that ſhe was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to ſome, *Europa* the ſiſter of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* firſt introduced, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no inſtance of any ſuch practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

(59) *ubi ſupra.* (60) *Strab. l.* x. *p* 472, 473. *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 4. (61) *Boch. in Canaan, l.* i. *c.* 15. (62) *Lucian. de Saltatione.*

were

were all eunuchs; this the great goddeſs required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inſpire them with ſuch a frantic enthuſiaſm, as to perform the operation on themſelves without the leaſt reluctancy. They were not allowed to drink wine, becauſe *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, diſcloſed his amours with *Acdeſtis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmoſt care. They abſtained from bread, in commemoration of the long faſt which *Cybele* kept after the death of the ſame *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occaſions, which tenet, ſome tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The prieſts were placed after their death on a ſtone ten cubits high [o]. Though the *Romans* profeſſed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find, that they looked upon her prieſts as the very refuſe of mankind; of which we have a ſignificance in *Valerius Maximus* [p]. who tells us, that one *Gen[illegible]* *Gallus* or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of [illegible] been admitted to the poſſeſſion of an eſtate th[illegible] bequeathed him, *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus*, [illegible] tunic conſul, being appealed to, reverſed the decree of [illegible] prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any priviledges of that nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extols as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the ſenate, ſince it put a ſtop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed preſence, under pretence of ſuing for juſtice.

BESIDES *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus* whom they ſtiled *Sabazios*, and his prieſts and temples *Saboi*, whence *Bochart* derives the *Hebrew* word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lyſius* and *Evius* [q]. *Apollodorus* acquaints us, [r] that while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, inſtructed in her myſteries, and preſented by her with a ſtole, which was the firſt he ever uſed (X). *Adagyus*

[o] ARNOB. lib. v. HIERONY. Epiſt. ad Lætam. [p] VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. PITISCUS. Lexicon. Antiquit. &c. [q] Vide BOCH. ubi ſupra. [r] APOLLODOR. lib. iii.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes, that when *Bacchus* was born, *Jupiter* committed the care of him to one of *Cybele*'s female attendants,

(63) Voce Mx̃

dagyus, whom *Bochart*[f] takes to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between *Adagyus* and *Androgynus*. Some rank also the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, that they were so called from *Cabirus* a hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Stesimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia*[t]. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, signifying *great* or *powerful*[u]. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manaseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto* and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the uncouth appellations of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Aziokersos*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysiodorus* adds a fifth whom he stiles *Casmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed *the most high*, *the most powerful*[w]. But these we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Samothracian* deities.

We likewise read of some dances and songs used by the *Phrygians* in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called *Lityerses*, from *Lityerses* son of *Midas*, king of *Phrygia*. *Hesychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances called by him *Bricismata*, without doubt from the word *Briges* the antient name of the *Phrygians*[x]. Some speak of a dance called *Sicinnis*, invented, say they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and used by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*, whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods[y]. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the *Phrygian* kings.

[f] Boch. ubi supra. [t] Bochar. ubi supra. [u] Bochar. ubi supra. [w] Bochar. ubi supra. [x] Bochar. ubi supra, [y] Bochar. ubi supra.

by name *Ma*, who being asked by *Juno*, whose child she nursed, answered, that it was the child of *Mars*, whence *Bacchus* in the *Carian* dialect was called *Masaris* or *Masares*, that is, the *Mars* of *Ma*.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PHRYGIA.

THE ſucceſſions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcaſt with ſuch an impenetrable miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and appears moſt worthy of credit.

THE firſt king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacas*, for he bore all theſe appellations. *Suidas* [a] ſays, that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*, and that from thence things exceeding antient were proverbially ſaid, *to be from the time of Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he ſent to enquire of all ſuch oracles as were in any repute how long he ſhould live. The oracles unanimouſly anſwered, that at his death all things were to periſh; whereupon repairing with his ſubjects to the temples of the gods, he ſtrove there with many ſighs and tears to appeaſe their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence *to weep like Nannacus*, became a trite expreſſion to ſignify any extraordinary grief or ſorrow [x]. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* enſued, which was attended with the deſtruction of mankind. Nannacus

Midas appears next, of whom all we can ſay is, that he reſided at *Peſſinus*, and deſigned to diſpoſe of his daughter, by name *Ia*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Atys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas* who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us [y], a magnificent temple at *Peſſinus*, and appointed yearly ſacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* ſeems to make him the ſon of *Cybele* [z]. Midas.

THE next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* [a] informs us, of ſuch proweſs and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became ſynonymous with *Great*, whence *Manic atchievements*, were among the *Phrygians* the ſame as *great*, *glorious*, *heroic atchievements* [b]. Manis.

[a] Verbo Ανναχος. [x] SUID. ubi ſupra. ERASM. Chiliad. Cent. iii. lxxvii.
[y] DIODOR. SICUL. l.iii. c. 5. [z] HYGIN. fab. 191. & 274.
[a] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſirid. [b] ERASM. Adag. Chiliad. i.

Gordius. After these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus [c]: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of *Telmissus*, a city in *Lydia*, about this so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmissians*. At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this the *Phrygians* having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their ambassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods designed for their king. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gordius*, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot, woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it; which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, *and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle*. We know nothing more of *Gordius*, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes [d], that his son *Midas* was born of the goddess worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of

[c] Strab. l. xii. Justin. l. xi. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Ælian. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. [d] Plutarch. in vita Cæsaris.

Bona

Bona Dea; but whether she was wife to *Gordius* is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

Midas II. *Gordius* was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it is recorded, that when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned [e]. *Strabo* [f] says, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bermius*. He is greatly commended by some writers for the comelineſs of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices [g]. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother, brought the

[e] CIC. l. i. de Divin. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. ÆLIAN. Vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. [f] STRAB. l. xiv. p. 680. [g] ARRIAN. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

(Y) *Midas* the son of *Gordius*, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the first king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having inquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king who should restore their country to its former tranquillity; and that while they were musing on this answer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with *Gordius* himself. *Justin* (65) makes *Midas* king of the *Brigians* in *Macedonia*; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired into *Asia Minor*, where the *Brigians* with a small alteration were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and of course there were no *Phrygians* in *Asia* before *Midas*; how then could his father *Gordius* reign in *Phrygia*, and be raised to the throne from so mean a condition, as *Justin* himself relates? As to the *Gordian* knot, some authors say, that it was of the bark of a cornel-tree, and that it fastened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) *Ælian. vit. H. l.* i. *c.* 1. *Arrian. l.* iii. (65) *Justin. l.* xi. *c.* 7.

Phrygians

Phrygians by degrees to worſhip her as a goddeſs [h]. He built the town of *Ancyra* [i], where an anchor of his contrivance was to be ſeen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pauſanias* travelled through *Greece* [k]. He is ſaid to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but alſo *Dardania* [l]. *Cleobulus Lindyus*, one of the ſeven ſages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph [m], which is falſely aſcribed by ſome to *Homer* [n]. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heraclides* [o] in regard of her beauty and wiſdom, and ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three ſons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*; his fourth ſon *Lityerſes*, was a baſtard (*Z*).

After

[h] Suidas ἔλεγος. [i] Nonnus, in orat. 30. Greg. Naz. Pausan. in Atticis. Suidas Μίδας. [k] Pausan. ubi ſupra. [l] L. Servius in Æneid. II. [m] Plato in Phædro. Laert. in Cleob. [n] Plutarch. in vita, & anthologium Planudis. [o] Heraclides in Politiis.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the *Greek* proverb Μίδας ὄνου ὦτα, that is *Midas has aſſes ears*; but what gave riſe to that ſaying is variouſly reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of ſkill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous muſicians and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave ſentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapt a pair of aſſes ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at laſt it was unfortunately diſcovered by his barber and made public. Others ſay, that *Midas* having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incenſed deity metamorphoſed into an aſs. *Conon* in his firſt narration (66) tells us, that *Midas*, having found a treaſure, became very rich; that being inſtructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himſelf by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brigians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*; that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making uſe of this prodigy, he perſuaded his ſubjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Helleſpont*; that he ſettled in *Myſia*, and there changed the name of his ſubjects, calling them no more *Brigians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds, that *Midas* had a great many ſpies diſperſed up and down the country, by whoſe information he knew whatever his ſubjects did or ſaid, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his ſubjects daring to enter into any plot or conſpiracy againſt him. His knowing by this means whatever his ſubjects ſpoke of him occaſioned the ſaying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as aſſes are ſaid to be endowed with the

(66) *Conon. apud Phot. Biblioth.*

ſenſe

AFTER *Midas* reigned his eldeſt ſon *Gordius*, but all we can ſay of him is, that he ſurrounded the town of *Gordium* with a wall [p]. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even ſacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus [q]; during the reign of his father *Midas* the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and ſwallowed up great part of the city *Celæne*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourſe to his oracles, underſtood, that the opening would not cloſe till the moſt valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This anſwer was no ſooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, ſilver, jewels, and whatever elſe of any value came to their hands, was gladly ſacrificed to the common ſafety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with preſent deſtruction, when *Ancharus*, conſidering with himſelf that nothing in the world was of ſuch value as a human ſoul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and mounting on horſeback rid full ſpeed into the opening which immediately cloſed. His example was long after followed in a parallel caſe by *Curtius* the *Roman*. Gordius II.

Otreus is ſtiled by *Homer* * king of all *Phrygia*, and ſaid to have been contemporary with *Anchiſes*, whence we may conclude, that he ſucceeded his brother *Gordius*. Otreus.

Lityerſes reigned at *Celæne*, and is deſcribed as a ruſtic, unſociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Soſitheus* the tragedian paints him as one of an inſatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baſkets Lityerſes.

[p] STEPHANUS, p. 99. [q] PLUTARCH. in Parall. STOBÆUS, Serm. 7. * HOMER. in hymnis.

ſenſe of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was alſo ſaid to have *aſſes ears*; but in proceſs of time, what was taken in a metaphorical ſenſe began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates, that *Silenus*, being taken priſoner by *Midas*, inſtead of paying gold for his ranſom, taught the king, that the greateſt happineſs was not to be born, and next to that to die ſoon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining *Bacchus* he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by ſome, as if he had been extremely covetous, ſtudying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(67) *Tuſcul. Queſt. l.* i. (68) *Maximus Tyrius Serm.* 3 *Joan. Tzetzes hiſt.* 2. *Iſaacus Tzetzes in Caſſandram Lycophrontis. p* 377. *Fulgentius, l.* ii. *Natalis Comes Mythol. l.* ix. *c.* 15. *Greg. Sabinus in lib.* xi. *Metamorph.*

O;

of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleaſure in agriculture, and uſed often to labour in the fields like a common huſband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he uſed to oblige ſuch as happened to paſs by while he was reaping to join with him in the work, and then cutting off their heads for their pains bind up their bodies in the ſheaves. For theſe and ſuch like cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander* [r]. However, his memory was cheriſhed by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityerſes*, ſung in harveſt-time in honour of their fellow-labourer [s].

Midas III. *Midas* III. was king of all *Phrygia*, but whoſe ſon he was, or whom he ſucceeded, is what we find no where recorded. He was an uſurper, and ſeized on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all ſorts of muſical inſtruments; but at the ſame time, as they were privy to their maſter's deſign, with ſwords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curioſity and not ſuſpecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conſpirators, all on a ſudden throwing away their muſical inſtruments, fell upon the multitude ſword in hand, ſeized the city, and, in that terror and confuſion nobody daring to oppoſe them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia* [t].

Gordius III. *Midas* III. was ſucceeded by *Gordius* III. perhaps his ſon. He is mentioned by *Herodotus* [u] as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can ſay of him. *Herodotus* does not ſtile him king, but as his ſon reigned, it is not unlikely, that he held the crown before him.

Midas IV. *Midas* IV. ſon of *Gordius*, was the firſt among foreign princes that ſent donations to the oracle at *Delphi*; he preſented that deity with the royal ſeat or tribunal, from whence he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. *Herodotus*, in whoſe time it was ſtill to be ſeen, commends it as a piece of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip [w]: at that time it ſtood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had preſented the ſame oracle; for after *Midas Gyges* was the firſt of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who ſent preſents to *Delphi* [x]. Perhaps

[r] Athenæus, l. x. c. 1. · Suidas Λιτυέρσης. Pollux. l. iv.
[s] Theocritus Eidill. x. Erasm. Adag. Chiliad. iii. Cent. iv. Ad. lxxv. [t] Polyænus, lib. vii. [u] Herodot. lib. i.
[w] Herodot. l. i. [x] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

this *Midas* was succeeded by another *Gordius*, for we find that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternatively the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*.

Midas V. lived in most calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia Minor*, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Midas* not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood [y]. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by *Psammenitus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* [z] says, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these in all likelihood were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in, at the approach of so dreadful and merciless an enemy. *Midas* had two sons, *Adrastus*, and another whose name is not mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, having unfortunately killed his brothor in his father's life-time, and being thereupon banished *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him, according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed, but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him, he should want for nothing that *Crœsus* could give him. *Adrastus* complied with his request, and being entrusted with the education of the king's favourite son by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chace; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though *Crœsus* had generously forgiven him [a]. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that state till *Crœsus* was conquered and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we shall relate in the history of *Lydia*.

Midas V.

Year of the Flood, 2447. Year before Christ 552.

[y] STRAB. l. i. EUSTATHIUS in odyss. λ [z] PLUTARCH. in Q. Flaminio. [a] HERODOT. ubi supra.

SECT. V.

The History of PHRYGIA MINOR.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was anciently ſtiled *Troas*, *Teucria*, and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was alſo named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were maſters of great part of it, ſome ſay before, others after, the deſtruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Phrygia* where *Midas* reigned, as *Euſtathius* expreſſes himſelf [a]. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime called *Helleſpontiaca* and the mediterranean termed *Epictetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Helleſpont*, and extended along the coaſt from the town of *Percote* to the promontory *Lectum* or *Lecton*, oppoſite to the north ſide of the iſland of *Leſbos*. This part was properly called *Troas* or *Troja*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Æſopus* to the banks of the *Caicus* [b], including not only *Troas* but alſo the *Greater* and *Leſſer Myſia*. *Epictetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia Minor*, extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Myſia*. This part at firſt belonged to *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, whence it was called *Epictetus*, that is, *acquired*. However, theſe appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

Phrygia Minor, as preciſely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty ſecond degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very ſmall extent in longitude, which we ſhall not

[a] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. ver. 810. [b] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 582.

(A) *Strabo* ſometimes diſtinguiſhes *Troas Helleſpontiaca* from *Epictetus*, and ſometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes *Epictetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolemy*. *Euſtathius* diſtinguiſhes three *Phrygias*, viz. the *Greater*, where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Piſidia*; the *Leſſer* lying on the *Helleſpont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epictetus*, and places it near *Dorylæum*.

(69) *Strab. l.* xii *p.* 374. 388. 393.

pretend

pretend to determine, there being a great diſagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may ſay, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Helleſpontiaca* and *Epictetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the norh, by the *Ægean* ſea on the ſouth, by *Myſia Minor* on the eaſt, and the *Helleſpont* on the weſt.

ON the coaſt where the cities of *Percote*, *Abydus*, *Ariſba*, *Dardanum*, *Rhœteum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Lariſſa*, *Colonæ*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who mentions one *Merops* and his two ſons as being of this city [c]. *Abydos* was built by the *Mileſians* on the *Helleſpont*, and became famous for the poetical ſtory of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge ſo much talked of, over which in ſeven days and ſeven nights he marched according to *Herodotus*, ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot and fourſcore thouſand horſe, excluſive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander*'s cavalry and moſt of his infantry landed, under the command of *Parmenio*, on their paſſing out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. The geographers are generally of opinion that the caſtles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Seſtos* and *Abydos*; but they are manifeſtly miſtaken, for the caſtles are directly oppoſite to each other, whereas *Seſtos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo* [d] reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Seſtos*. Beſides, there are no remains of antiquity to be ſeen near the caſtles, but very remarkable ones three miles farther, where the channel is conſiderably narrower [e] (B). *Ariſba*, the place appointed for the

Cities of Phrygia Minor.

[c] HOMER. Iliad. Λ. ver. 229. [d] STRAB. l. xiii. [e] TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant. SPON. voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(B) The *Helleſpont*, every one knows, ſignifies *the ſea of Helle*; for the antients tell us, that a daughter of *Athamas* king of *Thebes*, whoſe name was *Helle*, was drowned in that channel as ſhe was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanum*, an ancient city not far from the caſtles bearing that name. This ſtrait was antiently called the *Helleſpont* and the ſtrait of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, *the ſtrait of* Gallipoli, *the channel of the* Dardanelles, *the arm of* St. George; from a famous church of *St. George* in a village called *Periſtaſis* not far from *Gallipoli*: It is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Boghas*, or *ſtrait of the white ſea*. The mouth of the channel is

(70) *Euſtath. in Dionyſ. p.* 810.

the general rendezvous of *Alexander*'s army, after he had paſſed the *Helleſpont*. *Dardanum*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the ſame name. This city was

defended by two new caſtles, which *Mahomet* IV. built in 1659. to ſecure his fleet againſt the inſults of the *Venetians*, who uſed to attack it in ſight of the old caſtles. The waters, that paſs through this ſtrait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ſhip can enter, but when 'tis ſouth, the current is ſcarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us, that the mouth of the *Helleſpont* is four miles and a half over. But *Le Brun* (72) ſays, that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old caſtles ſtand the *Helleſpont* is near two miles broad, and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* aſſures us (74), that the ſtrait at the old caſtles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is ſtill called *Seſtos*, and the other *Abydo* or *Avido*; he adds, that this ſea, where broadeſt, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narroweſt: Among the antients, *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narroweſt place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), ſeven furlongs or ſtadia, and *Polybius* only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*, who uſed to ſwim from thence to *Seſtos* to viſit his miſtreſs. One night that the ſea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him addreſs the waves thus;

Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.

He is repreſented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous reſiſtance againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves than ſubmit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xerxes*, viz. that he ordered three hundred laſhes to be given to the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it for having broke down the firſt bridge he built here, is looked upon by ſome as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was firſt laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too ſeriouſly; the 300 laſhes, ſays this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the ſea to fix the ſhips that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that faſtened them together at both ends and on each ſide.

(71) *Tournefort. ubi ſupra.* (72) *Le Brun voyage au Levant.* (73) *Spon. ubi ſupra.* (74) *Le Brun, ubi ſupra.* (75) *Strab. l.* xiii. (76) *Plin. l.* viii. c. 32. (77) *Herodot. l.* vii. c. 34. (78) *Polybius, l. c.* (79) *Herodot. l.* vii. (80) *De Bosph. Thrac. l.* ii. c. 12.

the

the residence of *Dardanus* and his successor *Erichthonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all *Troas*. Some think, that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanum* was the patrimony of *Æneas*. *Rhæteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was said to have been interred there [f]. *Sigeum*, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the *Sigean* sea [g]. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a visit, and in antient times a statue of the same *Achilles* [h] with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which *Tertullian* [i] interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

Troy or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it, *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in *Strabo*'s time, and most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All *Strabo* [k] says of its situation is, that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince visited after defeating *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole

[f] STRAB. l. xiii p. 409. [g] VIRG ÆNEID. ii. ver. 312. [h] SALMASIUS Plinianæ exercitat. p. 610. [i] TERTUL. de pallio. [k] STRAB. l. xiii.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the the tomb of *Protesilaus* with trees set round it of a very extrordinary nature; for when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of *Protesilaus*, who in the *Trojan* expedition was the first among the *Greeks* that set foot in *Asia*, and the first that was slain.

(81) *Plin. l.* xvi *c.* 44.

city

city to be embelliſhed, which was performed by *Lyſimachus*, one of his generals, who ſurrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almoſt reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* firſt entered *Aſia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no coſt nor pains was ſpared to reſtore it to its antient luſtre, eſpecially in the time of the *Cæſars*. *Cæſar Auguſtus* ſent thither a colony, embelliſhed the city with many ſtately buildings, and enriched it with moſt ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be ſeen at preſent. *Bellonius*[l] tells us, that in his time the walls were yet ſtanding with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he ſpent four hours in compaſſing them, partly on horſeback, and partly on foot. He obſerved round the walls a great many marble tombs of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, with their covers entire. Two of theſe were ſtill remaining when Mr. *Spon*[m] viſited thoſe places, who informs us, that they were in the ſtyle of the antient *Romans*, and not unlike thoſe that are to be ſeen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Bellonius* likewiſe obſerved the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the ſhore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large ciſterns to receive the rain-water. As to the ſo much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them ſmall brooks, and adds, that in ſummer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys*[n], thinks, they are not ſo contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps miſtook others for them. *Spon*[o] obſerved on the ſouth of the haven three columns lying among the bryars, of which two were entire, and each of one ſingle piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. *Le Brun*[p] ſpeaks of great remains of a moſt noble ſtructure which he viſited at the diſtance of about five miles from the coaſt. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty five feet in height, and near them ſtood a wall of an extraordinary thickneſs with fourteen gates of a competent ſize; the veſtiges of this magnificent ſtructure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth.

[l] Bellonius, l. ii. c. 6. [m] Spon, ubi ſupra, [n] Sandys, l. i. [o] Spon, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c. [p] Le Brun, voyag. du Levant.

Our

Our author thinks, that theſe ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever ſaw. The harbour of *Troy*, ſo much ſpoke of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with ſand; however, there are ſtill to be ſeen fragments of columns, to which they faſtened their ſhips and gallies, and as theſe were placed round it, *Spon* thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to antient *Ilium*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in aſhes by the *Greeks* after a ten years ſiege.

Troas Alexandria was ſituated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigeum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the ſecond place among the eighteen cities, which were ſo called from *Alexander*. It is ſometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and ſometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria*, or *Alexandrea*, which has made ſome think, that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different cities. Its firſt name was *Antigonia* from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lyſimachus* into that of *Alexandria* in honour of *Alexander* [q]. This is ſuppoſed to be the place meant by the apoſtle *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks Eſki-Stamboul*. Theſe are the chief cities on the coaſt, the others are but of ſmall account, and therefore we ſhall dwell no longer on this ſubject.

OF the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*, we ſhall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes [r], greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* riſes from mount *Ida*, and, having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea, over-againſt the iſland of *Tenedos*. It is ſaid by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny* [s] calls it a navigable river, and diſtinguiſhes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain that theſe are but two different appellations of one and the ſame river. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called alſo *Xanthus*, becauſe it was believed to communicate a yellowiſh tincture to the ſheep that drank its waters [t]. *Homer* tells us [u], that it was named *Scamander* by the gods and *Xanthus* by men, where according to his cuſtom he aſcribes the moſt antient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river

[q] PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 408. [r] POMPON. MELA, l. i. c. 18. [s] PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. [t] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubius ſequeſter de fluminibus. MAXIMUS TYRIUS Serm. 12. [u] Iliad xx. ver. 74.

was

was honoured by *Heſiod* with the title of *divine Scamander*. It was a cuſtom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themſelves before marriage in this river, uſing on that occaſion the following words, *Receive, O Scamander, my virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon* an *Athenian* taking hold of, under the diſguiſe of a river-god deflowered *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occaſioned the abrogating of that ſuperſtitious ceremony.

The *Simois* ſprings likewiſe out of mount *Ida*, falls into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea, as we ſaid already. Whatever theſe rivers were in antient times, they are at preſent but ſmall brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

Ida is the only mountain of this country that deſerves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a ſingle one; for it extends from the city of *Zeleia*, near the borders of *Myſia Minor*, to the promontory *Lectum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris* on this hill, being choſen judge by the three contending goddeſſes, decided the controverſy in favour of *Venus*, which, ſay they, occaſioned the deſtruction of *Troy*.

Soil and climate. The ſoil of this country was antiently rekoned among the moſt fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requiſite for the pleaſures of life, and yielded to no ſpot that lay under the ſame happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers deſcribe the *Aſiatic* coaſt of the *Helleſpont* as a moſt beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all ſorts of grain [w].

Tenedos. Over-against *Troy* lay *Tenedos* about two leagues from the ſhore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the ſplendor and magnificence of this iſland ſtood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to inſert here a ſuccinct account of it. All antient writers agree, that this iſland was firſt called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* was ſon to *Cycnus* king of *Colonæ* in *Troas*, and is deſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus* [x] as a man of great probity and juſtice, having been greatly beloved by his ſubjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pauſanias*

[w] Tournefort, ubi ſupra.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. v.

ſeem

ſeem to credit. *Tennes*, ſay they, was ſon of *Cycnus* and *Proclea*, ſiſter to *Caletor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ſhips of *Proteſilaus*. *Cycnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*, who falling in love with her ſtep-ſon *Tennes*, and finding that ſhe could by no means make him comply with her inceſtuous deſires, complained of him to her huſband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds, that the evidence ſhe produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. *Cycnus* giving more credit to his wife than his ſon, cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cheſt and thrown into the ſea, which carried the cheſt ſafe to the iſland we are ſpeaking of, where *Tennes* was received as ſent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his ſiſter by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own requeſt with him locked up in the cheſt. Some time after *Cycnus*, being convinced of his ſon's innocence, ſailed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and expreſs the concern he was in for ſo haſty and inhuman a reſolution. But *Tennes* inſtead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which faſtened his father's ſhip to the ſhore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* cauſed two others to be made reſembling this in ſhape and ſize, which they conſecratd in the temple of their city. Theſe adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

SECT.

(D) The one is Τένεδιος αὐλητὴς, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a ſaying uſed by the antients to reproach a falſe evidence. The other Τένεδιος πέλεκυς, that is, the *Tenedian Ax*, an expreſſion uſed to ſignify a quick and an unalterable reſolution (82). *Ariſtotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He ſays, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the firſt that tranſgreſſed this law was his own ſon, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were repreſented on the medals of the iſland, and on the reverſe the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain ſeveral medals of this kind have been found in that iſland. Some take theſe two heads to be thoſe of *Tennes* and his ſiſter *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter* and ſome *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The *ax* on the reverſe was the inſtrument uſed by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that

(82) *Eraſmi Adag. Chiliad.* iv. *Cent.* 1.

SECT. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the Trojans.

Antiquity. THE inhabitants of *Lesser Phrygia* or *Trojans*, so called from *Troy* the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very antient people; but as to their original there is a great disagreement among authors. Some

Tennes after he was settled on the throne of *Tenedos* ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an *ax* in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence Τένεδιος ἄνθρωπος, Τένεδιος συνηγόρος, that is, *A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify *a man* or *a judge of great severity* (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of *Troy*. It was within sight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* observes (84); he supposes, that the *Greeks* concealed themselves behind this island when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as *Pausanias* observes. *Tenedos* was one of the first conquests of the *Persians*, after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the isle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Athenians*, or at least sided with them against the *Lacedemonians*, since *Nicolochus* admiral of *Lacedemon* ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the *Athenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Smynthius*, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be seen at *Tenedos* except those of the granaries, which *Justinian* caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles* These magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the *Levant*, and

(83) *Suidas, Erasmus, ubi supra. Cic. lib.* ii. *Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournefort, voyag. au Lev.* (84) *Virg. Æneid. l.* ii. (85) *Herodot. l* vi. (86) *Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna pro Arch. poeta.* (87) *Procop. de Ædific. Justin. l.* v. *c.* 1.

though

Some make them *Samothracians* by deſcent, others *Greeks*, and tell us that *Teucer*, according to them the firſt king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the iſland of *Crete*, from whence they ſuppoſe *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but theſe are again divided among themſelves as to the leader of this colony, ſome beſtowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them deſcended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*, which opinion, though deſtitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as moſt redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart*[y] thinks, that *Leſſer Phrygia* was planted by *Aſhkenaz Gomer*'s eldeſt ſon, there being the footſteps of his name in the *Aſcanian* lake, and a river called *Aſcanius* with a bay of the ſame name in *Bithynia*, and likewiſe in a city named *Aſcania* in *Leſſer Phrygia*, with iſles on the coaſt named the *Aſcanian* iſlands: He alſo obſerves, that, beſides *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the ſiege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Aſhkenaz* out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his Father had ſettled, into *Troas* or *Leſſer Phrygia*, and that by this colony and their deſcendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* ſea extends along the coaſt of the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was firſt called by the *Geeeks*, which he ſuppoſes to be a corruption for the *ſea of Aſhkenaz*. He obſerves, that the ſcripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to deſtroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Aſhkenaz*. And to prove, that the *Aſhkenaz* mentioned in ſcripture were the people of theſe parts, he ſhews out of *Xenophon*[z], that *Hyſtaſpes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Helleſpont*, brought from thence many of the horſe and other ſoldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the ſiege of *Babylon*. But whoever was the progenitor of the firſt inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in proceſs of time

[y] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9. [z] Cyropæd. l. vii.

though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of *Scio* and *Leſbos*, yet it may be proved from ſeveral medals, that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, ſince on the reverſe of ſome medals of that iſland is to be ſeen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in antient times famed for this production.

their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Myſians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who ſettled among them, and were reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the antient proprietors.

Government. As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father conſtantly ſucceeded by the ſon, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at firſt, like moſt others, parcelled out into ſeveral petty kingdoms; for we read of *Cycnus*, *Pandarus*, *Eurypi us*, and other princes of ſmall territories within the limits of *Leſſer Phrygia* [a]. But all theſe were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; inſomuch, that *Strabo* [b] enumerates no fewer than nine ſmall kingdoms or principalities ſubject to *Troy*, beſides the iſland of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to ſuch a length, for all theſe countries were to be ſubdued before *Troy* could be inveſted. *Diodorus Siculus*, informs us [c], that the *Trojans* were ſubdued by *Ninus*; but *Philoſtratus* tells us in expreſs terms, that they were allies, and no ways vaſſals or tributaries to the *Aſſyrians*. The *Trojan* kings ſeem to have been abſolute and no ways controlable by the ſubject. But we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject when we come to their hiſtory.

We have no particular ſyſtem of their laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

Religion. As to the religion of the *Trojans*, it was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already deſcribed. Their principal deities ſeem to have been *Cybele*, or, as they ſtiled her, *the great mother of the Gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that iſland and the progenitor of the *Trojans* [d]. She was chiefly worſhipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence ſhe borrowed her name. *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy* called *Pergamus*. In this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns, that *Æneas* was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes* were cured by *Latona* and *Diana*, *Apollo*'s mother and ſiſter. *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whoſe temple *Virgil* pathetically deſcribes *Caſſandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames [e]. The famous *Palladium* was a wooden ſtatue of this goddeſs, holding in one hand a buckler, and a ſpear in the other, ſo contrived as to move them, and at the ſame time roll

[a] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Strab. l. xiii. [b] lib. xiii. [c] ubi ſupra. [d] Virgil. Æneid iii. [e] Æneid. ii.

her

her eyes in a threatning manner. We are told, that, while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this ſtatue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being conſulted returned anſwer, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken ſo long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* got privately into the caſtle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the *Trojans* of their main Defence enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers aſſure us, that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy*, by *Æneas*, and lodged firſt at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at laſt removed to *Rome*, and depoſited there in the temple of *Veſta* under the care of the veſtals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſt with the falſe notion, that the city, which was bleſt with this valuable treaſure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that *Metellus*, ſeeing the temple of *Veſta* all in flames, ventured his life without the leaſt heſitation to reſcue this ſacred depoſitum, and was on that ſcore thanked by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, as if he had ſaved the republic. The *Romans* univerſally believed themſelves maſters of the true *Palladium*, but could never ſhew how they came by it. For to ſay, that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the ſame as to deny its boaſted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was ſtolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E).

Venus

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the antients as to the *Trojan Palladium*. Some tell us (88), that a king of *Phrygia Major* preſented *Ilus* with a pied ox, warning him at the ſame time to build a city where the ox ſhould lie down; that *Ilus* followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having deſired *Jupiter* to ſignify his approbation by ſome viſible token, found the *Palladium* next morning before his tent. Others ſay (89), that *Chryſas* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium* as part of her fortune; that *Dardanus* firſt erected a temple in *Samothrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Helleſpont*. *Lycophron* ſeems to inſinuate, that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddeſs, for he calls *Ulyſſes* Δολριώσημον κλοπὰ Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Euſtathius*, and others ſay, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human ſkin (91) *Julius Firmicus*

(88) *Apollod. l.* iii. (89) *Vide Roſin. Roman. Antiquitat.* p. 147. (90) *Seldenus de dis Syris Syntag.* 2. (91) *Selden. ubi ſupra. Syntag.* 1.

Venus alſo is counted among the *Trojan* deities, but as to *Veſta*, whom *Æneas* is ſaid by the poets to have carried into *Italy*, with his houſhold gods, we find not any footſteps of worſhip paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worſhipped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city, but could ſhew a temple dedicated to this goddeſs with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made ſome think, that the rites and ceremonies of *Veſta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks*, and not by the *Trojans* [f].

Among the other *Trojan* deities we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, ſo ſtiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos* ſignifying a *field-mouſe*. We are told [g], that this ſort of vermin made ſuch a devaſtation in the fields of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unſucceſsful, had recourſe to the oracle of *Delphos*, which anſwered, that they ſhould be delivered from that plague if they ſacrificed to *Sminthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito* a city of *Troas* to their pretended deliverer, addreſſing him under the title of *Sminthian Apollo*. Others [h] relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worſhipped mice for having on a certain occaſion gnawed the bow-

[f] Prudentius contra Symmach. l. ii. ſect. viii. [g] Strab. l. xiii. Ælian, vit. H. l. iv. [h] Polemo apud Clem. Protrept.

Firmicus (92), *Clemens* (93) and *Arnobius* (94), tell us, that the *Gentiles* believed it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion it was ſtolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes*; but ſome tell us, that the true *Palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the ſame ſhape and ſize expoſed to public adoration; this, ſay they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes*; but the true *Palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Æneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *Palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the ſame level with a falſe one, ſince it was not able to ſave the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, ſuppoſe, that the *Greeks* returned the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Æneas*, being warned ſo to do by the oracles. But we ſhall have occaſion to examine in the courſe of this hiſtory the truth of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Italy*, and add ſomething relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may obſerve, that there was another *Palladium* of great fame worſhipped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had placed in the caſtle of that city.

(92) *De errore profanar. religion. c.* xvi. (93) *In protrept.* (94) *Adverſus gentes, l.* iv.

ſtrings

ſtrings of their enemies, and thereby ſecured a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worſhip of *Apollo Sminthius* was introduced into *Myſia*, the iſle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo* [1] tells us, that a mouſe was engraved at the foot of *Apollo*'s ſtatue in a temple of *Chryſa* a city of *Myſia*, to unfold the reaſon of his being ſurnamed *Sminthian*; he adds, that the ſtatue was done by *Scopas* a celebrated ſtatuary of *Paros*. The ſame author, in ſpeaking of the iſle of *Tenedos*, ſays, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Sminthian Apollo* (F). As to the religious cuſtoms and ceremonies of the *Trojans* we are almoſt quite in the dark; but we may ſuppoſe them to have been much the ſame with thoſe of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were a brave and warlike people; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withſtood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all *Greece*. They ſeem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great reſpect for their princes; for we do not find in their hiſtory any kind of inteſtine broils, or plots, or conſpiracies againſt the prince on the throne, whoever he was. *Character.*

WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the antients as one of the moſt polite and civilized nations of thoſe days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they aroſe to a very conſiderable pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of arts and induſtry. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame with that ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, and perhaps in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of *Aſia Proper*, the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue with ſome variation of dialect. *Cuſtoms, language, &c.*

THEIR trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was ſtocked with many uſeful commodities, and muſt have abounded in all things *Trade.*

[1] ubi ſupra.

(F) *Tournefort* (95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo*'s head, and under it a mouſe, having on the reverſe a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverſe the ſame ax with two mice.

(96) *Tournefort Voyage au Levant.*

neceſſary

neceſſary for life, ſince it could ſupport for many years together two very conſiderable armies, as we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. Their ſettlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponneſus*, in *Sicily* [k], in *Italy* [l], in *Egypt* [m], and in *Afric* [n], are a convincing proof, that they applied themſelves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood were the ſources of the riches, ſplendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the ſtates round them.

SECT. VII.

The reigns of the Trojan *kings.*

TROAS or *Phrygia Minor* was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero*'s *Troica* one *Cynthius* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But as the *Trojan* hiſtory of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were loſt labour to make a narrow ſearch into it. It is no leſs uncertain which of the two aboveſaid princes reigned firſt, ſome writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is ſo dark and abſcure a ſubject, that every one may ſay what he liſts. We ſhall follow the moſt common opinion, and begin with *Teucer*, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of ſo perplexed a cauſe.

Teucer. *Teucer*, the ſon of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*. He is ſaid to have been very fortunate and ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where ſpecified. Having no iſſue male he married his only daughter, by ſome called *Batia*, by others *Aſia*, by others *Ariſba*, to *Dardanus*, ſettling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his deſcendants. Thoſe who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth ſuppoſe him to have come to the crown by a lineal deſcent, and place *Cynthius*, whom we have mentioned above, among his anceſtors; ſo that, according to theſe writers, *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the laſt of a long ſeries of kings prior to thoſe of the *Dardanian* family ſprung from *Dardanus* and

[k] Pausanias, l. ii. & 5. [l] Strab. l. vi. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 1. [n] Herodot. l. iv.

† *Batia.*

Batia. From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucria* and the inhabitants *Teucri* (G).

Teucer was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Jasius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. *Dar-* Dardanus. Year of the Flood, 1520. Year before Christ 1479.

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the most common. However, *Virgil*, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it, in such things as no ways concerned *Augustus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows:

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto;
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
Maximus inde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhæteas primum est advectus in oras,
Optavitque locum regno; nondum Ilium, & arces
Pergameæ steterant, habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus; hinc fida silentia sacris,
Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones (96).

Teucer then, according to those who follow *Virgil*'s opinion, which is ascribed to *Berosus*, was the son of one *Scamander* a native of *Crete*, from which island *Teucer*, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants in quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia* which lies on the *Hellespont*. Here he landed not far from the *Rhætean* promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *Sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida* from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus*; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more ancient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that goddess was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Crete*, or not.

(96) *Æneid.* iii. *ver.* 104.

danus succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a ſtately temple, and inſtituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whoſe ſtatues his firſt wife *Chryſe* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is ſaid to have enacted on his acceſſion to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wiſe, juſt, and religious prince. Inſomuch, that *Teucer*, who was ſtricken in years and had no iſſue male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Batia*, and appointed him his heir and ſucceſſor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the ſame moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the *Paphlagonians*, and, as he was always attended with ſucceſs, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by conſiderable acquiſitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, ſtiling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he choſe for his royal ſeat; the other he called *Thymbra* from *Thymbræus* one of his intimates. Having ſettled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many uſeful laws for the due adminiſtration of juſtice which he looked upon as the baſis of regal authority, he applied himſelf entirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *Palladiums* (H), were by his orders

(H) Some writers tell us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryſe* two *Palladiums* or *ſtatues of Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promiſed, that the city in which either of them was kept ſhould never be liable to any diſaſters. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* gives us the words which the oracle was ſaid to have uttered, and are the following;

Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere ſacra,
Cælicolaſque illic feſtis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ ſervabis arce repoſta
Palladis; hæc quoniam cepit tua regia conjux,
Servatu a tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.

One of theſe, ſay they, was ſtolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes*; but the other was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy* 97). But *Varro* (98) tells us, that the *Palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautes*, and adds, that the prieſthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others ſay, that *Diomedes*, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, being driven by a ſtorm on the coaſts of *Italy*,

(97) *Procop de Bell. Goth. l.* i. *Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandram Lycophron p.* 145. (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.*

and

orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Jasius*, who governed that island in the absence of *Dardanus* (I). *Dardanus* had two wives, the first named

and there ordered by an oracle to return the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Æneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Æneas*'s friends and companions.

(I) In what has been said of *Dardanus* we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets to flatter *Augustus* make *Dardanus* son of *Electra* not by *Corytus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Corytus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii colucre viri; nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.

And elsewhere (100).

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes; his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum, Coriti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.

Virgil does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tuscany*: But *Annus* informs us, that after the death of *Coritus*, the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Jasius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain* and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annus* gives the name of *Comblobascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*, and adds, that the word *Corytus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus*, in his fabulous history of the *Greeks*, tells us, that *Jasion*, as he stiles him, and *Dardanus* were sons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*; that the former, being passionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to ravish her, was thunderstruck, and that *Dardanus* was so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native coun-

(99) *Æneid.* iii. *vers.* 163. (100) *Æneid.* iv. *vers.* 205.

named *Chryſe* an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two ſons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*; the other *Batia*, who likewiſe bore him two ſons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* [o], inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Aſia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an iſland of the *Ionian* ſea, which from himſelf he called *Zacynthus* [p]. *Erichthonius* ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we ſhall ſee anon. As to his ſiſter *Harmonia*, ſhe married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Faſius* had initiated in the myſteries of religion. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her and her huſband *Cadmus*, when we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phrygia* 64 or 65 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon

Erichthonius. Year of the Flood, 1585. Year before Chriſt 1414.

Erichthonius, who treading in the footſteps of his father was revered by his ſubjects, and greatly reſpected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good underſtanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the ſubject with taxes and impoſitions. By his wife *Aſtyoche* he had but one ſon named *Tros*. He reigned, according to ſome, forty ſix, according to others ſeventy five years, and dying left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a moſt flouriſhing condition (K).

On

[o] Dionys. Halicar. l. 1. [p] Dionys. Halicar. ubi ſupra.

try, he retired to the oppoſite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Iſaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks, that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, ſome ſay, that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Corytus* who had by her *Chryſe* firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion, that *Atlas* was neither an *African*, nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of antient hiſtory has given every one leave to ſay what he pleaſed.

(K) *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a ſiſter called *Idæa*, who married *Phineus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the hiſtory of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is entirely *Greek*, ſome have concluded from

(9) *In Apollonium.* (10) *De gen. deor. l.* iv. *c.* 8.

thence,

ON the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* aſcended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became ſoon the moſt famous of all *Aſia*. This grand work being at laſt finiſhed, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to aſſiſt at the ſolemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted we know not; but he highly reſented ſuch a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and ſoon after had a fair opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being ſent by him with a ſplendid retinue to carry preſents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in paſſing through the territories of *Tantalus* was not only detained, but abuſed by that vitious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous Tros. Year of the Flood 1631. Before Chriſt 1368.

thence, that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no ſmall weight, could they but prove, that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and not a *Greek* tranſlation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* obſerves (11), uſed to tranſlate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some finding a king of *Athens* bearing the ſame name, infer from thence, that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on ſo ſlight a foundation is ſcarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede*'s being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variouſly interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion, that this ſtory was invented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of ſanction to the unnatural luſt that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* obſerves (13), ſeems to have been ſet up for no other purpoſe, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great meaſure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the inceſtuous marriage of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* with his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourſe to the ſame topic to find ſomething commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*: *Sortita fratris more Junonis toros*, ſays he, ſpeaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* purſued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add, that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occaſion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*, and ſays, that *Minos* being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occaſion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of the father, by abuſing, and

(11) *In Atlantic.* (12) *l.* ix. *c.* 13. (13) *lib.* v. *contræ gentes.* (14) *Pag.* 334.

forcibly

nerous youth took ſo to heart, that he died ſoon after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war, which he made upon *Tantalus* to revenge the affront offered to his ſon, proving unſucceſsful, the affliction, which aroſe from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loſs of his favourite ſon, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three ſons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Aſſaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomeſtra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by miſtake, makes *Ganymedes* ſon to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whoſe names are of great renown in antient hiſtory, and from whom moſt of our *European* nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were deſcended from *Tros*, before we proceed in the hiſtory of the *Trojan* kings, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, as we have already obſerved, had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three ſons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Aſſaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomeſtra*. Of *Ilus*, who ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his poſterity, we ſhall ſpeak in the ſeries of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without iſſue. *Aſſaracus* had by his wife *Hieromnamc*, or, according to others, *Clytodora*, one ſon named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing elſe but that the city of *Caphya* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchiſes*, who was famous for the comelineſs of his perſon, which gave riſe to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to ſee the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the firſt ſiege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is ſaid to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the ſecond, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occaſioned by the lewdneſs and diſſoluteneſs of

forcibly conveying away the ſon, who was the only delight of his old age. *Cicero* (15) ſeems to make *Ganymede* the ſon of *Laomedon*, which is a miſtake. *Oroſius* (16) and *Euſebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was deſcribed by one *Patrocles* a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(15) *Cicero* 1. *Tuſcul.* (16) *lib.* i. *c.* 12. (17) *De Præpar. Evangel. l.* ii.

his

his youth, to which his blindneſs is alſo aſcribed. He is ſuppoſed to have been ſaved out of the flames of the burning city on the ſhoulders of his ſon *Æneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two ſons, *Æneas*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi* a people of *Sicily*. *Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* [q].

Cleomeſtra had but one ſon, by name *Lyerſus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lyerſus* antient hiſtory is quite ſilent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wiſdom. He was ſent by king *Priam* ambaſſador into *Greece* to demand his ſiſter *Heſione*, whom *Hercules* after taking *Troy* had carried captive into *Greece*, and beſtowed on *Telamon*, as a reward for being the firſt that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a ſpy than an ambaſſador; whereupon, returning to *Aſia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his ſons againſt that nation. However, ſome time after he not only entertained in his houſe the *Greek* ambaſſadors that were ſent to demand *Helena*, but protected them againſt the treacherous attempts of *Priam*'s ſons, and found means to convey them ſafe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good will of the *Greeks*, he was ſent into *Greece* on a ſecond embaſſy, on which occaſion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the truſt repoſed in him, and ſome years after the city itſelf, ſeeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* ſhewed himſelf mightily inclined after his laſt embaſſy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks*, entering *Troy* ſword in hand, ſhewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for *Antenor*, having even cauſed the ſkin of a panther to be hung up before his door, leſt, through miſtake, any violence ſhould be offered to his houſe or perſon by the greedy and incenſed ſoldiery. Some add, that having known *Ulyſſes*, who had entered the city in diſguiſe to obſerve the ſtrength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor diſcovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable conſtruction on the kindneſs ſhewn him by the *Greeks*, ſaying, that they ſpared him merely in compliance with the laws of hoſpitality, which in thoſe days were deemed ſacred even by the moſt ſavage nations. Of this opinion is *Livy* [r]; and *Virgil* alſo ſeems to free him from all ſuſpicion of treachery, ſaying that he eſ-

[q] HOMER. Iliad. v. [r] Decad. i. l. i.

caped

caped falling into the hands of the *Greeks* [r]. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the deſtruction of *Troy*, were ſo prejudiced againſt him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. At the ſame time the *Heneti*, being driven out of *Paphlagonia* and forced to ſeek for new ſettlements, choſe him for their leader in room of their king *Pylæmenes*, who had been killed in the ſiege of *Troy*. With theſe and a few *Trojans* he put to ſea, and ſteering his courſe up the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in the country of the *Euganei* lying between the ſea and the *Alps*. Here he reſolved to ſettle, and having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Veneti*, he gave riſe to a new nation. He built a ſmall town in the place where he landed and called it *Troy*. He is ſuppoſed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano*, ſiſter to *Hecuba* and daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, *Iphidamus*, *Coon*, *Helicaon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilochus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamus* was brought up in *Thrace* under the care of his grandfather, and came to ſuccour *Priam* and his country with twelve ſhips, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was ſlain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered had he not been leſs fortunate than brave [s]. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, ſingled out and dangerouſly wounded the ſame *Agamemnon*, but at laſt fell likewiſe by his hand. *Helicaon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Æneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great proweſs, attended *Hector* in his boldeſt undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himſelf [u]. The others are named by *Homer*, *Pauſanias*, *Calaber*, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar* [w] tells us, that the ſons of *Antenor*, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them ſettled in *Libya*. But *Euſebius* ſays, that they reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector*'s ſons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps ſome of them remained in *Phrygia*, and ſome accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus* [x], *Glaucus*, *Acamas*, and *Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Thiano Antenor*'s wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that

[r] Æneid. i. verſe 246.
[s] Homer. Iliad λ. Pauſanias in Phoc.
[u] Homer. Iliad. λ.
[w] Pindar. Pyth. Od. 5.
[x] Apud Iſaac. Tzetzum, p. 276.

ſhe

ſhe was the chief prieſteſs of *Pallas*, and that ſhe betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes*, who were ſent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embaſſy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the ſucceſſion of the *Trojan* kings.

Tros was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ilus*, who, purſuing with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many ſignal victories drove *Tantalus* out of *Aſia* and poſſeſſed himſelf of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. *Pelops* the ſon of *Tantalus*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, was at laſt entirely routed, and forced to quit *Aſia* and follow his father into *Greece*. *Byſnus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had eſpouſed the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his ſon *Pelops*, was likewiſe defeated, and, ſome ſay, killed in the engagement. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himſelf entirely to civil affairs, and is ſaid to have made a great many uſeful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many ſtately buildings the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being ſet on fire by lightning, he ſaved the *Palladium* out of the flames; but on that occaſion loſt his ſight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. *Herodianus* informs us [y], that he called the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Peſſinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that ſpot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two ſons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom ſome believe to have been the ſon, and not the brother of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exerciſe having acquired a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution, and inured himſelf to hardſhips, he betook himſelf to a military life, and went to ſerve among the *Aſſyrians*, who in thoſe days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct ſoon raiſed him to the firſt poſts in the army, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes* or *chief lords* of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Perſia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamus* king of *Aſſyria*, who had a great value for him, to ſend his ſon *Memnon* at the head of a conſiderable body of choſen troops to aſſiſt his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the ſon; for *Memnon* being ſlain by the *Theſſalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was ſo

Ilus. Year of the Flood 1680. Year before Chriſt 1319.

[y] lib. 1.

grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comelineſs of his perſon, his riſing early in the morning as he was a great ſportſman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at laſt with grief, may have given riſe to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for theſe and their explanation we muſt refer the reader to *Athenæus* [a], *Tzetzes* [b], *Natalis Comes* [c], and other mythologiſts.

Tithonus had by his wife *Ciſſia*, or, as *Diodorus* calls her, *Ida*, two ſons, *Memnon* and *Emathion*, and one daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up under the diſcipline of his father, proved a brave, wiſe, and experienced commander. He ſerved with great ſucceſs in *Egypt* againſt the *Ethiopians*, who were become very troubleſome neighbours to the *Egyptians*; for he routed and diſperſed their armies, laid waſte their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who out of gratitude tranſferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country which he had ſubdued. In *Æthiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and ſome make him likewiſe the founder of *Abydos*. Having thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* he returned to his father in *Aſſyria*, where he was ſet over part of *Perſia* in quality of ſatrapa or chief governor, and is ſaid to have built in his ſatrapy the city of *Suſa*, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20,000 *Ethiopians* and the like number of *Perſians*, to the aſſiſtance of king *Priam*. On this occaſion he behaved with his uſual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight; but at laſt falling into an ambuſcade was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Theſſalians*. His body was reſcued out of the enemies hands, his obſequies performed with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes ſent back to his father. *Joſephus* places his tomb near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnice*, but *Pliny* and *Ælian* ſay, that he was buried at *Suſa* (M).

[a] Athen lib xii. c. 26. [b] Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandr. Lyc. [c] Nata is Come., l. vi c. 4.

(M) *Pauſanias* (18) tells us, that a cenotaphium or empty tomb was raiſed to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Æſepus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly viſited by ſtrange birds known to them under the name of *Memnonian* birds. Theſe on ſtated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it ſtood, of all rubbiſh, and afterwards dipping their wings in the *Æſepus* ſprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) *In Phocis.*

Every

Every body has heard of the vocal ſtatue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pauſanius* [d], *Euſtathius* [e], and *Lucian* [f], was broke in pieces by order of *Cambyſes*, but ever after that part which remained on the pedeſtal, at the riſing of the ſun, yielded a ſound like that of the ſtring of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the inſtrument by being drawn too tight. *Euſebius* ſeems to have credited this ſtory; for he ſays, that this miraculous effect ceaſed at the birth of Chriſt. *Pauſanias* [g] informs us, that *Memnon*'s ſword was kept at *Nicomedia*, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms uſed by the antients were of braſs. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, ſays, that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* firſt king of *Argos*. *Heliodorus* [h] makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Æthiopia*.

Emathion, the other ſon of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion, that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Juſtin* mentions an antient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name [i]. *Romus*, deſcended from one of the ſons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by ſome, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* [k]. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her but what is related by the ſpurious *Dictys* now extant, whoſe hiſtory deſerves no manner of credit.

ON the death of *Ilus Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being aſſiſted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*, that is, he carried on the work with the treaſures that were conſecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are ſaid to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. Theſe were looked upon as puniſhments inflicted by the gods whoſe temples he had plundered. He treated *Jaſon* and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coaſts of *Troas*, in a very inhoſpitable manner, refuſing to ſupply them with neceſſaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ſhips and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules* who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned ſome time after with twelve gallies to *Troy*, which he beſieged, took, and plundered. In this war *Laomedon* Laomedon. Year of the Flood, 1720. Year before Chriſt 1279.

[d] In Atticis. [e] In Dionyſ. [f] In Toxeri. [g] In Atticis.
[h] In Æthiop. l. x. c. 1. [i] Juſtin. l. vii. [k] Plutarch. in Romulo.

killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Tithonus*, *Lampon*, *Clytus*, *Iceaton*, and *Priam*; his daughters were *Hesione*, *Cilla*, *Astyoche*, *Antigone*, *Proclia*, and *Euthria*. All his sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which *Priam* who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent *Antenor* into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece* this embassy was heard with contempt, and the ambassadors used in a manner no way suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus* *. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess †. *Proclia* married *Cycnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithea* [l]. *Euthria*, being taken by the *Greeks*, and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there [m], having no other ships to

* Apollod. l. iii. † Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandr. Lycoph. p. 118. [m] Polyænus l. vii.

(N) Others tell us (19), that *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired by *Laomedon* to build the walls of *Troy*; and that, upon his refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they, but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

(19) *Euseb. in Chron.*

pursue

purſue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucolion*, a natural ſon of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was ſlain with his father and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to ſome, thirty ſix, according to others, forty four years.

Laomedon being ſlain by *Hercules*, as we have ſaid above, *Podarces*, the only ſurviving ſon, who had been carried away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione*, was with a great ſum of money ranſomed and placed on the throne of his anceſtors, and hence came the ſurname of *Priam*, which is derived from a *Greek* verb ſignifying *to redeem* or *ranſom*. His firſt care after his acceſſion to the throne, was to encompaſs the city of *Troy* with a ſtrong wall, to prevent ſuch calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being diſcovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near *Abydos*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is ſaid to have embelliſhed the city with ſtately edifices, towers, caſtles, aqueducts, *&c.* He maintained in conſtant pay a conſiderable army, reduced moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and was rather conſidered as ſovereign of all *Aſia Minor*, than king of *Troas*. He married to his firſt wife *Arisbe*, or, as others call her, *Alyxothoe*, by whom he had but one ſon named *Æſacus*; but by his ſecond wife *Hecuba*, daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creuſa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Caſſandra*. Beſides theſe he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers ſay, that being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithſtanding ſome of his elder brothers were then alive.

Priam. Year of the Flood 1764. Before Chriſt, 1235.

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in hiſtory for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great proweſs and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of that great city, and the endleſs colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. As to the cauſe of this fatal and deſtructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of *Helen* firſt kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to ſuch an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to ſtand by him at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, is not determined by

The cauſe of the Trojan war.

antient

antient writers. *Herodotus*[n] gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the *Phœnicians* having ravished *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her with other *Greek* women into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* making use of reprisals, first carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre*'s daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchis*, refusing to restore either till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next succeeding age hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish *Helen*, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpose. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchis*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchis*, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer*'s time, and consequently highly improbable, that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon them all as their enemies by reason of an injury done by one. Others say, that king *Priam*, hearing that his sister *Hesione* was ill-used by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, sent first *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris* to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for *Telamon* in history bears the character of a surly, cruel, and ill-natured prince; insomuch, that his own son *Teucer* chose rather to roam on the seas in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in *Teucer*'s power to prevent. *Paris*, add these authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embassy, was hospitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into *Crete*, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, yet no body can imagine, that *Priam* would on that score send a solemn embassy into *Greece*, or think of taking his sister from her husband, with

[n] lib. i.

whom

whom she had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is most natural to think, that *Paris*, in ravishing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted by his own perverse inclinations to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* [o] informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same *Thucydides* [p] tells us, that as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus*, after recovering her from *Theseus*, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them against the ravisher and his abettors. To which we may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all *Greece*, so he had without all doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war against *Troy* was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*, and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium* a city in *Peloponnesus* was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endless dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

THE best and most rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most antient history of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could not question the truth of the fact. But most of the historical events related by *Homer* are attested and con-

[o] Thucyd. l. i. [p] Idem ibid. p. 6.

firmed

firmed by the moſt creditable hiſtorians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely by the *Arundelian* marbles. We muſt therefore carefully diſtinguiſh in *Homer*'s works what is hiſtorical from what is merely fictitious. He deſcribes the ſtate of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was cantled out into a great many dynaſties; that *Agamemnon*, king of *Mycœne*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the moſt powerful prince of all *Greece*; that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the ſeveral nations and princes that ſided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an inſight into the art of war practiſed in that age; diſcloſes the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; deſcribes the ſituation of their country and cities, *&c.* all which are purely hiſtorical; ſo that *Homer*'s poems may deſervedly be conſidered as the moſt antient hiſtory of the *Greeks*, whoſe earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of ſuch a writer to tranſmit their actions to poſterity (O).

The number of ſhips employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides* [q] raiſes the number to 1200. The *Bœotian* ſhips, that were the largeſt, carried 120 men each; thoſe of the *Philoctetæ* were the ſmalleſt, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a ſoldier; ſo that ſuppoſing the fleet to have been of 1200 ſail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ſhips to have carried one with another 85 men, we ſhall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men ſtrong, no great force, conſidering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acarnanes* alone [r], were engaged in this war. The *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* obſerves, could have raiſed a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being diſtreſſed for proviſions in a foreign country [s]. Againſt this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* ſay, were not the tenth part of

[q] lib. i. p. 8. [r] Justin. l. xviii. [s] ubi ſupra.

(O) *Dion Chryſoſtom* (19), in an oration addreſſed to the *Trojans*, attempts to prove the ſiege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty eſſay, ſince the author elſewhere (20) diſproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the ſiege and taking of *Troy* are tranſactions ſo well atteſted, and have left ſuch a remarkable epocha in hiſtory, that no man of ſenſe can call them in queſtion.

(19) *Orat.* xi. (20) Περὶ ἄσκησιως, *p.* 255. *d.*

the

the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Myſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia Minor* ſided with the *Trojans*. *Rheſus* king of *Thrace* marched at the head of a conſiderable body to their aſſiſtance, and *Memnon*, as we have ſaid, joined them with 20,000 *Perſians* and the like number of *Æthiopians*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreſeeing the reſiſtance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would coſt them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hoſtilities, ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* ambaſſadors to *Troy*, to demand *Helen* and the treaſures which *Paris* had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vaſt preparations which they had made might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with ſo equitable a demand. What anſwer was returned to the ambaſſadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without *Helena*, and highly diſſatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

Herodotus [t], upon a tradition that prevailed among the prieſts of *Egypt*, ſeems inclinable to believe, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the prieſts themſelves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris* on his return with *Helen* was by ſtreſs of weather driven on the coaſt of *Egypt*, and forced to put in at *Tarichea* on the *Canopean* mouth of the *Nile*. Here ſome ſlaves of *Paris*'s retinue, taking ſanctuary in a temple of *Hercules* which ſtood on the ſhore, informed againſt their maſter, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*, who, finding, upon examination, the depoſition of the ſlaves to be true, detained *Helen* and the treaſures that had been taken with her, in order to reſtore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* prieſts add, that when the *Greeks* ſent ambaſſadors to demand *Helen* and her riches, the *Trojans* proteſted, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*, which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere ſhift to put them off, began the war; but at laſt after taking the town, as *Helen* no where appeared, and the *Trojans* perſiſted in their former proteſtations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and ſent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*, and had his wife reſtored to him without any injury done to her perſon or goods.

[t] lib. ii.

These things the *Egyptian* priests assured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from those who had conversed with *Menelaus* himself. *Herodotus* produces one argument of no small weight to prove the truth of this tradition, *viz.* that if it had been in king *Priam*'s power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. *Homer* seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* priests, for he mentions *Paris* and *Helen*'s arrival in *Egypt*, and says, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen*'s not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause. But whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, restore her, the ambassadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved without further delay to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemies country (P). They steered to the coast of *Troas*, where on their landing they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, who was slain by *Hector*, and many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of

(P *Calchas*, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared, that the goddess *Diana* opposed their passage with contrary winds, and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her stags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (21), that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephthah*'s sacrificing his daughter.

(21) *Vol. III. p.* 469. [O]

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their veſſels, which, as the building of ſhips with decks was not then introduced, could not carry ſuch ſtores of proviſions as were neceſſary to ſupply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, ſending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and part to rove about the ſeas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or hiſtorians, agree, that the *Greeks* employed the firſt eight or nine years in ſcowering the ſeas, pillaging the coaſts, and reducing ſuch cities and iſlands as ſided with the *Trojans*. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, iſlands plundered, ſtrong holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have ſpared, had there been any ſervice of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

AT laſt the ſeveral ſmall parties, that had been diſperſed up and down the neighbouring countries and iſlands, being joined in one body, and great ſtore of proviſions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a deſign to exert their utmoſt efforts, and put an end to ſo tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had been reinforced with conſiderable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Inſomuch, that when the *Greeks* firſt inveſted the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army ſcarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* ſays was ſent by *Apollo*, becauſe *Agamemnon* refuſed to releaſe the daughter of one of his prieſts; but *Heraclides* on this paſſage informs us, that it was occaſioned by the violent heats, and peſtilentious vapours raiſed by the ſun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marſhes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between

(Q) *Ovid* ſays, that from the firſt year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks* did not ſit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themſelves with laying waſte the enemies country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* ſitting on a high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be ſuch, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that ſome with *Thucydides* (22), ſay, that the whole army was employed in ſubduing the *Trojan* allies; while others, with *Herodotus*, tell us, that a conſiderable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(21) *Iliad.* 3. (22) *lib. i. p.* 9.

Agamemnon and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon* being obliged by the soothsayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took *Brisеis* in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to *Achilles*. This affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles* returning to the camp put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some say, that *Æneas* and *Antenor*, who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no terms, even after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scæan* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called *a horse*, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called *a Ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks*, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam*, 296 years, according to the most exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ.

Troy *taken*. Year of the Flood, 1815. Year before Christ 1184.

The *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Menestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city calling it *Salamis*, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the

the *Arcadians*, built in the ſame iſland the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles* ſettled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus* was loſt. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coaſts of *Afric*, others to *Italy*, whereof all the eaſt part was called *Magna Græcia*, by reaſon of the many towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got ſafe home, were obliged to put to ſea again, as *Thucydides* informs us [u], in queſt of new ſeats, others having ſeized their territories, and uſurped the ſovereignty, during their abſence. *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus* fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, ſome ſailing with *Menelaus* to the iſland of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon* on the coaſts of *Troas*. Thoſe, who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themſelves, parted, each holding his own courſe homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived ſafe at *Mycenæ*, where he was ſoon after his arrival murdered by his wife *Clytemneſtra*; but his ſon *Oreſtes* revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemneſtra*, of *Ægiſthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventures of *Ulyſſes* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may have ſome foundation in hiſtory is, that ſome years paſſed before he got home. The adventures of the other *Greeks* are leſs known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no leſs fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſeeing their country utterly ruined, took their meaſures accordingly, and ſettled in diſtant regions. *Antenor*, as we have ſaid already, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Italy*, and founded the nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam*'s ſons ſettled in *Macedonia*, where he built the city of *Ilium*. Some ſay, that during the ſiege he went over to the *Greeks*, and ſhewed them in what manner they might eaſily maſter the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers aſſure us, that he ſettled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæſars* affected to derive their pedigree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy* alone ſeems to betray ſome ſort of doubt as to this particular, inſinuating, with a great deal of reſerve, that he has not ſufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithſtanding the unanimous conſent of

[u] lib. i.

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the *Latins*, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart* [w] has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R).

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[w] Bochart. Queſt. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia.

(R) In the firſt place this opinion is directly oppoſite to that of *Homer* (23), who ſuppoſes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he repreſents favourable to *Æneas* on all occaſions, and averſe from *Priam* and his whole race, aſſuring him, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the *Trojans*, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Æneas* and his poſterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the cuſtom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that ſuch things will happen as the poet knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter ſuch things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer*'s caſe if *Æneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument ſome anſwer, that *Æneas*, after ſettling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia*, and reigned over the few *Phrygians* that outlived the deſtruction of their country. As this anſwer has no manner of foundation in hiſtory, it is ſcarce worth refuting. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* (24) is of opinion, that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only, that *Æneas* was to reign over ſuch *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Aceſtes*, *Capys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* diſtinguiſh *Æneas* from the other *Phrygians* by ſome particular marks of his favour. Beſides, the words of *Venus* in the hymn which is generally aſcribed to *Homer* ἐν Τρωσὶν ἀνάξει are capable of no other ſenſe, but that *Æneas* ſhall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this ſenſe they are underſtood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Æneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*, that the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Euſtathius* thinks (26), that when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promiſing to *Æneas*, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the *Trojans*, the poet by the *Trojans* meant the *Romans*; and becauſe it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds, that *Homer* had either ſeen the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Æneas*, or had himſelf foreſeen, as moſt poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to deſcend from *Æneas* and be maſters of the world. But as to the books of the *Sibyls*, *Homer* certainly never did, nor could, ſee them; for they

(23) *Iliad.* 20. (24) *lib.* i. (25) *lib.* xiii. (26) *In Iliad* 20.

were

THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and moſt of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the ſword, ſome writers tell us, that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians*, poſſeſſing themſelves of that country, ſettled there, and that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion, that *Æneas*, having gathered together the ſcattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city, and that his deſcendants and the deſcendants of *Hector* reigned there till the country was ſubdued by the *Lydians*, who became ſo powerful as to over-run all *Aſia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was deſtroyed by the *Greeks*, they muſt needs have made but a very indifferent figure, ſince they are not ſo much as named in hiſtory.

were forged, as ſeveral writers have demonſtrated, above a thouſand years after *Homer*'s time; and as to the ſpirit of prophecy, which *Euſtathius* is pleaſed to beſtow upon poets, every one ſees that it has not the leaſt appearance of truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzicenſis*, quoted by *Feſtus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia*, by the river *Nolos* (or, as others read, *Gallus*) not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us, that the city of *Aſcania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*. *Mela* tells us, that the city of *Antandros* was ſo called, becauſe *Aſcanius* who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelaſgi*, yielded this city to them for his ranſom. *Hellanicus* in his *Troica* makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but as to *Aſcanius*, he ſays, that he remained in *Troas* and reigned there. *Strabo* aſſures us, that the city of *Sceptis*, in former times ſituate near *Troy*, was removed from thence ſixty furlongs by *Scamander* the ſon of *Hector* and *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*; and adds, that theſe two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being firſt changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheleſs ſuch as were deſcended from theſe two families were ſtill honoured with the title of kings. To theſe authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no ſmall weight, namely, that the chief deities of the antient *Trojans*, viz *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the leaſt ſimilitude imaginable between the antient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language, which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been tranſmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to *Virgil*'s divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the hiſtorians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flouriſhed before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(27) *Feſtus voce Roma.* (28) *Ubi ſupra.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The HISTORY *of the* MYSIANS.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of the country, the manners, cuſtoms, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

Name. THE ſmall country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Myſos* ſignifying a *beech-tree*, becauſe that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Leſſer Myſia*. *Myſia Minor* or the *Leſſer Myſia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and weſt, by *Phrygia Minor* on the ſouth, and by *Phrygia Major* on the eaſt. *Myſia Major* or the *Greater Myſia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the ſouth by *Æolia*, on the eaſt by *Phrygia Major*, and on the weſt by the *Ægean* ſea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Myſia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Myſia Major*; the former is alſo named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Helleſpontiaca* becauſe ſome towns antiently belonging to it were ſeated on the *Helleſpont*. That part of *Myſia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhyndacus* is called by *Strabo Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morena*. The former denomination is often given to all *Myſia*.

IN that part of *Myſia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis* were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* ſeated in an iſland of the *Propontis* bearing the ſame name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that iſland and the adjacent continent, who is ſaid to have been killed through miſtake by *Jaſon* the *Argonaut*. This city, when firſt known

to the *Romans*, was one of the greateſt and richeſt of all *Aſia*, and hence was ſtiled by *Florus* the *Rome* of *Aſia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c. [x]. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the antients; the whole ſtructure was of poliſhed marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The ſtatue of *Jupiter*, which ſtood in the temple, was of ivory, and moſt exquiſite workmanſhip [y]. In after-ages this city made a glorious ſtand againſt *Mithridates*, who loſt under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the antient inhabitants of this city and iſland were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; inſomuch, that when any one behaved himſelf in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuouſly called a *Cyzican* [z]. *Tully* [a] repreſents thoſe of his time as a quiet and inoffenſive ſort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averſe from war, and of a turn to enjoy the ſweets of peace, whatever they coſt. The current coin of this iſland, called *Stater* and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with ſuch nicety, exactneſs, and skill, that they were looked upon in thoſe days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proſerpine* for her dowry, and on that account worſhipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatneſs, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* [b]. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Conſtantinople* to embelliſh that city. Under the *Romans* it was the metropolis of the *Conſular Helleſpont*, but is at preſent little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

[x] Florus, lib. iii. c. 5. [y] Xiphilinus in Dione. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [z] Heſychius. Eraſm. Chiliad. [a] Act. iii. in Verr. [b] Appian. in Mithridatico.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb Κυζικηνοὶ σατῆρες an expreſſion uſed in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving; as if the *Cyzician ſtateres* were the utmoſt effort of that art. This coin repreſented on one ſide *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made ſome imagine the abovementioned proverb to be a taunt on thoſe who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Eraſm. Chiliad.*

Parium, so called, as some writers inform us, from *Parus* the son of *Jason*. Some think, that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the antients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny* [c], who are said to have had the gift of curing the bitings of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of *Apollo Actæus* and *Diana*, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Asia*. The antient *Parians* were a colony of *Milesians*, and the more modern of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adrastia* one and the same city; but *Strabo* distinguishes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its antient name.

Lampsacus or *Lampsacum* was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-against *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Chersonese*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampsaces*. It had a capacious and safe harbour and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was in antient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if possible their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before *Alexander*, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed, that he would deny their request. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampsacus*, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg, that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation.

[c] lib. vii. c. 2.

Priapus

Priapus was worſhipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt unnatural luſts. *Tully* * repreſents the inhabitants of *Lampſacus* as a quiet and indolent ſort of people, and more fit to reliſh the eaſe of peace, than ſuffer the toils of war. This city is ſtill in a tolerable good condition, ſituated in a pleaſant plain, and ſurrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampſaco*, and the *Turks Lepſeck*. Theſe were the chief cities of *Myſia Minor* ſeated on the coaſt.

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Myſia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhyndacus*, which riſes from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake called now the lake of *Abouillona* is five and twenty miles in compaſs, and eight miles wide, being interſperſed with ſeveral iſlands and peninſulas, whereof the largeſt, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village ſituate in this iſland bears the ſame name, ſome modern travellers [d] take it to be the antient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its antient luſtre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter *Anna Comnena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for, beſides that it bore his name, he is repreſented on the reverſe of ſeveral medals of this city [e].

THE chief rivers of *Myſia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its ſource in the lake of *Apollonia*, or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* hiſtory for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who, deſigning to ſurpriſe *Lucullus*, was himſelf ſurprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this

* Act. iii. in Ver. [d] TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant, &c.
[e] TOURNEFORT ubi ſupra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who viſited thoſe places, deſcribes *Apollonia* as ſeated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller miſlook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the antient *Apollonia*, not being aware, that the inhabitants of *Apollonia* for the conveniency of their commerce removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forſaken to this their new habitation; it being manifeſt from *Anna Comnena*, that in her time *Lopadi* bore alſo the name of *Apollonia*.

river. The *Granicus* riſes on mount *Ida*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and *Cyzicus*. This river *Alexander* croſſed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Perſian* army 600000 ſtrong. Travellers obſerve, that its banks are very high and ſteep on the weſt ſide; ſo that the forces of *Darius* had a conſiderable advantage, had they known how to uſe it. This river at preſent is called the *Souſoughirli*, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Myſia* ſtands mount *Olympus*, called by the antients *Olympus Myſiorum* to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other mountains of the ſame name. It is one of the higheſt mountains in *Aſia*, and great part of the year covered with ſnow.

The city of greateſt note in *Myſia Major* was *Pergamus*, ſeated in a ſpacious plain on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal ſeat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the tranſcribing of which parchment was here firſt invented, and thence called by the *Latins Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave occaſion to this uſeful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the deſign of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cauſe all the valuable books then extant to be carefully tranſcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolemy*'s famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewiſe invented thoſe coſtly hangings which we call *Tapeſtry*, and the *Romans* named *Aulæa* from *Aula* ſignifying *a hall*, becauſe the hall of *Attalus*, who invented them, was the firſt room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Phyſician* was born in this city. Here *Æſculapius* is ſaid to have practiſed phyſic. We muſt not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconſiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are ſtill to be ſeen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

On the coaſts of the *Greater Myſia* were ſeated the following cities, *Antandros*, *Sceptſis*, *Aſſos*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

Soil and climate. The ſoil of this country is one of the fineſt and richeſt of

(W) *Spon* miſtakes the *Fourtiſſar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtiſſar* is a ſmall brook riſing on mount *Tininus*, which ſome, through miſtake, think to be the *Caicus* of the antients.

Aſia,

Aſia, and as ſuch celebrated by the antients [f]. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well ſtocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for paſturing them. It was plentifully watered with ſmall rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In ſhort, the *Myſians*, as *Philoſtratus* iuforms us, with reſpect to their country, were the happieſt of all the *Aſiatics*.

As to the origin of the *Myſians*, *Herodotus* [g] informs us, that they were *Lydians* by deſcent. According to his account, *Manes*, the firſt king of *Lydia*, was father to *Cotys*, and *Cotys* to *Atys*, who had three ſons, *Lydus*, *Myſus*, and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæan* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Myſus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Myſia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Myſus*, was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Aſiatic Myſians* from thoſe of *Europe*, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Boſnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no uſe to relate, as they are moſtly founded on diſtorted and far-fetched etymologies. *Origin.*

As to the character of the antient *Myſians*, it muſt be conſidered at different times; for they ſeem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus* [h] and *Pliny* [i] ſpeak of a very powerful army of *Myſians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war, paſſing over the *Boſphorus* into *Europe*, ſubdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* ſea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors, ſo as to be looked upon as the moſt contemptible and inſignificant nation on the earth; inſomuch, that the *Greeks* [k] had no expreſſion to ſignify more emphatically a perſon of no worth or merit, than to call him *the laſt of the Myſians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks* [l] to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceaſed. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan*, with ſome variation of dialect. As to their manners, cuſtoms, arts, and ſciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation and wealth; for *Philoſtratus* in- *Character.*

[f] VIRG. GEORG. l. i. verſ. 103. [g] lib. i. & vii. [h] lib. vii. [i] lib. vii. c. 6. [k] STRAB. l. xii. Cic. pro Flacco. [l] ÆSCHYL. in Perſis. ERASM. Chiliad.

forms

forms us, that in antient times they were the moſt wealthy nation of all *Aſia*.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the ſame with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall ſhort of in ſuperſtition. They worſhipped the ſame deities, and uſed the ſame religious ceremonies, which has made ſome believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a ſtately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Actæus* near *Parium*. *Nemeſis* alſo is numbered among their deities, and was worſhipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adraſtus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddeſs were named *Adraſtia*. *Priapus* was worſhipped by the more modern *Myſians*, but unknown to them even in *Heſiod*'s time. The *Myſian* prieſts abſtained from fleſh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practiſed among them to ſacrifice a horſe, and eat his entrails, before they were admitted to the prieſthood.

Their hiſtory. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears that it was monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus* [m] tells us, that they lived in ſubjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Aſſyrian* kings that ſucceeded him. After the deſtruction of *Troy* and diſperſion of the *Trojans*, the *Myſians* poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*.

Olympus. THE firſt king of *Myſia* we find mentioned is called *Olympus*: He is ſaid to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Faſius* or *Faſion*, brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy* [n].

Teuthras. *Teuthras* appears next; it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded; he is ſaid to have reigned over the *Myſians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans* [o]. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia*'s ſon [p]. As he had no iſſue male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his firſt wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his ſecond wife's ſon by *Hercules* [q] (X). He built a city

[m] lib. ii. cap. 1. [n] Scholiaſt. Apoll. p. 155. [o] STRAB. l. xiii. [p] DIODOR. l. iv. c. iii. [q] STRAB. l. xiii.

(X) *Euripides*, quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural ſon of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* cauſed both her and her child to be locked up in a cheſt and

(33) *Strab. l.* xiii.

thrown

city calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all *Mysia* [r]. He had another daughter by name *Tecmessa*, who, in the division of the booty, which the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Mysia*, fell to *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*.

Telephus.

Teuthras was succeeded by *Telephus* a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*. *Telephus*, being exposed by his grandfather's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards *Mysia*, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king *Teuthras* her husband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he first sided with king *Priam*, and was dangerously wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* to stand neuter [s]. *Pausanias* and *Aristides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes* [t] makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *Europæan* with the *Asiatic Mysians*; for those of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Mœsians*, are thought to be descended from the *Mysians* of *Asia*. *Telephus* had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to some [u], was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians* [w]. *Latinus* is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy* [x].

Arius.

Eurypylus left one son by name *Arius*, who succeeded his father or grandfather, and was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia* [y]. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place.

[r] Pindar. in Olymp. Apollodor. Stephan. &c. [s] Diodor. lib. iv. Strab. l. xiii. [t] De rebus Geticis. [u] Calaber. l. vi. vii. viii. Hyginus fab. 113. [w] Strab. l. xiii. [x] Cedrenus. p. 115. [y] Pausanias in Atticis.

thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The HISTORY *of the* LYDIANS.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of LYDIA.

Name. WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some, led by the affinity of Words, derive it from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon, whom they pretend to have ſettled here. But this opinion we ſhall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the antient writers tell us, that *Lydia* was firſt called *Mœonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to be called *Lydia* from his ſon *Lydus*. *Bochart* [z], finding in his learned collection of *Phœnician* words the verb *Lud* ſignifying *to wind*, and obſerving that the country we are ſpeaking of is watered by the *Mæander* ſo famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*. As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids himſelf of them at once, by denying that there ever were any ſuch perſons. To ſupport this opinion, he endeavours to prove, that the *Phœnicians*, and after them *Moſes*, who in the deſcription of countries, made uſe of their terms, gave the name of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewiſe to *Æthiopia*, where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* obſerves [a], has as many turnings and windings as the *Mæander* itſelf. Now as theſe two countries, lying on the two moſt winding rivers that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word ſignifies *to bend* or *wind*, who can doubt, ſays he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the antient name of *Mœonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* tranſlation of the *Phœnician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in ſome meaſure, with *Stephanus*, who derives the name of *Mœonia* from *Mœon* the antient name of

[z] Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12. [a] lib. ii. c. 29.

 the

the *Mæander*. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word ſignifying *metal*, becauſe that country, ſay they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

THOUGH *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by moſt authors indifferently uſed for one and the ſame country, yet they are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed, that part, where mount *Tmolus* ſtood, and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*, and the other lying on the coaſt, *Lydia*. This diſtinction is uſed, as *Spanhemius* obſerves [b], by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionyſius*, and other antient writers. In after ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coaſt of the *Ægæan* ſea, began to make ſome figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the antient *Mæonia*.

Lydia, according to *Pliny* [c], *Ptolemy*, and other antient geographers, was bounded by *Myſia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the ſouth, by *Phrygia Major* on the eaſt, and *Ionia* on the weſt, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the antients ſtyle the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within theſe narrow boundaries, chiefly under the latter kings, but extended from the river *Halys* to the *Ægean* ſea. *Pliny*'s deſcription includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Hermus* and the *Caicus*, but that tract we ſhall conſider apart.

THE chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom and the ſeat of king *Cræſus*. This city ſtood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of mount *Tmolus*. The *Perſians* thought *Sardis* of ſuch conſequence after it fell into their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner; *The Greeks have taken Sardis*; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from *Sardis* ſtands a village of the ſame name, which ſome take to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelations*, and was one of the ſeven churches. Near this city was to be ſeen in *Herodotus*'s time [d] the ſepulchre of *Alyattes* father to *Cræſus*, whereof the foundation was of ſtone, but the whole ſuperſtructure of earth, being

[b] Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, verſ. 250. [c] Lib. v. c. 29. [d] HERODOT. l. i.

ſix furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thouſand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the ſecond city of *Lydia*, and ſo called from *Attalus Philadelphus* brother to *Eumenes*, ſtood in a ſpacious and fruitful plain on the north ſide of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were antiently celebrated the common feaſts of all *Aſia*, as appears from an inſcription quoted by *Spon* [c]. It was one of the ſeven *Churches*, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was the laſt in *Aſia Minor* that ſubmitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable terms after ſix years ſiege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its antient name, but is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachſheyer*. Part of the antient walls is ſtill remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and ſome ſepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an antient tradition among the inhabitants, were tranſported by the *Chriſtians* into *Europe*.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was ſituated in a pleaſant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the ſeven churches, and its preſent ruins teſtify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks Akhiſar*. It is a place of ſome trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magneſia, by the *Turks* called *Guzethiſar*, ſeated on the *Mæander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many ſtately buildings demonſtrate. Here *Themiſtocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his ſubſiſtence during his exile. It is ſtill a large, handſome, and well-built city. Another city of the ſame name ſtood at the foot of mount *Sipylus* on a riſing ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in hiſtory for many battles fought there, but eſpecially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Aſia*. This city was for ſome time the ſeat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is ſtill the capital of *Caraſia*.

Mount *Sipylus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddeſs *Sipylene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sipylene*, becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner on mount *Sipylus*. And hence on the reverſe of almoſt all the antient medals of *Magneſia* this goddeſs is repreſented, ſometimes on the frontiſpiece of a temple with four pillars, and ſometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sipylus* was likewiſe named the *Thun-*

[c] Voyage d'Italie, &c.

der

der mountain, becauſe it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Aſia*; and hence we find on the reverſe of ſeveral medals ſtamped at *Magneſia*, *Jupiter* armed with thunderbolts. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more antient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and ſaffron.

THE rivers of this country, that we ſhall take notice of, are the *Pactolus*, which ruſhing from mount *Tmolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then diſcharges itſelf into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the antients *Chryſorhoas*, from the colour of its ſands which ſhine like gold. The *Cayſter*, celebrated by the poets for the ſwans that frequented its banks, has its ſource in *Phrygia Major*, bathes *Lydia*, and empties itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea near *Epheſus*. It has almoſt as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Mæander* itſelf, but neither have near ſo many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

Origin and antiquity.

AS to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Joſephus*, and after him all the eccleſiaſtic writers, derive them from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon. As this opinion has no other foundation but the ſimilitude of names, there is a ſtrong objection againſt it, *viz.* that the *Lydians* were firſt called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys*, except we ſuppoſe the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the name of *Mæones* ceaſing, they reſumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that caſe, we ought perhaps to conſider *Lydia* as poſſeſſed by the *Ludim*, or poſterity of *Lud*, on a ſecond or third remove; for we ſee no more reaſon than Sir *Walter Raleigh* [f], why *Lud* ſhould ſtraggle ſo far from his friends as *Lydia*, according to what we have ſaid elſewhere [g]. Some of the antients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, and *Carians*. Others, finding ſome conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuſcans*, who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very ſimilitude of names, which on like occaſions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged ſome writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the *Lydians* were a very antient nation, as is manifeſt from their very fables, for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all ſaid to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the antient city of *Aſcalon*,

[f] Book i. cap. viii. ſect. 15. [g] Vol. I. p. 365.

one of the five satrapies of the *Philistines* mentioned in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Ascalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Alcymus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* descended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*; and hence styled *Atyadæ*, which is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Government.

The *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys*, the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus* and first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Tellus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Choræus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and settled in *Hetruria*, now *Tuscany*. This is the account *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us of the kings sprung of *Atys*, or the first race of the *Lydian* kings.

The *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the descendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules*, being by the direction of the oracle sold as a slave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia*, to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named *Cleolaus*, whose grandson by name *Argon* was the first of the *Heraclidæ* that ascended the throne of *Lydia*. This race reigned from *Argon* the first to *Candaules* the last 505 years, the father succeeding the son for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

The third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the family named *Mermnas* (for the antients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* shook off the *Assyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were also, properly speaking, *Heraclidæ*, being descended from one *Lemnos*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The first king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræsus* the last.

As

As to their character, it must be considered at different times: Under *Crœsus* and some of his predecessors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the *Persians*, and enjoined by *Cyrus*, according to the advice given him by *Crœsus* (Y), to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and intirely given up to idleness, pleasures and diversions. *Their character.*

THE soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence *Crœsus* is said to have drawn his immense wealth. *The soil.*

As to the religion of the *Lydians*, it seems to have been much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoke of; they worshipped *Diana*, *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* at *Magnesia* under the name of *Sipylene*; for in the alliance concluded between those of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicus*, both par- *Religion.*

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the instigation of one *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of *Crœsus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Pactyas* putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he besieged *Tabalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus*, as he was leading his army against the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians*, and *Egyptians*, he resolved to march back into *Lydia*, sell all the *Lydians* for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king *Crœsus* at that time his prisoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earnestly entreated him to forgive the *Lydians*, and wreak his just anger on *Pactyas* alone by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the *Lydians* the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of debauching their minds, and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a short time the *Lydians* became the most lewd and debauched nation under the sun (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

ties

ties ſwore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddeſs *Sipylene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sipylus*, or perhaps from a town of the ſame name, which, as *Strabo* informs us [h], was ruined by an earthquake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the ſame city of *Magneſia* ſtood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, no ways inferior to the ſo much celebrated temple of *Diana Epheſiana*.

The manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Lydians.

The cuſtoms of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs us [i], much the ſame with thoſe of the *Greeks*, except that they uſed to proſtitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by proſtitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleaſed. They puniſhed idleneſs as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardſhips. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as ſome have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah* [k], but long ſpears, ſuch as were antiently uſed by the horſe; and in horſemanſhip, if *Herodotus* is to be credited [l], the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the firſt that introduced the art of coining gold and ſilver to facilitate trade; the firſt that ſold by retail, that kept eating-houſes and taverns, that invented public ſports and ſhews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuſcans*, deſcended, as we ſhall ſee anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us [m], on what occaſion they invented thoſe public and ſeveral other private diverſions. During the reign of *Atys* the ſon of *Manes*, a great ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for ſeveral years with an aſtoniſhing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the conſideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themſelves to all manner of diverſion, and ſome inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and ſuch other diverſions as were in antient times uſed among the *Greeks*, chefs only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diverſions, they uſed to play one whole day without intermiſſion, eating and drinking the next day without amuſing themſelves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately faſting and feaſting, as the ſcarcity of their proviſions could well allow, finding that their calamities increaſed rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies,

[h] Strab. l. i. p. 38. [i] Herodot. l. i. [k] Jerem. xlvi. 9. [l] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

commanding

commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two ſhould remain at home, and which go abroad in queſt of new ſeats, ſince their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his ſon *Tyrrhenus* to command thoſe who ſhould be obliged to remove, he himſelf remaining to reign over thoſe who ſhould have the fortune to ſtay. Thoſe who by lot were conſtrained to abandon their country marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a ſmall fleet, and putting to ſea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuſcany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

Commerce.

THE trade of the antient *Lydians* is no where mentioned; but we may ſuppoſe it to have been very conſiderable, eſpecially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory; whoſoever conſiders the ſplendor of this monarchy, and commodious ſituation of the country, cannot doubt, but commerce muſt here have flouriſhed to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immenſe riches not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of ſeveral private perſons. *Herodotus* [a] mentions one, by name *Pythius*, who not only entertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece*; but made him a proffer of two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety three thouſand pieces of gold bearing the ſtamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The ſame *Pythius* had preſented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*, with a plane-tree and vine of maſſive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of *Perſia*, the richeſt man in the then known world.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of LYDIA.

Maſnes.

THE firſt king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Maſnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* call him. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of the earth, which in the language of the antients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or ſlave to a cartwright living at *Cyme*, was raiſed to the throne of

[a] HERODOT. lib. vii.

Lydia. The ſame author adds, that as the *Lydians* were diſburſing the money for his ranſom, a citizen of *Cyme*, for whom the ſlave was at that time making a cart, inſiſted on his finiſhing what he had in hand before he was ſet at liberty, proteſting, that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate ſlave may have been *Maſnes*, ſince he in regard of his mean deſcent is called by the antients ſon of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a ſlave on the throne; but we may ſuppoſe this to have been brought about by the advice of ſome oracle, as it happened in the caſe of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* choſe a ſlave for their king, in hopes of being reſcued by his means from the oppreſſions they groaned under.

Cotys. *Maſnes* was ſucceded by his ſon *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his ſon
Atys. *Atys*, in whoſe reigns, as the country was overſtocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the ſpace of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his ſubjects, keeping one half of them at home, and ſending the other abroad in queſt of new ſettlements, under the conduct of his younger ſon *Tyrrhenus*.

Lydus. *Atys* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*.

Alcymus. *Alcymus* appears next: It is uncertain whom he ſucceeded: He is repreſented as an excellent prince, and is ſaid to have had nothing ſo much at heart, as the welfare of his ſubjects; whence in the ſeventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs us, to offer up prayers and ſacrifices for his health and proſperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Aſcalon* was built by *Aſcalus*, ſon of *Hymenæus* and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adryme-tes. *Adrymetes* or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and ſaid to have been the firſt that employed women in ſuch miniſtries as other kings had done eunuchs.

Cambletes. *Cambletes*, *Camblitas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himſelf. *Athenæus* ſays, that he was ſo ravenous as to devour his wife in his ſleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was ſo grieved and aſhamed of what he had done, that he put himſelf to death.

Tmolus. *Tmolus* put an end to his life by throwing himſelf headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints

us [n], by *Diana* for ravishing one of her followers, by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus succeeded his father *Tmolus*, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount *Tmolus*, which from him had its name. Theoclymenus.

AFTER *Theoclymenus Marsyas* reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus* [o], the city of *Archippena*. Marsyas.

Jardanes succeeded *Marsyas*, and in his reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince. Jardanes.

ON the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time, and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcæus*. Omphale.

Omphale was succeeded by her son *Alcæus*, according to some authors, who will have him to have been the first king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*. Alcæus.

AFTER *Alcæus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his son *Ninus*, of whom we know nothing but their bare names. Ninus.

Argon succeeded his father *Ninus*, and is said to have transferred the royal seat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the first of the descendants of *Herculus* that reigned in *Lydia*. Argon.

Argon was succeeded by his son *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adrysus*, who reigned thirty six years; *Adrysus* by *Alyattes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyattes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve. Leon, &c.

Candaules the son of *Myrsus* was the last king of this second race, and lost by his imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus* [p]: He had a wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful of her sex. He extolled her charms above measure to *Gyges*, his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, resolved to shew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to Candaules. Year of the Flood, 2264. Year before Christ 758

[n] PLUTARCH. de fluviis. [o] SOLINUS, lib. vii. [p] HERODOT. x. l. i.

undreſs when ſhe went to bed, ordering him to retire after ſeeing her, and take all poſſible care not to be obſerved. But notwithſtanding all the caution he could uſe, ſhe plainly diſcovered him going out, and though ſhe did not doubt but it was her huſband's contrivance, yet ſhe paſſed that night in a ſeeming tranquility, ſuppreſſing her reſentment to the next morning, when ſhe ſent for *Gyges*, and reſolutely told him, that he muſt either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contiver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at firſt earneſtly begged of her, that ſhe would not drive him to the neceſſity of ſuch a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he muſt either kill his maſter, or die himſelf, he choſe the former, and being led by the queen to the ſame place, where her huſband had placed him the night before, he ſtabbed the king while he was aſleep, and at the ſame time married the queen, and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the anſwer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle ſhould declare him to be the lawful king of *Lydia*, he ſhould be permitted to reign; if not, he ſhould reſign the crown to the *Heraclidæ*. the anſwer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was univerſally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. *Candaules* is ſaid [r] to have purchaſed a picture, done by one *Bularchas*, and repreſenting a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold, which ſhews how early the art of painting began to be in requeſt, for *Candaules* was contemporary with *Romulus*.

Gyges. Year of the Flood, 2281. Year before Chriſt 718.

Gyges, having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Lydia*, ſent many rich and valuable preſents to the oracle of *Delphi*, among the others ſix cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly eſteemed for the workmanſhip. He made war on thoſe of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and ſubdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permiſſion, the city of *Abydos* was built by the *Mileſians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his acceſſion to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled againſt *Candaules* and ſlew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* [r], and *Tully* [t], we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*,

[r] Plin. lib. xxxv. c. viii. [r] Plato de rep. l. xi. & x. [t] Cic. lib. iii. de off.

Suidas,

Suidas, *Philoſtratus*, &c. *Gyges* reigned thirty eight years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ardyes*. Ardyes.

Ardyes or *Ardys* carried on the war againſt the *Mileſians* which his father had begun, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Priene*, in thoſe days a ſtrong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Aſia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and theſe invaders, and with what ſucceſs, we find no where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us [u], that in the time of *Ardyes* they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the caſtle. *Ardyes* reigned forty nine years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sadyattes.

Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, and warred moſt part of his reign with the *Mileſians*.

Alyattes. Year of the Flood, 2379. Year before Chriſt 620.

AFTER him came his ſon *Alyattes*, who for the ſpace of ſix years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occaſion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus*. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their country on occaſion of a ſedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be inſtructed in the uſe of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The ſtrangers were great ſportſmen, and uſed daily to ſupply the king's table with game, which they dreſſed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with moſt opprobrious language, which the *Scythians* reſenting, agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and ſerve his fleſh up to the king's table dreſſed like veniſon. This they effected and then made their eſcape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occaſion to a war that laſted ſix years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refuſing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various ſucceſs, the *Medes* ſometimes defeating the *Lydians* and the *Lydians* ſometimes the *Medes*. In the ſixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a ſudden turned into night (*Z*), which ſo frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediati-

[u] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

(Z) The total eclipſe fell upon the 28th of *May*, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* ſome years before.

on of *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes* and *Astyages* the son of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces against the *Scythians*, and, after a war, which lasted several years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of so troublesome guests. He was attended with the like success in the war he undertook against the *Smyrneans*, whom he worsted in several battles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole country. He continued for the space of five years the war, which his father had begun against the *Milesians*, ravaging their country, and about harvest time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of provisions to surrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Milesians* being at that time masters of the sea. In the 12th year of this war the *Lydians* having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after *Alyattes* falling sick sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, which refused to return any answer, till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* dispatched ambassadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the *Milesians* till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the ambassadors *Thrasybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This *Thrasybulus* did to the end, that the ambassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themselves, might acquaint their master therewithal, and divert

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cause of this war seems to some writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the *Scythians* falling out among themselves should have had recourse to either of these kings, whose countries the *Scythians* had over run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery he had shewn in massacring such of their country-men as had settled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that *Alyattes*, being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had seized, after the conquest of *Nineveh*, the regions belonging to the *Assyrians* as far as to the river *Halys*), entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* against the *Medes* and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

him

him from purſuing the war. As *Thraſybulus* had deſigned, ſo it happened; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Mileſians* greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, receiving a quite different account from his ambaſſadors, changed the truce into a laſting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendſhip with *Thraſybulus* and the *Mileſians*. *Alyattes* had two ſons, *Crœſus* by a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Crœſus* ſucceeded his father after he had reigned fifty ſeven years.

Crœſus, ſucceeding his father at the age of thirty five years, enlarged his dominions ſo as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, *viz.* of *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *Egypt*. *Crœſus* was the firſt that made war on the *Epheſians*, whoſe city he beſieged and took, notwithſtanding their conſecrating it to *Diana*, and faſtening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was ſeven ſtades diſtant from the city. After the reduction of *Epheſus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, and all the other *Greek* ſtates of *Aſia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He alſo formed a deſign of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the iſlands, but was diverted from this thought by *Bias* of *Priene*, or, as others ſay, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B). Not long after he ſubdued the *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphylians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenæus* out of *Beroſus* mentions a ſignal victory of his over the *Sacæans* a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babyloniaus* his allies yearly celebrated a feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*. *Crœſus* having by theſe victories acquired great fame and renown, many wiſe men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpoſe to ſee him, and among others *Solon*, who, after publiſhing his laws at *Athens*, had abſented himſelf from his country under pretence of travelling for the ſpace of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the conſtitutions which he had

Crœſus. Year of the Flood, 2437. Before Chriſt, 562

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Crœſus*, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the iſlanders had bought ten thouſand horſes with a deſign to attack him by land, which *Crœſus* believing thanked the gods for inſpiring them with ſuch a reſolution, as knowing, that the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the iſlanders had no ſuch deſign, but were no leſs pleaſed in hearing that he deſigned to attack them by ſea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon *Crœſus*, being fully aporiſed of the raſhneſs of his deſign, laid it aſide, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the iſlands.

eſtabliſhed;

eſtabliſhed; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themſelves, the citizens having taken a ſolemn oath to obſerve his laws for the ſpace of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis* he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræſus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to ſee the wealth and magnificence of his treaſury, which when he had ſeen, *Cræſus* aſked him who was the happieſt man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any heſitation, the preference to himſelf. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and reſolved on all occaſions to ſpeak the plain truth, anſwered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happieſt man he had ever ſeen (C). *Cræſus* again aſked him who was the happieſt man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at leaſt in the ſecond place, but was again diſappointed, the philoſopher adjudging the ſecond place to *Cleobis* and *Biton* two *Argives* (D). *Cræſus* ſhewing himſelf highly diſſatisfied with *Solon*, for preferring the condition of private men to that of ſo rich and powerful a prince as he, the philoſopher informed him, that it was impoſſible to judge of the happineſs of any man before death, and that all things ought to be meaſured by their end. Where-

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children who all ſurvived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happineſs which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a moſt glorious manner. For coming to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleuſis* againſt the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) Theſe two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games and all other public ſports. Their mother was a prieſteſs of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither ſhe ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her ſons, ſeeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themſelves, and drew the chariot the ſpace of forty five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were aſſembled at the temple, and their mother, tranſported with joy in ſeeing her ſons ſo much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddeſs, that ſhe would reward her children with what ſhe thought would prove moſt advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the uſual ſacrifices banquetted, and with her ſons, they both fell aſleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, cauſed their ſtatues to be made and dedicated at *Delphi* (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

upon

upon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by *Adrastus*, son of *Gordius* and grandson of *Mydas* king of *Phrygia*, who had fled to *Sardis* for refuge. This loss was no small allay to his happiness, for he continued disconsolate the space of two whole years and in a state of inaction, till the conquests of *Cyrus* and growing power of the *Persians* roused up his martial spirit, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good success, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at last prove dangerous to himself, and therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to his conquests. To this end he consulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he strengthened

(E) We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cræsus* sent ambassadors to the oracles of *Delphi*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiaraus*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propose, each to the oracle he was to consult, and all on the same day, the following question; *What is* Crœsus *the son of* Alyattes *king of* Lydia *now doing?* What answer the other oracles returned we find no where mentioned; but that of *Delphi*, as *Herodotus* informs us, answered thus: *I know the number of the sands of* Libya *the measure of the ocean, the secrets of the silent and dumb lie open to me. I smell the odour of a lamb and tortoise boiling together in a brazen cauldron; brass is under, and brass above the flesh.* *Cræsus* hearing this answer adored the god of *Delphi*, and owned, that the oracle had spoke truth; for on the same day that his ambassadors consulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron of brass, which had a cover of the same metal, thinking it impossible, that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a sacrifice consisting of three thousand oxen; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and silver, vessels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occasion so much gold was melted down that one hundred and seventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longest were six spans in length, the shortest three, but all one span in thickness. These, with a golden lion weighing ten talents and many other rich presents, *Cræsus* sent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his ambassadors to enquire whether he should undertake a war against the *Persians*. The oracle returned this answer; *If* Crœsus *passes the* Halys *he will put an end to a vast empire*, which was capable of being interpreted either of *Persia* or *Lydia*. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, and not doubting in the least, but that he should overturn the *Persian* monarchy, sent more presents to the oracle

ſtrengthened himſelf with alliances, and, having raiſed what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Perſians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* ſea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waſte all the adjacent country. *Cyrus*, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia* encamped in ſight of the *Lydian* army. Here after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the two armies came at laſt to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both ſides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræſus* fearing to venture a ſecond battle, as his forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-time, and marched with all poſſible expedition to *Sardis*, where he diſbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the leaſt apprehend, that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, reſolved to purſue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to venture a ſecond battle before his allies could join him. This reſolution was executed with ſuch expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Cræſus* had any intelligence of his deſign. The *Lydians* were ſtrangely alarmed at ſo bold an attempt, which they had neither foreſeen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were ſtill remaining, marched out againſt the *Perſians*, by whom, after a ſharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, which was ſoon after taken by aſſault and *Cræſus* himſelf made priſoner. In

oracle, and two ſtaters of gold to each of the inhabitans of *Delphi*. In conſideration of which the *Delphians* granted *Cræſus* and the *Lydians* a right to conſult the oracle before any other nation, together with the firſt place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræſus*, having made theſe preſents, ſent a third time to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle anſwered, *That he ſhould reign till a mule ruled over the Medes*, which *Cræſus* deeming impoſſible concluded, that he and his poſterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whoſe parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede* and his father a *Perſian*. And now *Cræſus*, relying on theſe fallacious anſwers, and believing himſelf invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

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the taking of the town *Cræſus* himſelf had been killed, had not his ſecond ſon, who to that time had been ſpeechleſs, cried out to the *Perſian* who was ready to ſtrike, *Spare Cræſus*. Whereupon he was againſt his will ſaved and carried to *Cyrus*, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a deſign to burn him and fourteen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a ſacrifice and the firſt-fruits of his victory. Then *Cræſus* recollecting the words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philoſopher's name, which *Cyrus* hearing, and underſtanding what induced him to invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and councellors. *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal priſoner with great kindneſs and humanity, when he was firſt preſented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *Herodotus*. The firſt favour *Cræſus* begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to ſend his fetters to the oracle of *Delphi*, as the trophies of the ſucceſs which *Apollo* had promiſed him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the prieſts, convinced *Cræſus*, that he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F). Thus ended the antient kingdom of *Lydia*, continuing ſubject to the *Perſians* till they alſo were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have ſeen in the foregoing part of this hiſtory.

Cræſus * *taken*. Year of the flood, 2450. Before Chriſt, 549.

(F) The oracle anſwered, that the god himſelf could not reverſe the decrees of fate, and that *Cræſus* in the fifth generation ſuffered for the crime of one, who, at the inſtigation of a woman, had murdered his maſter, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the anſwers of the oracle, he had no reaſon to complain; for *Apollo* only foretold, that by making war on the *Perſians* he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he deſired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have ſent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus*, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither underſtood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of ſuing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfal was entirely owing to himſelf. *Cræſus*, hearing this anſwer, acknowledged himſelf to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle, from all ſuſpicion of falſhood.

* It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, the defeat of *Cræſus*, which is above referred to the year before Chriſt 549, is by Sir *Iſaac Newton* placed in the year before Chriſt 544, as alſo by the authors in the 4th Volume p. 538.

CHAP. XVI.

The History of the LYCIANS.

Name and divisions.

THE country before us was at first called *Milias* or *Tremile* from the *Milia*, a people of *Crete* that settled there, as *Herodotus* [a] and *Stephanus* inform us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty sixth and thirty eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the west, by *Pamphylia* on the east, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were *Telmessus* or *Telmissus*, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* no ways inferior to that of *Delphi*. At *Patara Apollo* was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Pataræus Apollo* [b] and *Sortes Lyciæ* [c]. This city was greatly improved and embellished by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, and called *Arsinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. *Myra* built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the *Acts* [d]. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and of consequence in the christian times an archbishop's see. *Olympus*, a famous city with a mountain of the same name. *Phaselis*, on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and therefore by some placed in *Pamphylia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous nest of pyrates, but was at last reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* scoured the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pirates of this town former ages were indebted for those swift vessels, which the *Romans* from the place called *Phaseli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us

[a] HERODOT. l. i. & vii. [b] HORAT. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4.
[c] VIRGIL. Æneid iv. v. 346. [d] Acts xxvii. 5.

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to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons in it the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolemy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two small countries, viz. *Milyas* on the west bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the east bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places *Milyas* on the borders of *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided by the river *Xanthus*, which, rising in two springs from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and washing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Xanthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Asia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was also the famous mountain *Chimæra* which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted and rendered habitable by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

Soil and climate.

THE soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin.

As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others [e] inform us, that they were descended from the *Cretans*; for *Sarpedon*, being driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Asia* with those *Cretans* who had sided with him, settled in *Milyas*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the antient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, seem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly descended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus* [f], and *Plato* [g] before him, counts the *Lycians* among the *Greek* nations

[e] HERODOT. lib. i. & vii STRAB. lib. xii & xiv. PAUSANIAS lib. vi. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16. [g] PLATO in Minoe.

tions of *Aſia*, as being deſcended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on ſuch uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, conſidering the ſmallneſs of their country. They had, according to *Strabo* [h], three and twenty according to *Pliny* [i] ſix and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their power on the ſeas as far as *Italy*.

Their manners, government, &c.

The *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their ſobriety, and manner of adminiſtring juſtice. They had in latter ages twenty three conſiderable cities, each of which ſent their deputies to a general aſſembly or diet, the great cities three, the leſſer two, and the leaſt one only. In this aſſembly all matters of conſequence were canvaſſed, and determined by the majority of votes. They choſe in the firſt place the preſident of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they adminiſtred juſtice, ſettled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* Whence we may conclude, that their government, at leaſt in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no ways abſolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us [k], but with this difference, that the conſent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the ſenate, was requiſite for the validity of ſuch acts and decrees as had paſſed in their aſſembly. Their government was at firſt monarchical, and the country parcelled out into ſeveral petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the ſame time; if we will not rather ſuppoſe the government to have been ariſtocratical, and theſe families to have bore the greateſt ſway in the adminiſtration. But be that as it will, in proceſs of time all *Lycia* became ſubject to one prince; for *Herodotus*, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet, mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cybernicus*. This nation, as moſt of the other nations of *Aſia*, was firſt ſubdued by *Cræſus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfal of the *Lydian* kingdom by *Cyrus*. The courage, reſolution, and intrepidity, with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* oppoſed *Harpagus* the *Perſian* general, deſerves particular notice. For inſtead of tamely ſubmitting, like their neighbours, to the *Perſian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the diſadvantages imaginable. But being over-

[h] Strab. l. xiv. [i] Plin. l. v. c. 27. [k] Strab. l. xiv.

powered

powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, where they had ſhut up their wives, children, ſlaves, and all their riches; and then, engaging themſelves by a ſolemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were ſubdued by the *Perſians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Perſia*. They fell with the *Perſians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of theſe *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but theſe diſobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perſeus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and continued to be ſo till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their inteſtine diſſenſions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR cuſtoms were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. But they had one cuſtom peculiar to themſelves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, ſo that if any one was aſked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourſe to the female line. Beſides, if a free-born woman married a ſlave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but, on the contrary, if a man of ever ſo great a family married a ſlave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment [1]. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the ſame with that of the inhabitants of *Crete*, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe when we treat of the *Greek* iſlands.

Their kings.

THE ſucceſſion of the kings of *Lycia* and the years of their reſpective reigns are overcaſt with ſuch a miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is not poſſible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all *Lycia* that we are ſure of.

Amiſodarus, who is fabled to have nouriſhed the monſter *Chimæra*.

Iobates, who married his daughter *Sthenobœa*, or, as others call her, *Antæa*, to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is ſaid to have undertaken an expedition againſt the *Tyrinthians* in favour of his ſon-in-law, and to have ſubdued them. His daughter *Sthenobœa* falling in love with *Bellerophontes*, the ſon of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having ſolicited him in vain to comply with her unchaſte deſires, complained to her

[1] HERODOT. lib. i.

huſband

huſband as if ſhe had been ſolicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hoſpitality by putting a ſtranger to death in his own kingdom, ſent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requeſting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates*, thinking it a baſe thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a ſtranger, ſent him with a ſmall body of troops againſt the *Solymi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he ſhould there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only ſafe, but victorious; whereupon *Jobates*, being reconciled to him and diſcovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

Many years after reigned *Cybernicus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition againſt *Greece* [m]. And this is all we find upon record concerning the antient kings of *Lycia*.

The Hiſtory of the antient Cilicians.

Name and diviſions.

Cilicia, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix*, the ſon of *Agenor* and brother of *Cadmus*, who is ſaid by them to have ſettled in this country, as we have obſerved elſewhere [n]. *Joſephus* [o] tells us, that it was antiently called *Tarſis* from *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan*, who firſt peopled this part of *Aſia* [p]; and of the ſame opinion are *Stephanus* [q], *Zonaras* [r], and *Hierom* [s]; but the latter by *Tarſhiſh* in ſcripture ſometimes underſtands *Carthage* [t], ſometimes a province in *India* [u], and ſometimes the ſea [w]. *Bochart* [x] derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Challekim* or *Chaallukim* ſignifying *a ſtone*, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* called *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very ſtony, and to this day called by the *Turks Tas Vilaith*, that is, *the ſtony province*.

Cilicia properly ſo called, lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the eaſt, or rather by mount *Amanus* which ſeparates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphylia* on the weſt, by *Iſauria*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Me-*

[m] Herod. l. vii. [n] Vol. II. p. 330. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [p] See Vol. I. p. 372. [q] Steph. verbo Ταρσος [r] Zonar. tom. i. [s] Hieronym. in quæſt. Hebraic. [t] Idem, in cap. 23. Eſa. [u] Idem, ad Marcell. [w] Idem, in cap. 10. Eſa. [x] Bochart. Phal. l. i. c 5.

diterranean

diterranean on the ſouth. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the laſt province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out againſt the *Ottoman* race. This province is ſo ſurrounded by ſteep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of reſolute men againſt a whole army how numerous ſoever, there being but three narrow paſſes leading into it, commonly called *Pilæ Ciliciæ* or *the gates of Cilicia*, one on the ſide of *Cappadocia* called *the paſs of mount Taurus*, and the other two, called *the paſs of mount Amanus*, *and the paſs of Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Perſian* army marched through the ſtraits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Iſſus* not far from the ſtraits of *Syria*, which lie more to the ſouth, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the ſtraits of mount *Taurus Alexander* had paſſed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Perſians* who guarded that important paſs having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

Cities of Cilicia Aſpera.

THE whole country was divided by the antients into *Cilicia Aſpera* and *Cilicia Campeſtris*; the former, called by the *Greeks Trachæa* or *ſtony*, is bounded by *Iſauria* on the north, *Pamphylia* on the weſt, *Cilicia Campeſtris* on the eaſt, and the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. The cities in this part of *Cilicia* mentioned by the antients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus* a *Samian* colony, *Anemurium*, *Arſinoe*, *Calendris* or *Celanderis*, *Aphrodiſias*, ſo called from *Venus* who was worſhipped there in a ſtately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon*, famous for a noble temple conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the laſt city of *Cilicia Aſpera*, which *Strabo* extends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no diſtinction between the two *Cilicias*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the antients, and minutely deſcribed by *Pomponius Mela*[y]. *Sebaſte*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* choſe for his reſidence, after he was by *Auguſtus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aſpera*; this city was ſituated on a ſmall iſland called *Eleuſa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. Theſe were the Towns of moſt note on the coaſt of *Cilicia Aſpera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from ſeveral medals, at leaſt to the time of the emperor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter

[y] POMP. MELA, apud APOLLODOR. l. i. c. 6. ſect. iii.

times

times *Scandeloro*, on the confines of *Pamphylia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the *Caramanian* kings.

Cities of Cilicia Proper.

The chief cities of *Cilicia* properly so called, or *Cilicia Campestris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*. This city was destroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius*[z] tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Crœsus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that these *Athenians*, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a *Solecism*. But this is contradicted by others[a], who derive the word *Solecism* not from the *Solenses* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus*[b]. *Tarsus*, which produced the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo*[c], in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told, that it borrowed its name from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, by whom or by his descendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Aristobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his assertion from an antient monument found in those parts with this inscription, *Sardanapalus the son of* Anacyndaraxes *built the cities of* Anchiale *and* Tarsus *in one day*. *Tarsus* was at first the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Constantine*'s division, of *Cilicia Prima*. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which St. *Paul* thought fit to make use of according to the *Portian* law[d]. The *Tarsians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, exchanged the antient name of their city for that of *Juliopolis*; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks Tersia* or *Terassa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamsa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum*, situated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the *Roman* times the *metropolis* of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards

[z] Laert. in vitis Philosoph. [a] Strab. l. xiv. p. 456.
[b] Vid. Plut. in vita Solon. [c] Strab. l. xiv. p. 463. [d] Acts xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii.

Anazarbum, from one *Anazarbus*, who was ſent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly miſtaken, ſince *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a ſmall diſtance from the place where this city ſtood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioſcorides*, and continued in a very flouriſhing condition to the diviſion of the empire. *Epiphania*, which gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Mopſueſtia*, the ſee of *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus*, a great patron of the *Neſtorian* hereſy in the time of *Chryſoſtom*. *Iſſus* ſituated, on a gulph to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it ſtands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Iſſus* and the ſtraits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Iſſus*. As this city was ſituated in a place very convenient for trade, it ſoon became one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* burnt by *Eroſtratus*[e], and took care to people his new city with colonies from ſeveral other places, eſpecially from *Judæa*[f], allowing the *Jews* the free exerciſe of their own religion, and the ſame privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for ſuch as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-ſea*, and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flouriſhing condition, till trade took another courſe on the diſcovery of a way to the *Indies*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at preſent called by the *Turks Scanderoon*, by the *Italians Alexandretta*, remarkable for nothing elſe but ſome ruins, which ſhew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the antients; but as they were no ways conſiderable, and are at preſent quite unknown, we ſhall not dwell any longer on this ſubject.

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus*, which riſes on the north ſide of mount *Taurus*, and empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* between *Iſſus* and *Magarſus*; the *Cydnus*, which ſprings from the *Antitaurus*, paſſes through *Tarſus*, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of its ſtream, *Rivers.*

[e] PLIN. l. v. c. 10. [f] JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii.

and coldneſs of its water, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadnus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and ſeveral others of leſs note, water this province, and diſcharge themſelves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the antients called the ſea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from eaſt to weſt.

Soil and climate. THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the antients called *Cilicia Campeſtris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the moſt fruitful countries of all *Aſia*; but the weſtern part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horſes, of which 600 are yearly ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the ſpecial uſe of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholeſome, but equally dangerous on the coaſt, eſpecially to ſuch as are not accuſtomed to it.

Their origin. THIS country, according to *Joſephus*[g], was firſt peopled by *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan* and his deſcendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarſis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarſus*, as ſome have wrote. The antient inhabitants were in proceſs of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* firſt ſettled in the iſland of *Cyprus*, and from thence paſſed into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*[h] tells us, that this *Phœnician* colony paſſed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in ſubjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time ſeveral colonies from other countries ſettled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in ſome places uſed the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Perſian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

Their manners, government, &c. THE *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They firſt began together with the *Pamphylians* in

[g] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [h] Strab. l xvii. p. 342.

(G) Which gave riſe to the proverbs, Cilix *haud facile verum dicit*; Cilicium *exitium*; and to the ſaying of *Pherecrates*, *Dii ſemper nobis imponunt*, *more* Cilicum; that is, *A* Cilician *ſcarce ever ſpeaks the truth*; Cilician *cruelty*; *The gods*, *like the* Cilicians, *always deceive us* (32).

(32) *Vide Chiliad. Eraſmi. Verbo Cilix.*

the

the time of the *Mithridatic* war to infeſt the neighbouring coaſts, and being emboldened with ſucceſs ſoon ventured as far as the coaſts of *Greece* and *Italy* itſelf, where they took innumerable ſlaves, whom they ſold to the *Cypriots*, and to the kings of *Egypt*, and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was firſt employed againſt them, who gave them a great overthrow in a ſea engagement, took *Phaſelis* and ſeveral other ſtrong holds, whither they uſed to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But ſcarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their veſſels, ſo as to entirely obſtruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himſelf did not think it beneath his greatneſs to undertake a war againſt them, which he ended in the ſpace of one month, having at the ſame time attacked them both by ſea and land, with 500 ſhips and 130,000 men.

IN antient times the *Cilicians*, before they ſettled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, *viz.* the *Theban* and the *Lyrneſſian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. Theſe kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrneſſus*, two cities in the famous plain called the *plain of Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occaſion of frequent diſputes between the *Lydians* and *Myſians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Aſia Minor*. After the ſettling of the *Cilicians* in that country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily ſubmitted, continuing ſubject to the *Perſians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Perſian Satrapies* [i]; but from other writers it is manifeſt, that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes* [k] and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfal of the *Perſian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the ſhare of *Seleucus*, and continued under his deſcendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconſular province it was firſt governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced ſeveral ſtrong holds on mount *Amanus*, in which ſome *Cilicians* had fortified themſelves and held out againſt his prede-

[i] HERODOT. l. iii. [k] Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. DIODOR. l. xvi. CURT. l. ii.

ceſſor, for which he was ſaluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under ſubjection, it was firſt divided into *Cilicia Campeſtris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when the family of *Tracodemontus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Iſauria*; the firſt took in all *Cilicia Campeſtris*, the ſecond the coaſt of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the laſt the inland parts of the ſame diviſion; and in this ſtate it continued till the diviſion of the empire.

Their kings.

As to the ſucceſſion of the *Cilician* kings we are almoſt quite in the dark. Thoſe we find mentioned by the antients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia* and aſſiſted *Priam* againſt the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in the defence of which city he was with his ſeven ſons killed, as we read in *Homer* [l], by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrneſſus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewiſe mentioned by *Homer* [m]. He was ſucceeded in his petty kingdom by his ſons *Mines* and *Epiſtropus*, who ſiding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syenneſis* I. who was cotemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the hiſtories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodotus* [n]. *Syenneſis* II. who aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* [o], and is greatly commended by *Æſchylus*. *Syenneſis* III. who aſſiſted, tho' much againſt his will, *Cyrus* the younger againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the kings of *Perſia*; whence we conclude him to have been the laſt that reigned in *Cilicia* before the country was ſubdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned ſeveral ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Year of the Flood, 2598. Year before Chriſt 401.

[l] Homer. Iliad. Z. [m] Idem Iliad. B. [n] Herodot. l. vii. [o] Herodot. ibid.

CHAP.

GRÆCIA ANTIQUA

prout Primitus in Regna dein in Respub; denique a Romanis in Provincias in hoc & Seq. Vol. Divisa legitvr.

D. P. S

ADRIATICI.
MARIS
PARS
MARE
IONIUM
AEGAEUM
MARE
ILLYRICI GENTES
Taulantii
Parthini
Albani
Epidamnus seu Dyrrachium
Panyasus Fl.
Aestraei
Aestratum
Lychnidus
Scampes
Genusus Fl.
Appollonia
Aous sive Aous Fl.
Eordeti
Daulia
Aulon
Bullis
Elimiotis
Elymasive Elimea
Jason
Amantia
Celetrum
ORESTIS
Celydnus Fl.
Atintanes
Oricum
Antigonia
Acroceraunii Montes
Pilaste
Chimera
Omphalium
Phantice
CHAONIA
Panormus
Onchesmus
Gitane
Cassiope
Elatria
Posidium
Buthrotum
Pelodes
Pontus
Phalacrum prom
Cichyrus
Thyamis Fl.
Acheron Fl.
Buchetium
Sinus Ambracius
Ambracia
Argos Amphilochicum
Limnaea
Anactorium
Actium
Nicopolis
Laumna prom
Paxi Ins
Leucadia
Leucas
Leucate Promont
Ithaca
Neritos M.
CEPHALENIA
Prom. Samos
Palos
ACYNTHUS L.
Strophades
Echinades Insulæ
Dulichium
Aeropus
Europus
Caeneum Boreamus
Almopi
Pelagonia
Stobi
Antigonea
Europus
Physca
Mygdonia
Deuriopis
Axius Fl.
Alorus
Pella
Pellonia
Doberus al. Deborus
PAEONIA
Heraclia
Erigon Flu.
Arnissa
Lete
Lyncestae
Lyncus
Pelium
Eordaea
Scydra
Gordynia
Gortynia
Europus
Tymphaea sive Stymphaea
Stymphalus M.
Phylace
Pagasaeus Sinus
Pagasa
Iolcos
Demetrias
Othrys M.
Eretria
Phthia
Ptelcum
Dium
Artemisium prom
Cenaeum prom
Orcus
Aedepsus
Corinthus
Scyros
Heraclea Sintica
Sintica
Bisaltica
Strymon Flu.
Philippi
Neapolis
Eion
Amphipolis
Oesyma
Thasus
Appollonia
Argilus
Arethusa
Stagira
Acanthus
Sane
Thyssus
Acrathos prom
Angaea
Stratonice
Ptol.
Pidorus
Nymphaeum prom
Mygdonia
Mellinurgis
Chalcidica
Chabrias Fl.
Therma post Thessalonica
Aenia
Campsa
Moryllus
Chalcis
Singus
Sinus Singiticus
Torone
Ampelus prom.
Derris prom.
Sinus Toroneus
Potidaea
Cassandrea
Pallene sive Phlegraea
Pallene
Sciona
Canastraeum prom.
Olynthus
Mende
Aloneus
Peparethus
Sinus Thermaicus
Olympus M.
Enipeus Fl.
Dium
Pieria
Alorus
Methone
Pydna
Aluacmon Fl.
Bermius M.
Cyrrhestis
Berrhoea sive Berrhaea
Cyrrhus
Mieza
Tyrissa
Europus
Penestiana
Laodicea
Aegeum
Pierus M.
THESSALIOTIS
Phestus
Aeginium
Cynos Cephalae
Phila
Gomphi
Callithera
Scotussa
Heracleum
Phaleria
Metropolis
Gonni
Tricca
Peneus Fl.
Pelina
Phacium
Atrax
Peneus Fl.
Larissa
Cyprus
Cranon
Pharsalus
Pharsalia
Enipeus Fl.
Iolcos
Demetrias
Othrys M.
Eretria
Phthia
Ptelcum
Dium
Artemisium prom
Cenaeum prom
Orcus
Aedepsus
Corinthus
Scyros
Sinus Maliacus
Maliacus
Lamia
Phalara
Thaumaci
Proerna
Phalachia
Mallaeus
Coronea
Ecbinus
Phthia
Larissa cremaste
PHTHIOTIS
PERRAEBIA
Tripolis
Doliche
Azorus
Doliche
Aridaeus Fl.
Hyrcanium
THESSALIA
Molossis
Pandosia
Buchetium
Tinus
Ambracius
Aenianes
Dorica Tetrapolis
Pindus M.
Pindus Fl.
Amphissa
Naupactus
Oeneon
Chalaeum
Eurytanes
Aetolia
Aetolia
Lysimachea
Stratus
Agrinium
Thestia
Hyampolis
Tritea
Parapotamii
Elatea
Amphicaea
Nicaea
Epicnemidii Locri
Opuntii Locri
Opus
Cnemis
Larymna
Bessa
Scarphea
Thronium
Thronium
Cnemis
Halae
Aedepsus
Aquae Ethiopes
Chalcis
Eretrea
Carystus
Amarinthus
Gerestus
Oreus
Locri Ozolae
Phocis
Naupactus
Eupalium
Amphissa
Delphi
Daulis
Abae
Orchomenus
Chaeronea
Coronea
Copae
Lebadia
Thespiae
Thebae
Tanagra
Oropus
Eleutherae
Aegosthena
Megara
Plataea
Haliartus
Onchestus
Creusis
Thisbe
Rhamnus
Oenoe
Marathon
Brauron
Steiria
Patamus
Phyle
Athenae
Piraeus portus
Decelea
Hydramus
Sinus Corinthiacus
Sinus Saronicus
Aegina
Sunium Promont
Bolbina
Sicyon
Corinthus
Cenchreae
Lechaeum
Sicyonius
Asopus
Phlius
Nemea
Cleonae
Spiraeum prom
Epidaurus
Hermione
Troezen
Argos
Inachus
Nauplia
Asine
Sinus Argolicus
Mycenae
Harmonia
Arcadia
Achaia Propria
Olenus
Amarius
Erymanthus Mons
Pellene
Patrae
Rhypes
Aroe
Dyme
Larissus Fl.
Buris
Helice
Aegira
Bura
Olenus
Phaeae
Cyllene
Pheneus
Stymphalus
Lusius Fl.
Peloponnesus
Elis
Pylus
Cyparissia
Prom.
Messenia
Thuria sive Aepea
Pharae
Pharis
Sphagiae Sphacteria I.
Coryphasium prom et Castle
Messena
Pylus
Sinus Messenius
Messene
Corone
Colone
Aphrodisium
Acritas Prom.
Sinus Laconicus
Gythium
Aegys
Asopus
Dolium
Malea prom
Taenarum prom.
Sparta sive Lacedemon
Amyclae
Therapne sive Therapna
Therapna
Zarax
Cynosura
Epidaurus Limera
Iovis Soteris portus
Minoa Castellum
Thalamae
Thuria
Abia
Bitylus
Thalamae
Leuctrum
Tauthrona
Laconia
Cythera
Aegilia
Asopus
Dolium
Malea prom
Taenarum prom.

CHAP. XVII.

The fabulous and heroic times; containing the history of the antient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, *of* Sparta *to* Lycurgus, *and some others of less note, to their severally becoming commonwealths.*

SECT. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of *Greece*, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves, from the lowest beginnings, to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies; we cannot reasonably expect, that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the *Grecian* writers have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose antient monuments, though disguised

Original of the Greeks.

diſguiſed under the tales of the moſt unnatural actions of the gods, ſuch as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offſpring (A); yet, when diveſted from the fable, afford at leaſt ſo much light to thoſe dark times, that an hiſtory of this country would be juſtly thought imperfect without ſome ſhort account of them.

THE

(A) it will not be amiſs to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha with offering ſome tolerable account for that heap of monſtrous fables under which the hiſtory of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from ſome, if not all, of the following reaſons:

1. From the genius of thoſe languages in which theſe antient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whoſe elegance conſiſted in the boldeſt and moſt ſublime alluſions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themſelves, who, being all poets, and recording theſe tranſactions in ſhort ſonnets, to be learned by heart and ſung upon proper occaſions, did ſtill inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the moſt ſtrained and ſurprizing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more laſting impreſſion both on thoſe who ſang, and thoſe who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or ſuperior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather from a ſhame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to ſay brutiſh, anceſtors, who like wild beaſts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the ſtrongeſt arm. The conſciouſneſs of which made ſome of them fetch their original from certain great heroes begot by ſome leacherous god, either upon ſome kind goddeſs, or ſtraggling nymph, whilſt others contented themſelves with pretending, that they ſprang like muſhrooms out of their own native ſoil.

4. This might be alſo another reaſon, why they transformed into fictitious monſters thoſe real ones amongſt them, whoſe cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high eſteem they had for thoſe renowned heroes, who cleared the country of thoſe peſts of mankind. They could not, it ſeems, look upon the arduous, and yet ſucceſsful labours of a *Minos*, a *Hercules*, or a *Theſeus* in this ſo beneficial a province, without ſuppoſing them to have been more than mortal men, or at leaſt without an ambition to make them paſs in future ages for the offspring of ſome of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo the antient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of thoſe of *Sampſon*, *Gideon*, *Jephthah*,

Geography of Greece.

THE limits of *Greece*, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual ſending out of colonies, or by conqueſts which ſtill carried their name with them, which will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our preſent epocha, extended from north to ſouth, that is, from the long ridge of mountains, which divided it from *Macedonia*, and from the river *Strymon*, by which it was parted from *Thrace*, to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the utmoſt ſouthern extent of *Peloponneſus*, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from eaſt to weſt, that is, from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* ſea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: In *Peloponneſus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Meſſenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia Propria*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. Out of it, or in *Græcia Propria*, thoſe of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætolia*. In *Epirus*, the *Moloſſi*, *Amphilochi*, *Caſſiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Chaones*, *Theſprotii*, *Almenii*, and *Acarnania*. In *Theſſaly*, it contained the countries of *Theſſaliotis*, *Eſtiotis*, *Pelaſgiotis*, *Magneſia*, and *Phthia* [a]. All theſe have at one time or other been ſeverally governed by kings of their own, whoſe names we only find occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of the more conſiderable kingdoms of *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, of the *Argonautic* expedition, and of the *Trojan* war [b]. The fuller deſcription and hiſtory of thoſe chief kingdoms will be ſeen in the following ſections; the reſt we muſt content ourſelves with the bare mention, of becauſe we know very little except their names.

Their various names

FOR this reaſon it cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of thoſe various inhabitants of antient *Greece*. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old hiſtorians and geographers, were thoſe of *Graioi* and *Graicoi* [c] (B).

Theſe

[a] De his Vid. PTOL. HERODOT. D. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al. mult. [b] PAUSAN. APOLL. & al. [c] CALLIMACH. Hymn. in Jov. SOPHOC. & al.

Jephthah, and other *Jewiſh* worthies. The ſame may be ſaid of ſeveral others (1).

(B) From *Græcus* the father, or, according to others, the ſon of *Theſſalus*, who gave name to *Theſſaly* (2). But by a modern critic

(1) *Vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet. demonſt. Evang. & al. mult.* (2) *Euſeb. Chronic. Iſidor. Orig. l.* xiv. *c.* 4. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Suid. & Steph. Byzant. in Voc.* Γραικὸς & Θεσσαλὸς.

(3)

Theſe they quickly changed for thoſe of *Achæi* and *Hellenes* [d], by which they are generally called in antient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in ſeveral parts of *Greece* was that of *Pelaſgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the antienteſt people of it, do challenge from their pretended founder *Pelaſgus*, who, we find, did get ſuch footing in *Peloponneſus*, that the whole peninſula was from him called *Pelaſgia* [e]. We find theſe *Pelaſgians*, for whom ſome critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), ſpread in many other parts of *Greece*, as in *Attica*,

[d] Thucydid. l. i. Aristot. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Steph. Byzant. &c. [e] Id. ſub voc. Πελοποννησ.

(3) derived from *Ragau* the ſame with *Reu* the ſon of *Peleg* (4), by the tranſpoſition of a letter to ſoften the ſound.

(C) The firſt ſuppoſed from *Achæus* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Hellen* and father of *Ion*; or, according to the fable, the ſon of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* abovementioned, the ſon of *Deucalion* and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in *Greece*

Thucydides obſerves rightly, however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not univerſally obtain over *Greece*; ſince *Homer*, who wrote ſo long after the ſiege of *Troy*, doth only call them ſo who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(D) Theſe (7) ſuppoſe, that the deſcendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in deſcent from *Shem* the ſon of *Noah*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the firſt who peopled *Greece*; and that they only ſoftened the name of *Peleg*, or according to the ſeptuagint and vulgate *Phaleg*, their progenitor, and called themſelves *Pelaſgians*. The laſt of thoſe authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the *Hebrew* and antient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes neareſt to the eaſtern tongues; and from the remainder of thoſe tongues, eſpecially in thoſe places where the *Pelaſgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew* extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a paſſage in *Epiphanius*, who ſays (8), that *from the age of* Terah *downward*, Phaleg *and* Ragau *removed towards the clime of* Europe *to part of* Scythia, *and were joined to thoſe nations from which the* Thracians *came.*

This laſt paſſage, wherever *Epiphanius* got it, has been ſufficient-

(3) *Salmaſ. de re Helleniſt. p.* 2. *c.* 1 *ap. Hind. introd. in Hiſt. Græc.* (4) 1 *Chron.* i. 25. *Gen.* xi. 18, 19. (5) *Vid. Byzant. ſub voce* Ἴωνια (6) *Thucydid. l.* i. (7) *Grot. Salmaſ.* & *Stillingfleet. orig. Sacr. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (8) *Epiſt. ad Acac.* & *Paul.*

tica, *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*; in which laſt they have been ſuppoſed by ſome [f] to have laid the foundation of the *Dodonean* oracle. But the moſt antient name of all is univerſally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themſelves derive from *Ion*, the ſon of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creuſa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, and grandſon to *Deucalion* [g]. But it is more probable, as *Joſephus* affirms [h], that their original is of much older date, and that *Javan*, the ſon of *Japheth* and grandſon of *Noah*, and his deſcendants were the firſt who peopled theſe countries, as the learned *Bochart* ſeems to have proved by very ſtrong arguments [i] (E).

Iones *deſcended from* Javan.

IT is true indeed, that among the *Greeks* themſelves, only the original *Athenians* and ſuch cólonies as ſprang from them were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witneſs the teſtimony of *Heſychius* [k], and the ſcholiaſt on *Ariſ-*

[f] Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. & BYZANT. ſub voce Θεσσαλια. [g] Vid. HERODOT. l. viii. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 3. [h] Ant. l. i. c. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. iii. [k] Sub voce Ἰαονια.

ly confuted by *Bochart* (9), who ſhews, that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their deſcendants, continued ſtill in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elſewhere ſhewn †, that the *Scythians* were the deſcendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the ſons of *Japheth* and not of *Shem*, who divided the iſles of the gentiles (10). We ſhall therefore leave the *Pelaſgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the antient *Greeks* in the following note.

(E) Firſt from the authority of *Joſephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itſelf of the patriarch, יון without the points, ſounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moſes* who ſays (11), that by theſe (the ſons of *Japheth*) were the iſles of the *Gentiles* divided; which, according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not iſlands properly ſo called, but all maritime countries, at any diſtance from *Paleſtine*, eſpecially thoſe which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon*, or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Eliſhah Javan*'s eldeſt ſon (13), which were ſtill to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the antient kingdoms of *Peloponneſus*.

(9) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 14. † *See before p.* 232. (10) *See Gen.* x. *ver.* 2. *ad* 5. (11) *Gen.* x. 5. (12) *Vid. int. al. Iſai. cap. ult. ver.* 19. *Dan.* viii. 21. x. 20. (13) *Gen.* x. 4.

tophanes [l], and thoſe paſſages of holy writ mentioned in the laſt note. We omit the names of ſeveral other people among the antient *Greeks*, which were ſuppoſed to have been the oldeſt of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the firſt peoplers of that country; ſuch were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Jemmices*, and others mentioned by *Strabo* [m], but which may be better ſuppoſed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucydides* tells us, made frequent incurſions into *Greece* [n].

The manners of the antient Greeks.

If we look upon this infant ſtate of *Greece* with reſpect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confeſſion of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated deſert, inhabited by ſavage creatures ſcarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at beſt ſheltering themſelves, from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees [o]. The firſt improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholeſome acorns, building themſelves huts to ſleep in, and covering their bodies with the ſkins of beaſts. All this it ſeems they were beholding for to *Pelaſgus* abovementioned [p], whoſe memory was highly reverenced among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners. On the contrary, they, who had no occaſion to fight for any thing but a hole to ſleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of theſe new acquiſitions. This in time put them under a neceſſity of joining themſelves into companies under ſome head, that they might either more ſafely plunder their neighbours, or preſerve what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the ſtrongeſt arm; ſo that they only lived ſafeſt and moſt quietly, who inhabited the moſt craggy and barren ſpots of ground, whilſt thoſe, who were more pleaſantly or fruitfully ſeated, were continually liable to be diſpoſſeſſed by new invaders. Hence it was, that *Greece* for a long time had no ſettled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakeſt being always ſure to be turned out by the ſtrongeſt. Their gigantic ſize and ſtrength, if we may believe *Plutarch* [q], added ſo much to their inſolence and cruelty, that they ſeemed to glory in committing the greateſt acts of violence and barbarity on thoſe that unhappily fell into their hands.

The caſe did not alter much for the better after they came

[l] Ap. Hind. Introduct. in hiſt. Græc [m] Geogr. l. vii. [n] lib. i. [o] Vid. Horat. Satir. & Pausan. in Arcadic. [p] Id. ibid. [q] in Theſeo.

to

to form themſelves into regular ſocieties, and build themſelves towns and cities for ſafety. *Attica* ſeems the only place that was free from thoſe incurſions, becauſe it was deſtitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but thoſe cities fared worſt which were ſituate on the ſea-coaſts, becauſe they were in continual danger of being plundered either by ſea or land; for pirates did not leſs infeſt all thoſe ſeas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cauſe why moſt of the antient cities of *Greece* were built at ſome diſtance from the ſhore; but even in theſe, as all their ſafety conſiſted in the reſiſtance they could make againſt an invader, ſo their inhabitants were under a neceſſity of going conſtantly armed, and to be ever on their guard. *Pirates and robbers.*

ANOTHER miſchief ariſing from theſe continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, ſo that men only planted and ſowed as much as was barely neceſſary for their preſent ſupport; and where there was ſuch an univerſal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any diſcoveries in other uſeful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at ſea. Hence it is alſo, that whilſt other antient nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, and *Phœnicians*, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories, the *Greeks* alone ſeem to have been the only ſtrangers to them; inſomuch, that one may reaſonably queſtion, by *Homer*'s making oxen the ſtandard of the value of things, whether they knew the uſe of money even in his days. One art, however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they ſeemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverſe may be inferred from what the ſame poet tells us, of ſome of his heroes putting whole ſquadrons of them to flight. *Neglect of agriculture.* *Trades.* *Art of war.*

WE ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whoſe alphabet, conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewiſe, that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them; and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into *Egypt*, and other kingdoms, and the *Celtes* made their frequent incurſions into *Greece* †, that they began to have ſome knowledge and reliſh for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and ſome others, who went into the firſt of *Arts and ſciences.*

† See before, p. 250.

thoſe countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence[r]. But as for aſtronomy, geometry, philoſophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the firſt from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the laſt from *Perſia*[ſ]; ſo ignorant we find them of the firſt of theſe ſciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of ſleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of ſowing and reaping.

Their government. THEIR government was ſtill more rude and barbarous; every city, and almoſt every village or obſcure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheleſs they gave the name of king. Hence that vaſt number of ſmall inconſiderable kingdoms with which this country ſwarmed, and of the greateſt part of which we know little elſe than their names, and that of one or ſometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of thoſe of more note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conqueſt. *Laws.* Laws, at leaſt a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will and the definitive ſentence of their kings; only in dubious and important caſes, it was uſual for them to conſult ſome oracle, of which they had variety; the two moſt famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, ſituated on the hill *Parnaſſus*. (F).

THEIR

[r] HERODOT. l i. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hiſt. l. i. [ſ] Vid. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græc.

(F) It will doubtleſs be expected, that we ſhould ſay at leaſt ſo much of theſe oracles as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, ſince they were eſteemed of ſuch concern, that ſcarce any public affairs were tranſacted (or hardly any private ones, if the perſons were in circumſtances to pay for it) without conſulting ſome of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort deſcription of that of *Delphi*, as it was the moſt celebrated and frequented of any, either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but becauſe *Apollo* was ſuppoſed more peculiarly to preſide over, and to inſpire men with, the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account alſo it was eſteemed to outdo all others in the clearneſs and certainty of its anſwers; and by the great concourſe of people who reſorted to and inriched it with preſents, it did likewiſe outſhine all the reſt in ſplendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, ſhall be ſeen in its pro-

per

THEIR religion was ſtill worſe than all the reſt, being little elſe than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, *Religion.* of

per place; here we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort account of the manner in which it was wont to be conſulted and delivered, and by way of ſpecimen to the reſt; as for thoſe of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he pleaſe, ſee them in our learned biſhop *Potter*'s *Grecian* archæology.

1ſt, Thoſe who conſulted the oracle were to offer ſome conſiderable preſent to the god. 2dly, They offered alſo ſome ſacrifices to him, and according as theſe carried a good or bad omen, ſo the *Pythoneſs* conſented or refuſed to conſult the deity. 3dly, The queſtion to be aſked was to be couched in as few words as poſſible. We omit ſome other circumſtances of leſs moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the perſons conſulting, and the nature of the queſtion to be aſked.

2. The time for conſulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the ſpring; the ſeventh day of that month was called *Appollo*'s birth-day, becauſe originally the *Pythoneſs* gave no anſwers but on that day, ſo that they came ſo thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The perſon who delivered the anſwer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but, one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in caſe the ſame misfortune ſhould happen to them, their ſhame might be out of danger of being diſcovered by pregnancy. Yet even theſe they obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dreſs, that they might give no temptation to their cuſtomers.

Pythia, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variouſly derived, by ſome, in memory of the ſerpent *Python* killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwiſe; but moſt probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having waſhed herſelf in the fountain *Caſtalis* at the foot of *Parnaſſus*, and ſhaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, ſhe crowned herſelf with a garland of thoſe leaves, and ſometimes alſo did eat ſome of them; and then aſcended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and ſitting down upon it waited for the impulſe of the god (2).

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was is variouſly canvaſſed, and to as little purpoſe. Some take it to have been a braſs pot filled with duſt, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythoneſs*, and thence came out at her mouth;

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæſt.* 9. (2) *Lyſiſtr. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. ap. Potter Archæolog. l.* ii. *c.* 9.

others

of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at firſt by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian* exile and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according

others ſay, it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which ſhe conceived the mind of the deity; others ſay, that it was large enough for her to plunge herſelf into; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it was a table or ſeat on which ſhe either leaned or ſat (3).

It was called *Tripod* becauſe it had three feet, alluding, according to ſome, to the three great celeſtial circles, *viz.* the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, paſt, preſent, and future. They had more than one of theſe *Tripods*. The moſt antient of them was that which the people of that country cauſed to be ſet over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is ſaid to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and preſented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the moſt famous one was that which the fiſhermen drew up with their nets, and, being adjudged by the oracle to the worthieſt of the ſeven wiſe men who flouriſhed then in *Greece*, and through modeſty refuſed by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two firſt appear to have been of braſs, and the laſt was of gold; ſome think alſo, there were likewiſe more than one *Pythia* at the ſame time, but without any good foundation (4); however, when ſhe, who officiated as ſuch, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, from whence ſhe was called ἐγγαστριμυθος and σερνομαντις ſhe began ſometimes to ſwell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and fleſh, like one in the ſtrongeſt phrenſy, at other times her ſpirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxyſm has been ſo terrible, that it hath ſcared away the prieſts as well as the conſulters, and one of them is ſaid to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or ſerpent has been ſeen to return the anſwer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The anſwer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter or heroic verſe. *Pauſanias* attributes this form of anſwering to the famed *Phœmonoe* the firſt *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Beou*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* inſtituted this oracle, and changed their ruſtic proſe into the ſmooth and heroic verſe.

But though this oracle was the moſt famed for the clearneſs and truth of its anſwers, inſomuch, that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, ſo as to be eaſily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us ſome inſtances of this kind of amphibolious anſwers given to *Cræſus*, of which that unfortunate

(3) *Cæl. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 15. *ap. eund.* (4) *Vener. de divinat.* (5) *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac.*

king

according to *Pauſanias*, did firſt introduce the worſhip of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dædalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new ſupplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and ſuperſtition; and *Greece* was ſoon after furniſhed with a number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this deſperate and univerſal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to aſcribe in ſome meaſure all the fabulous accounts, which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and many more, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race, and others, laſtly, by wholeſome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and ſciences, laid the happy foundations for that politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after-ages.

king, a munificent votary to the *Delphic* god, juſtly complains, as having more than once or twice miſled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may ſee a number of other inſtances of the ſame nature in *Pauſanias* (7), beſides thoſe which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the conſulters, yet ſeemed to be directed by ſome foreſeeing being, becauſe they ſtill anſwered the prediction, though in a different ſenſe. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he underſtanding it to mean the ſea which they called πέλαγος, forbore to go into any ſhip or gally, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the ſame nature is the *Carthaginian* general ſaid to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle that he ſhould be buried in *Libya*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans* he ſhould return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Libyſſa* in *Bithynia* but according to our author called by the *Nicomedians Libya*, in which he died.

It was for this reaſon, that theſe predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to ſome godhead, were by the primitive fathers aſcribed to the devil, who, though uncapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater gueſs into it than any mortal; but we leave the diſquiſition of ſuch queſtions to divines, as well as the times and cauſes of theſe oracles ceaſing in the heathen world, though this laſt we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to reſume the ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

(6) *lib.* i. (7) *In Arcad. Vid. & cund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi ſupra.*

THIS

The chronology of this epoch. Year of the Flood, 910 *. Year before Christ 2089.

This fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have sung and historians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other transactions from the end of the *Trojan* war and upwards, to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom the most ancient of all, amounts to 905 years, that is from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is said to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the destruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G) [t]. But as under this period are contained the histories of the several following monarchies; 1st, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bœotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Thessaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and some others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their severally resolving themselves into commonwealths; this last circumstance will

[t] Vid. Usser. Ann. sub utroque an. ex Castor. ap Euseb. Chronic.

(G) We need not tell our readers, that this chronology is far enough from being unquestionable; those who have read Sir *Isaac Newton* on this subject will easily agree with him, that the reigns of the several kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are spun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty five and forty years apiece, which is almost double the time that those of *Judah* and *Israel* reigned.

It is also not unlikely, that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vastly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus* or *Epopeus*, which our author thinks to have been two names for the same person, were only feigned, and interlarded here to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told, that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the first *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of such a length?

The same fault may be supposed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, since their foundation is likewise previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and, in many instances, notoriously false.

* It may be observed, that if the kingdom of *Sicyon* were founded in A. M. 1915, as some chronologers suppose, and we allow 1307 years to have elapsed from the creation to the flood, according to the *Samaritan* account, there will remain but 608 for the year of the flood; it is proper therefore to acquaint the reader, that in the margin, the authors have placed the foundation of it according to their own computation, which makes its dissolution coincide with the year in which they have placed the destruction of *Troy*.

(8) *Castor ap. Euseb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.*

oblige

oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha down to the times of their reſpective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each diſtinct head.

OTHER material tranſactions under this period are chiefly thoſe that follow, the *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their huſbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *OEdipus*; the *Argonautic* expedition; the wars of *Minos* and *Theſeus*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; thoſe of *Perſeus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or ſeven champions againſt *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, ſpoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greateſt part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in ſuppreſſing robbers and pirates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppreſſed, and forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbariſm, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdom of SICYON.

SICYON has the firſt place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the reſt, and becauſe it boaſts a ſucceſſion of twenty ſix kings, whoſe ſeveral reigns make up an epoch of nine hundred and ſixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægialea*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the ſuppoſed founder and firſt monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the fourth king from *Ægialeus*, and in proceſs of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its ſuppoſed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninſula of *Peloponneſus*, was called *Sicyonia*, until its diſſolution, and even beyond it [a]. *Names.*

THIS little kingdom was ſituate on the north part of *Peloponneſus*, ſince called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the weſt, and the iſthmus which joins the pen- *Situation.*

[a] STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB.

insula to the continent of *Greece* on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is supposed to have been situate upon the river *Asopus* in about thirty eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty three degrees and a half of east longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the rest of the *Peleponnesus* on the other three points [b].

Natural and artificial rarities.

ITS territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, besides some iron mines. It was in process of time very much adorned, by *Sicyon* and his successors, with temples, altars, monuments, and statues of all their gods and antient monarchs. It would be justly esteemed the antientest monarchy in the world, not excepting even those of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 200 years before *Noah*'s death, as some have computed it from *Eusebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the first olympiad [c]. But that mistake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with *Terah Abraham*'s father, and to have begun his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 2236 [d], which brings it somewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; besides it is not improbable, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that chronologers have split *Apis Epaphus* (the 4th in descent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings, and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus* [e], the son of *Inachus* and founder of *Phoronicum*, since called *Argos*. The truth is, we know nothing of those princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The same indeed may be said of the greatest part of their successors. We meet with no memorable action or conquest performed by any of them during the long space of 962 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprizing exploits in most other contemporary kingdoms. However, we shall here subjoin a list of those twenty six monarchs with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us.

Chronology.

[b] STRAB. MELA, & al.
[c] HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic.
[d] USSER, RAWLEIGH & al.
[e] NEWT. Chronol. introd. p. 6.

Kings

Kings of *Sicyon* :

		Reigned Years.			Reigned Years.
1	*Ægialeus*	52	13	*Marathon*	30
2	*Europs*	45	14	*Marathus*	30
3	*Telchin* or *Selchin*	20	15	*Æchyræus*	55
			16	*Corax*	30
4	*Apis*	25	17	*Epopeus*	35
5	*Thelxion* or *Thelasion*	52	18	*Laomedon*	40
			19	*Sicyon*	45
6	*Ægirus*	34	20	*Polybus*	40
7	*Eurymachus* or *Thurimachus*	45	21	*Inachus* or *Ianischus*	42
8	*Leucippus*	53	22	*Phœstus*	8
9	*Messapius*	47	23	*Adrastus*	4
10	*Peratus*	46	24	*Polyphides*	31
11	*Plemneus*	48	25	*Pelasgus*	20
12	*Orthopelis*	63	26	*Zeuxippus*	32
				In all years	962

THERE is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs, besides what we hinted above. Those that are the most remarkable in the list are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis*, from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the supposed founder of the antient city of *Ægira*, situate on a high and almost inaccessible hill; once the capital of *Achaia* properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of *Hylocastro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name; 5. *Epopeus*, who built a stately temple to *Minerva* and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninsula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewise supposed to have either built, or at least enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of *Zeuxippus* the last king in the list, that state is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphictyon* held it nine years successively, and *Charidemus* the last of them continued in it eighteen years[f]. After this hierarchy had lasted thirty two years the *Heraclidæ*, who were by that time returned into *Peloponnesus*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos*[g], the next antient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

[f] EUSEB. Chron. [g] In Corinth.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of ARGOS.

WE have already hinted in the laſt ſection, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, but the whole *Peloponneſus*, was called *Ægialea* and *Apia* from the firſt and fourth kings of it. There were likewiſe two kings of the ſame name in *Argos*; the one the younger ſon of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the ſon of *Phoroneus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus*[a]. Hence theſe two have been confounded with thoſe of *Sicyon*, and their kingdom thought to have been of as antient, if not of older, date than the *Sicyonian*, and the country to have received its name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In ſo dark a diſpute we can only ſay, that the *Argivic Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, ſeeing his brother *Phoroneus* left the kingdom to his own ſon, it is not ſo likely, that the country ſhould receive its name from him as from that of *Sicyon*. However, the kingdom ſoon changed its name for that of *Argolis* from *Argos*, the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was ſiſter to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, becauſe *Apis* died without iſſue. It was alſo called *Hippium* and *Hippoboton* from the neighbouring paſtures, in which *Neptune* is ſaid to have fed his horſes [b], or rather from an excellent breed of horſes which that country was famed for.

Situation and extent.

THIS kingdom is ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of *Peloponneſus*, ſurrounded on the eaſt by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and weſt, and that of *Laconia* on the ſouth. What its antient limits were is hard to ſay; but it was very much inlarged by ſome of its monarchs, ſo that it extended itſelf from eaſt to weſt from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. eaſt longitude, or about ſeventy miles, and north and ſouth from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

Natural and artificial rarities.

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, ſo called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itſelf into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo de Engia*, near the port *Aſine*. On this river

[a] APOLLODOR. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. HYND. hiſt. Greec. [b] PAUSAN. in Corinth.

was

was ſituate the metropolis, called alſo *Inachus* from its founder and fourth monarch, and famous among other things for the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a houſe. Here was alſo the brazen tower, in which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was deflowered by *Jupiter*. It was likewiſe much inriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horſes bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycenæ*, which became in proceſs of time the ſeat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horſes. 3. *Trœzen*, once the royal ſeat of *Pittheus* the grandfather of *Theſeus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted there in memory of *Hercules*'s killing a lion which infeſted that neighbourhood [c]; or, as others will have it, in memory of the ſon of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a ſerpent, whilſt his nurſe *Hypſipyle* went to ſhew the *Argives* to a ſpring of water. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of this adventure in the ſequel. 5. *Epidaurus*, in which ſtood the ſo famed temple of *Æſculapius*, reſorted to from moſt parts of *Europe* and *Aſia* for the cure of all diſtempers. 6. *Nauplia*, ſo called from its founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent ſituation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulf on which it is ſituate hath its modern name [d].

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycenæ*, continued altogether monarchical from its firſt foundation to its eſtabliſhing itſelf into a downright democracy. *Pauſanias* indeed obſerves, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long ſucceſſion of princes; the *Heraclidæ*, who were of the family of *Perſeus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that ſpace that they gained ſo much ground upon their kings, that they left them little elſe than the bare name; but by what laws they were antiently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far theſe mo-

Government.

[c] STEPH. de Urb [d] MELA, HUYT. CLUVER.

narchs

narchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say.

Year of the Flood, 1143. Year before Christ 1856.

The chronology of Argos.

This kingdom, *Eusebius* tells us out of *Castor* [c], was founded 1080 years before the first olympiad, that is, according to *Usher*, in the year of the world 2148, so that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycenæ* a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycenæ* till the dissolution, which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Eurystheus*, the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king, having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argivic* government was changed into a democracy.

[c] Chronic.

A LIST

A LIST of the kings of *Argos* before its Tranſlation to *Mycenæ*.

1 *Inachus*
2 *Phoroneus*
3 *Apis*
4 *Argus*
5 *Piraſus, al. Criaſus*
6 *Phorbas*
7 *Triopas*
8 *Crotopus*
9 *Sthenelus*
10 *Danaus*
11 *Lynceus*
12 *Abas*
13 *Prætus*
14 *Acriſius*
15 *Perſeus*

Founder of the kingdom of *Mycenæ*.

16 *Talaon*
17 *Adraſtus*
18 *Ægialeus*
19 *Diomedes*

Kings of *Mycenæ*.

1 *Perſeus*
2 *Euryſtheus*
3 *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*
4 *Agamemnon*
5 *Ægiſthus*
6 *Oreſtes*
7 *Tiſamenus, al. Penthilus*

Kings of the *Heraclidæ* at *Argos*, after they had recovered *Peloponneſus*, and divided it into three kingdoms.

1 *Temenus*
2 *Ciſus*
3 *Lacidaus*
4 *Meltas*

1. *Inachus*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his ſiſter *Meliſſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is ſuppoſed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are ſometimes called from him *Inachi*. Inachus.

(A) Or rather becauſe he came thither by ſea. We have had occaſion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the deſcendants of thoſe firſt founders of kingdoms of raiſing them ſuch fabulous genealogies, in order to diſguiſe the obſcurity of their origin, by aſcribing it to ſome god, to the ſea, rivers, nymphs, and ſuch like extraordinary progenitors. We ſhall refer our readers to the caution we gave them there concerning theſe miraculous offſprings †.

† *See before, p.* 319. *ſub fin. note* (M).

2. *Phoroneus*

Phoroneus. 2. *Phoroneus* ſucceeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before diſperſed about the country into one city, which was called from him *Phoroneum* [f]; he is ſaid to have had a ſon, by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*; and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the firſt paramour of the luſtful god *Jupiter*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his ſuppoſed ſiſter *Io*, is ſometimes called *Phoronis* by the poets [g].

Apis. 3. *Apis* ſucceeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed againſt him, which was upheld by *Thelaſion* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whoſe treachery he was ſacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worſhipped under the title of *Serapis* and in the form of an ox. We have already obſerved in the hiſtory of that kingdom †, that *Serapis* was worſhipped under a human form, bearing a buſhel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worſhipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with ſeveral of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them ſo confounded by *Mythologiſts*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. 4. *Argos*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, ſucceeded him; he is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name [h]. He is ſaid to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

Criaſus. 5. *Criaſus*, by others called *Piraſus*, the ſon of *Argos*.

Phorbas. 6. *Phorbas* the ſon of *Criaſus*, ſuppoſed to have been cotemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*.

Triopas. 7. *Triopas* the ſon of *Phorbas*, whoſe brother, named alſo *Phorbas*, ſettled himſelf in the iſland of *Rhodes*.

Crotopus. 8, *Crotopus*, in whoſe times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo*'s anger on the following occaſion: that god

[f] Pausan. in Corinth. [g] Horat. & al. † See Vol. I. p. 447. [h] Apollod. l. ii. c. 1.

(B) This ſhews how little dependance there is on the writings of this epocha, ſince even this laſt reigned, according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unleſs they have miſtook him for *Peratus*, who flouriſhed about the latter end of *Apis*'s reign.

had

†

had had a private amour with *Pſamathe* the king's daughter; and ſhe to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the ruſhes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to puniſh the *Argives* for this crime, ſent the monſter, or fury, *Pene*, who ſnatched their children from their mother's boſoms, and deſtroyed them. This monſter keing killed at length by *Cœrebus*, *Apollo* ſent them a grievous peſtilence. *Cœrebus*, having conſulted the oracle how his anger might be appeaſed, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god wherever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

9. *Sthenelus*, ſon of *Crotopus*, reigned ſixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his ſon *Geleanor*, was outed the kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*. Sthenelus.

10. *Danaus* had been driven out of *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refuſing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty ſons of his brother. His pretence for refuſing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he ſhould be killed by a ſon-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being deſcended from *Epaphus* the ſon of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the ſecond meeting of the aſſembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was graſing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen againſt the preſent poſſeſſor. *Sthenelus* was ſuppoſed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, becauſe he was a ſtranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king[1].

As ſoon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he reſolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and ſtrengthening himſelf by ſo many alliances againſt him. He raiſed a powerful army, and ſent it with his fifty ſons at the head of it againſt the new king of *Argos*; and theſe reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promiſe to ſlab their huſbands on the very firſt night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermneſtra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyrcæa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was no ſooner appriſed of her diſobedience, than he would have put her to death for it; but ſhe was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Ar-*

[1] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

gives, was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and ſucceſſor. As for his other forty nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endleſs puniſhment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

Lynceus. 11. *Lynceus*, the ſon of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his ſtead. In commemoration of his wife's having ſaved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a ſtatue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* inſtituted a feaſt in memory of the ſignal *Hypermneſtra* had given to her huſband of his being out of danger, and called it *the feaſt of Flambeaus*.

Abas. 12. *Abas* was the ſon of *Lynceus* and *Hypermneſtra*, and father of *Prœtus* and *Acriſius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. Theſe two ſons, who were twins, are ſaid to have ſtruggled together in their mother's womb, a ſure preſage of that more fatal ſtruggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two firſt who made uſe of targets in the battles they fought againſt each other[k].

Prœtus. 13. *Prœtus* found means to ſtep firſt upon the throne, and held it about ſeventeen years. It was in ſome part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manſlaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prœtus*, whoſe queen *Sthenobœa*, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, ſolicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuſe him to her huſband of having attempted her chaſtity. *Prœtus*, not ſuſpecting the truth of the accuſation, ſent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he deſired him to make away with the innocent ſtranger. *Jobates* ſent him upon ſeveral dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithſtanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we ſhall ſee

[k] Pausan. in Argolic. Apollod. l. ii. c. 2.

(C) This fable ſome mythologiſts interpret of their being doomed to fill the ciſterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably alſo thoſe of the city, which, according to the deſcription an antient geographer gives us of it (1), ſeems to have wanted a conſiderable ſupply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reaſon of its nearneſs to the gulph, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackiſh to be drank.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l.* viii.

which

when we come to ſpeak of the kings of *Corinth* [l]. In the mean time *Prætus* met with ſomething to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acriſius*, who, proving too ſtrong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. Theſe two ſoon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrins*, and obliged *Acriſius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prætus* had *Tyrins* and other maritime, and *Acriſius Argos*, and the inland towns [m]. *Prætus* had forty three daughters by his wife *Sthenobæa*, or, as ſhe is called by *Homer*, *Antæa*; and they, with the reſt of the women of that country, were ſeized with a diſtemper which they called *the fury of Bacchus*; but were cured by an excellent phyſician and ſoothſayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his ſkill. *Melampus*, that was the phyſician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prætus* had ſoon after this partition a ſon named *Megapenthes*, who ſucceeded him in the other third called *Tiryns*; but it is likely, that theſe three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of thoſe philoſophers, as we ſhall ſee after we have ended the hiſtory of the kings of *Mycenæ*, whoſe part from that time makes the moſt conſiderable figure.

Acriſius *king of* Mycenæ.

14. *Acriſius*, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Euridice* called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that ſhe would have a ſon by whom he ſhould be killed. To prevent therefore that young princeſs having any converſation with mankind, he cauſed her to be cloſe confined in a ſtrong brazen tower, and under ſuch ſtrict watch, that ſhe might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himſelf, as the poets feign, into a golden ſhower, which, ſliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D) [n].

THE fruit of theſe ſtolen embraces was *Perſeus*, who was no ſooner born, than *Acriſius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea; but

[l] Idem, ibid. OVID. Metam. &c. APOLLOD. ubi ſupra.

[m] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

[n] APOLLOD. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden ſhower ſeems to have been only ſome conſiderable bribe to thoſe who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle *Prætus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

Jupiter took care to convey them ſafe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, the brother of *Polydectes* king of that iſland, brought *Perſeus* up as his own ſon. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her ſon prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this oppoſition, and reſolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, ſent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Meduſa*'s head, not doubting but the attempt would coſt him his life. But to his ſurprize he ſaw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold ſucceſs, having in that expedition ſaved *Andromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe* a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which ſervice ſhe was given to him in marriage.

AT his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the luſtful and inhoſpitable king. Here he found, that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a ſanctuary to ſkreen themſelves from his brutiſh violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into ſtones at the ſight of the *Gorgon*, ſet up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother *Danae* and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Argos*; but *Acriſius*, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed ſuch noble exploits, had retired into *Lariſſa*, a city of *Pelaſgia* ſituate on the river *Peneus*, whoſe king *Tantalus* having ſoon after cauſed ſome funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceaſed father, *Perſeus* came thither among a great concourſe of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an antient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Meduſa* had ſucceeded her father *Phorcus* in his kingdom, which was ſituate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that ſhe was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much uſed to hunting and to fight with her *African* ſubjects; and that *Perſeus*, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choiceſt forces of *Peloponneſus*, ſurpriſed and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of it by the judicious author laſt quoted.

(F) This whale is ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe than a ſhip ſo called, into which *Phœnix* had ſeduced her in order to carry her away (4).

(2) *Vid. Pauſ. in Argol. Apollod l.* ii. *paſſ. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l.* iv. *& al.* (3) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra, & Corinth. ch.* xxi. (4) *Conon. Narrat.* 40. *Roſſ. Myſtag. Poetic. Hind. Hiſt. Greec.*

caſt

caſt of the diſk (G) which fell upon *Acriſius*'s foot, who was there preſent, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him [o].

15. *Perſeus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos* in right of *Danae* his mother, yet choſe to exchange it with his couſin *Megapenthes* for that ſmall one of *Tyrins* which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos* after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm, that *Perſeus* reſtored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconſiſtent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perſeus* went and built the city of *Mycenæ*, and made it the ſeat of the kingdom. That of *Argos* was therefore ſaid to have been tranſlated thither, becauſe this new metropolis became in a ſhort time more populous and opulent than the other. After *Acriſius*'s death, the kingdom being thus divided into ſeveral pieces and among different families, *Perſeus*, having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tiryns*, left it to his ſon *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whoſe wife *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more ſtrength to the child [p]. In the mean time *Amphitryon*, having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give ſuch early proofs of his courage, extraordinary ſtrength, and fierceneſs, that he was ſent to be brought up among ſome ſhepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H) [q]. Perſeus.

16. *Eu-*

[o] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. [p] Id. ibid. DIODOR. Biblioth. hiſt. l. iv. [q] APOLLOD. ibid.

(G) The diſk was a round piece of iron, lead, braſs, or ſtone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gamesters uſed to exerciſe their ſtrength and ſkill. He who could throw it fartheſt won the prize (5).

(H) We have already obſerved, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Euſebius* mention three: *Diodorus* aſcribes all theſe fabulous actions to the youngeſt who was the ſon of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* ſpeaks of four, and *Varro* of forty four; but the moſt remarkable of theſe are the ſix mentioned by *Tully*; as follows (7):

(5) *Potter. Archæolog. Vol. I. ch* 21. *p.* 443. (6) *Hiſt. l.* iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.

The

Euryſtheus.

16. *Euryſtheus* the ſon of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycenæ*, or, as others have it, ſucceeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed ſon of *Amphitryon* his couſin-german, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time find means to diſpoſſeſs him of it. His fear and hatred of him ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not inſenſible of it, becauſe he was ever engaging him upon ſome deſperate expedition, went to conſult the oracle; and being anſwered, that it was the pleaſure of the gods that he ſhould ſerve *Euryſtheus* twelve years, was caſt into ſo deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madneſs, during which, among other deſperate deeds, he put away his wife *Megara*, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are ſuppoſed to have been twelve, becauſe the king impoſed the ſame number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his ſenſes [r]. Theſe labours being for the moſt part fabulous, and ſome of them, as we have obſerved more than once, being probably ſtolen from the hiſtory of *Samſon* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we ſhall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our hiſtory of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I).

17. *Atreus*

[r] Diodor. Apollodor. ubi ſupra.

The firſt, begot by the moſt antient *Jupiter* and *Lyſito*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The ſecond, the ſon of *Nile* and an *Egyptian*, was the inventer of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third was a native of *Crete* (and the ſon of the *Celtic Jupiter*): He was one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth was the ſon of the ſecond *Jupiter* and *Aſteria* ſiſter to *Latona*, and father of *Carthago*; he was worſhipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth was the *Indian Belus*. And

The ſixth was this *Hercules* the ſuppoſed ſon of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(I) The firſt labour impoſed upon him was the killing of a lion in *Nemea* a wood of *Achaia*; whoſe hide was proof againſt any weapon, ſo that he was forced to ſeize him by the throat and ſtrangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his ſkin about his ſhoulders.

In the ſecond he killed the *Hydra*, a monſter with two heads, one of which was no ſooner cut off, than two ſprang up in its room.

In

17. *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops*, and grandſon of *Tantalus* king of *Lydia*, aſcended the throne of *Mycenæ*, after the death Atreus.

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his ſhoulders, at the ſight of which the king is ſaid to have been ſo frighted, that he ran and hid himſelf in a brazen hogſhead. It was likewiſe in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious ſwiftneſs.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanſe *Augeas*'s ſtable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the ſixth he chaſed away the miſchievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human fleſh, and to have been at length deſtroyed by *Hercules*'s arrows, or, according to others, to have been only ſcared away from thence (9).

His ſeventh was to fetch a famous bull from the iſle of *Crete*, with which *Paſiphae* the wife of *Minos* is ſaid to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titanic* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and looſed him from mount *Caucaſus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the fleſh of the ſtrangers that paſſed by that way. *Hercules* firſt threw their inhuman maſter to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to *Euryſtheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is ſaid to have continued till *Alexander*'s time. Betwixt this and his next taſk he is ſuppoſed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia* or *Spain*, in the fartheſt parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmoſt limits of the then known world. Theſe ten labours he atchieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewiſe affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who, when weary with wreſtling or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him the tyrant *Buſiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man uſed to ſacrifice all his gueſts and ſtrangers upon his altars, and deſigning to have done the ſame by *Hercules*, was ſlain by him together with all his attendants.

His two laſt taſks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Heſperian* golden apples kept by a dragon; which laſt is interpreted

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. in Arcadic. c.* 22. (9) *Apollod. l.* ii. *Diod. Sicul. l.* iv.

death of *Eurysthcus* who left no issue. As for the line of *Perseus* it only subsisted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyestes* as partner of the kingdom. These two are justly branded, the one for his incest, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyestes* for defiling his brothers wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his brothers sons and feasting him with their flesh (K).

It was in his reign that the *Heraclidæ*, for so were called the sons and descendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, from which they had been driven by *Eurysthcus*. The controversy was to be decided by single combat and under these conditions, that if *Hyllus* killed *Euchemus*, who had undertook to be champion for *Atreus*, then this last should relinquish his kingdom to the *Heraclidæ*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponnesus* till fifty years were expired. It happened, that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagonist, so that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heraclidæ* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whose father *Hercules* had left the region of *Hestiæotis* in trust for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena*, disappearing about this time, as she was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours instituted and paid to her [f]. *Atreus* was soon after their departure killed by *Ægisthus*, and succeeded by his own son.

Agamemnon.

18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthiest and most powerful potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a considerable part of *Peloponnesus*, but also to several neighbouring islands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of sea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reason of his being chosen general of the

[f] Pausan. Apollod. ubi supra, & al.

to have been some fine herd of cattle kept by some stout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign, that the sun went back at the sight of this horrid feast. As for *Thyestes*, he went to consult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was answered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a son that should murder both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon*. He did so, and *Ægisthus*, the fruit of this second incest, fulfilled the prophecy.

Trojan

†

Trojan expedition for the recovery of *Helena*, his brother *Menelaus*'s wife.

THE ſucceſs of that expedition, the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumſtances relating to this prince, have been ſeen in a former chapter †. After taking of that city, beſides ſeveral other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the diſpoſition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel aroſe between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for ſailing homewards out of hand, and the other for ſtaying to ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The conſequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered ſeveral ſtorms, which the goddeſs *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had ſent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at laſt at *Mycenæ*, where he was murdered by his couſin-german *Ægiſthus* and his wife *Clytemneſtra*, who during his abſence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

Ægiſthus. 19. *Ægiſthus* was the ſon of *Thyeſtes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopea* by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the laſt note. His mother, to conceal the foulneſs of her pregnancy, expoſed him in the woods, where a ſhepherd finding him, nurſed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægiſthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemneſtra*, during *Agamemnon*'s abſence, made them both fear leſt they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore ſoon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* ſeized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by *Oreſtes Agamemnon*'s ſon.

Oreſtes. 20. *Oreſtes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's ſiſter; but as ſoon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycenæ*, and, having murdered the uſurper and his own mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and of that of *Argos*, whoſe throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the ſiege of *Troy*. The occaſion of this flight we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycenæ*. *Oreſtes* ran raving mad ſoon after at the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the furies. Being again reſtored to his ſenſes, and vexed to find, that *Hermione*, his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter,

† See p. 383. & ſeq.

whom her grandfather *Tyndareus* had promiſed to him in marriage, had been eſpouſed to *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got alſo the kingdom of *Sparta* *.

WITH *Oreſtes* we may mention here his faithful and conſtant friend *Pylades* the ſon of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. Theſe two are famed for having been ſo like each other in face, ſhape, temper, and affection, that they ſeemed to have had but one ſoul, and were not to be diſtinguiſhed from one another. Inſomuch, that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica* would have put *Oreſtes* to death, they both affirming to be the ſame perſon, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not poſſibly find out which was the right perſon, but admired their extraordinary friendſhip, which was indeed ſuch, that it paſſed into a proverb.

Penthilus. 21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tiſamenus*, ſucceeded his father *Oreſtes* in both kingdoms; but in leſs than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought againſt the *Achæi*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and had reduced to the neceſſity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialea* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*, made themſelves maſters of theſe two kingdoms alſo, which they held until the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Macedonians* [t].

Adraſtus *in* Argos. AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, and of the latter into three parts, as we have ſeen above; we find *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaon* and *Eurynome* reigning in *Argos*, and deſcended from *Perſeus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, upon the following accident. Theſe two princes were come to *Argos*, the former to beg the king's aſſiſtance againſt his brother *Eteocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly ſhare in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for man-ſlaughter. Theſe two happened to have a ſquabble in ſome of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adraſtus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occaſion of the diſturbance. He had formerly been adviſed by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubtleſs very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out he found, to his joy and ſurprize, an agreeable ſolution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his ſhield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters

* APOLLOD. [t] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

to

to them, *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whose son succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

SOON after this, being resolved to assist *Polynices*, he raised a good army, and procured the best commanders he could to accompany him. Among these was one *Amphiaraus*, a good officer and great soothsayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himself of the following stratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he should go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a costly bracelet, she decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraus*, who foresaw that none of the chief officers would escape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithless wife, left strict charge with his two sons before he departed, that, as soon as they were come of age, they should kill her, and make war against the king of *Thebes* [u].

Adrastus, marching with his army through the wood of *Nemea*, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom she had saved, when the rest of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one consent all the males of that island with an intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had sold her to pirates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whose son *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Opheltes*, she was nursing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* desired her to direct them to some water, and she laying down the boy went to shew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a serpent, she went and hid herself for fear of her master's anger, and *Amphiaraus* sent her sons word soon after where their mother was. The *Argives* killed the serpent, and in memory of the dead child, they are said to have instituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adrastus* won the race by the swiftness of his horse *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoits, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and *Laodicus* at darting [w].

FROM the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the priestesses of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was consecrated, used to keep there. Here they sent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Eteocles* the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, *Tydeus*, desirous partly to shew his own courage, and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave several challenges

[u] DIODOR. Bibl. l. iv. APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Id. ibid.

to their moſt noted champions, in which he ſtill came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his ſucceſs, ſent fifty of their choiceſt men to way-lay him in his return to *Cithæron*, who were all killed except one, whom he ſent back to *Thebes* to acquaint *Eteocles* with his courage and ſucceſs. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had paſſed, reſolved upon the ſiege of the city; the ill ſucceſs of which we ſhall ſee in its proper place. All that needs be ſaid here is, that *Adraſtus* owed his eſcape to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horſes, near the river *Iſmene*, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewiſe loſe their lives, ſo that it proved even as *Amphiaraus* had foreſeen, that *Adraſtus* alone ſhould ſurvive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their aſſiſtance, that the *Argives* might at leaſt be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his ſoldiers and ſubjects, which the *Thebans* refuſed to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his requeſt, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

Ægialeus. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ægialeus*, who, about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes*, the ſon of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five ſons of the other generals who had loſt their lives in that expedition to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if poſſible to level that city with the ground. Thence theſe ſeven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being conſulted promiſed them ſucceſs, provided they choſe *Alcmæon* the ſon of *Amphiaraus* their general. They did ſo, and came off victorious accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

Diomedes After this *Diomedes*, the ſon of *Tydeus* the ſon-in-law of *Adraſtus*, who was alſo king of *Etolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the laſt king of it. After his ſucceſsful enterpriſe againſt *Thebes*, he liſted himſelf in that againſt *Troy*, and was one of that ſmall number of princes which returned ſafe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furor uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the ſiege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Comætes* the ſon of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to the ſiege of *Troy*. When ſhe found that her huſband had diſcovered her intrigue, ſhe attempted to kill him, but he firſt retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then a ſmall kingdom in *Italy*. Here he found

Daunus

Daunus the king of it ſtraitly beſieged, who promiſed him part of his kingdom if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with ſucceſs, and built a city there, which he called *Argos Hippium*, whence in proceſs of time it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into ſwans, or birds very much like them.

IN the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, ſince their firſt expulſion out of *Peloponneſus* by *Euryſtheus* king of *Argos*, had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to regain it. The firſt, as we have ſeen, was in *Atreus*'s time under *Hyllus*; another under his ſon *Clæodeus*; a third under his grandſon *Ariſtomachus*. This laſt prince left three ſons, *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, who, when they came of age, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of a new invaſion, and received this ambiguous anſwer, that it would ſucceed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow paſſage of the iſthmus to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Ariſtomachus* loſt the battle and his life in the attempt *.

THE *Pythoneſs*, being upbraided with it by his ſons, made anſwer, that their anceſtors had brought their misfortunes upon themſelves by miſtaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he miſtook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep ſea on the right hand of the peninſula. Upon this anſwer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, ſince called upon that account *Naupactus*. During their ſtay here, *Ariſtodemus* the youngeſt of the three was killed by lightning, and left two twins, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more ſevere misfortune befel them, for their fleet was deſtroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afreſh, and anſwered, that *Apollo* had ſent thoſe plagues upon them, becauſe they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been ſuch a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, becauſe he took him to be ſome magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be baniſhed ten years.

THE *Heraclidæ* were alſo promiſed better ſucceſs, provided they put themſelves under the command of a general

* APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & ſeq. PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

that

that had three eyes, but where to find ſuch a one was the difficulty; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was returning from *Peloponneſus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horſe, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, upon which they choſe him for their general, and promiſed him the country of *Elis* as a recompence [y]. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninſula at the iſthmus, which drew all the *Peloponneſian* forces thither, and ſailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Aſtolycrium* without any oppoſition.

THREE of the kingdoms of *Peloponneſus* they challenged as their undoubted right, namely *Argos*, *Myceneæ*, and *Lacedemon* (L). The firſt of theſe they got with ſome difficulty, and *Tiſamenus* the king of it was either killed [z], or eſcaped by flight [a]. *Myceneæ* they conquered with the ſword, and expelled all the *Neſtorian* family, who went and ſettled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two conſiderable families in that city [†]. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philonomus* [b], they entered it with the ſound of the flute, which inſtrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks [c]. They alſo kept their promiſe with their three-eyed general, who being deſcended from *Ætolus* had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been baniſhed by *Salmoneus* king of the *Epbei*, who were now in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretenſions of *Oxylus* ſhould be decided by ſingle combat, according to the *Grecian* cuſtom, and the *Epbean* champion being killed, *Elis* was reſtored to its right owner. After theſe ſucceſſes the three brothers, having raiſed three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, reſolved to divide their conqueſt by lot. *Creſphontes* is ſuppoſed by ſome juggle to have made the kingdom of *Myceneæ*, the richeſt and

[y] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. c. viii. [z] PAUSAN. Eliac. STRAB. Geogr. lib. x. [a] APOLLOD ubi ſupra. [†] PAUSAN. Argol. [b] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. x. [c] Id. l. viii.

(L) The firſt of theſe was their right, as being the deſcendants of *Perſeus*; whereas the then king *Tiſamenus*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Myceneæ* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who, having conquered them, had left the firſt to *Neſtor*, and the laſt to *Tyndareus*, in truſt for his own children.

moſt

moſt fruitful of the three, to fall to his ſhare. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* the ſons of *Ariſtodemus* [d], as ſhall be ſeen in its place.

Temenus now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed ſuch an extraordinary fondneſs for his ſon-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was deſcended from *Cteſiphus* the ſon of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, that his other ſons, who had reaſon to fear he would appoint him his ſucceſſor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead, ſome authors tell us, the army, abhorring the parricides, ſet the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife [e]; but *Pauſanias* tells us, that it fell to his eldeſt ſon *Ciſus* [*]. Temenus *at* Argos.

HOWEVER that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to loſe ground very faſt, as we obſerved before. To *Ciſus* ſucceeded *Lacidamus*, who had little elſe than the title of a king. His ſon *Meltas*, impatient of ſuch reſtraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to reſtore it to its antient dignity, but the people were by that time grown ſo powerful and headſtrong, that as ſoon as they found out his deſign, they put an effectual ſtop to it, and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [f].

THE kingdom of *Mycenæ*, or *Meſſenia*, was not much longer lived. For though theſe two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far at firſt, yet the latter ſoon grew to ſuch a height of power and ſplendor, as both to eclipſe and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we ſhall defer the further account of them till we come to ſpeak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Creſphontes*, who, as we obſerved before, had juggled himſelf into *Mycenæ*, ſoon loſt his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his ſons, for his extraordinary largeſſes to the people. His third ſon *Ægyptus*, or rather *Æpitus*, fled to *Cypſelus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide, and when of age obtained his aſſiſtance to regain his kingdom, killed the uſurper of it, and by wiſely dividing his favours and largeſſes between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to ſuch a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him [g]. But this popular liberality, though now

[d] POLYÆN. Stratagem. Vid. HIND. hiſt. Græc. lib. ii. [e] POLYÆN. ubi ſupra. APOLL. ubi ſupra. [*] PAUSAN. in Meſſenic. [f] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. [g] Vid. PAUSAN. in Meſſenic.

ſo

ſo ſucceſsful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the ſubjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the exciſion of monarchy and a total change of government.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of Attica.

Geography. ATTICA was ſituate along the north coaſt of the gulph of *Saron*, bounded on the weſt by *Megara* and part of *Bœotia*, on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, now *Stretto de negro ponte*, and on the eaſt by the *Ægean* ſea. It reached in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about ſixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. eaſt longitude. Its breadth from north to ſouth, where it was broadeſt, was about fifty ſix miles, and decreaſing as it came nearer to the ſea [a].

Natural and artificial rarities. The ſoil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable induſtry of the people; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quietneſs, when other more fruitful countries were expoſed to frequent incurſions. So that having above all others preſerved its antient inhabitants gave riſe to their extravagant notion, that they, like other inſects, were the ſpontaneous product of the ſoil, and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden graſhopper in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantageouſly ſituated for commerce, having ſeveral good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyræus*, whoſe haven, diſtant from *Athens* the metropolis of *Attica* about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each ſide with two ſtrong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the ſecurity of the merchandiſe that went up to that capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ſhips [b].

Cities. There were ſome other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to *Athens* was *Eleuſis*, on the ſame gulph, and near the coaſts of *Megara*, upon which account it had been once ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A).

2. *Rhamnus*,

[a] Mela, Cluver. Byzant. & al. [b] Thucyd. l. ii.

(A) This city is ſaid to have been built by one *Eleuſius*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when ſhe went in ſearch of her daughter, ſhe taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for his

2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraus*, and the ſtatue of *Nemeſis* (B). But the largeſt and moſt opulent was the metropolis, called at firſt *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* the founder of it; but afterwards *Athens* from the goddeſs *Minerva* (C), whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whoſe honour were inſtituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, beſides its ſtrength, beauty, and opulence; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb; 2. For being the nurſery of the beſt ſcholars and orators, choiceſt wits, and greateſt philoſophers; and, 3. For having produced the greateſt number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was juſtly eſteemed one of the eyes of *Greece* [c]. Athens.

[c] JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Attic.

his hoſpitality. Hence that goddeſs is ſometimes called *Eleuſina* by the poets (1).

(B) The goddeſs of juſtice, called alſo *Rhamnaſia* from this town where her temple ſtood (2).

(C) The occaſion of it, as the ſtory goes, is, that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horſe appeared. The oracle being conſulted, anſwered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horſe) that of *Neptune*; and that that which they eſteemed the moſt beneficial to mankind ſhould adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being aſſembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddeſs, and the city was called from her *Athene*. *Neptune*, in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it; and the men, to appeaſe his anger paſt three votes againſt the women, the one, that they ſhould not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans*; the ſecond, that they ſhould have no vote in public matters; and laſtly, that no children ſhould thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embelliſhed this ſtory after their way, by pretending, that thoſe deities did viſibly contend for thoſe places, as they did alſo for ſeveral others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themſelves, left the arbitration of the diſpute to ſome proper judges. We ſhall meet with ſome further inſtances of this kind of contention in the ſequel (3).

(1) *Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc.* (2) *Id. Plutarch. &c.* (3) *Apollod. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Attica.*

THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Aſopus*, flowing from the lake *Copais*, through *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and ſplitting itſelf into two ſtreams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea.

Government. THE government from its firſt foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. What is moſt remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a diſlike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep reſpect to the laſt monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generouſly ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his ſubjects, the grateful *Athenians* reſolved, that no man from thenceforth ſhould bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his ſon and ſucceſſor [d], which continued during ten ſucceſſions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former deſcended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that theſe were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches. THE riches of this kingdom, occaſioned by its great commerce and frugality, are ſaid to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year [d]; this vaſt income gave them a conſiderable ſuperiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but alſo as they could make uſe of it to gain any other eſtates to their

Coin. ſide; and as their coin was commonly ſtamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phraſe ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen †. Hence alſo came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to ſpeak contrary to his own ſentiments.

Chronology. THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saits* [e], a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, 780 years before the firſt olympiad (D). It continued under its

[d] THUCYDID. ubi ſupra. † Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ. [e] DIODOR. SIC. lib. 1.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was deſtroyed by the deluge which bears his

its monarchs 487 years, according to the ſame chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their laſt king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412. there elapſed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

its name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom ſtill farther off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was, is not eaſy to gueſs: Some make him an *Egyptian*, and ſome an *Arcadian*: Some think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we chooſe to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at leaſt be reckoned the reſtorer of it, and the perſon from whom the ſucceſſion of *Attic* princes is derived.

We muſt own, however, that according to this ſuppoſition of his being the firſt founder of the kingdom, thoſe of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will ſtand foremoſt in point of antiquity, though in no other reſpect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at firſt in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly ſerpent or dragon, that is, according to *Juſtin* (5), becauſe he was the firſt that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demoſthenes* and the reſt of the vain *Grecians*, becauſe he had the wiſdom of a man and the ſtrength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt*, and poliſhed himſelf into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the firſt inſtitutor of marriage, or becauſe he underſtood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red ſea* with *Pharaoh*'s hoſt, in whoſe time he lived (6).

(4) *De hoc vid. Hellanic. Caſtor. Thal. Polybiſt. Euſeb. & al. Apollod. l. ii.* (5) *lib ii. c. i.* (6) *Euſeb. Chron. vid. Polybiſt. Rawleigh Heyl. & al.*

The antient kings of *Athens*:

1 *Cecrops*	7 *Cecrops* II.	13 *Oxyntes*
2 *Cranaus*	8 *Pandion* II.	14 *Amphydas*
3 *Amphictyon*	9 *Ægeus*	15 *Thymetæs al.*
4 *Erichthonius*	10 *Theseus*	*Thymedes*
5 *Pandion*	11 *Mnestheus*	16 *Melanthus*
6 *Erectheus*	12 *Demophon*	17 *Codrus*

The Names of the thirteen *Archons* who succeeded these kings were,

1 *Medon*		*Codrus.*
2 *Accastus*		*Medon.*
3 *Archippus*		*Acastus.*
4 *Thersippus*		*Archyppus.*
5 *Phorbas*		*Thersippus.*
6 *Megacles*		*Phorbas.*
7 *Diagnetus*	the son of	*Megacles.*
8 *Phereclus*		*Diagnetus.*
9 *Auritthon*		*Phereclus.*
10 *Thespiæus*		*Auritthon.*
11 *Agamestor*		*Thespiæus.*
12 *Æschylus*		*Agamestor.*
13 *Alcmæon*		*Æschylus.*

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we said before, married the daughter of *Actæus*, supposed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is said to have been the first who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him[f], as the supreme deity. He is likewise affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices, and instituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time, it seems, lived promiscuously, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pausanias* tells us, that he forbad sacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any sort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians Pelanons*, and in *Greek* Βους, which signifies likewise *an ox*. This led *Eusebius* into the mistake which we find in the first book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that *Cecrops* was the first who sacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature,

[f] PAUSAN. in Attic.

so

ſo eſteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its ſerviceableneſs in agriculture, was not ſacrificed by them till the time of *Erectheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or *protector of the city*; and then, *Pauſanias* tells us, that the prieſt who knocked it down, being ſeized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of *Attica*. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themſelves *Cecropidæ* during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Erectbydæ*, in honour of *Erectheus* their ſixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, and left only three daughters, *viz.* *Herſe*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandroſos*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a following note. As for his ſon *Eryſicthon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrops*'s death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthieſt citizens of *Athens* and in the greateſt credit, found means to aſcend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters named *Attis* to *Amphictyon* the ſon of *Deucalion*, he was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the laſt, and where the *Lampreans* ſhewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Actæa*, took the name of *Attica*. Cranaus.

3. *Amphictyon* (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laſt quoted authors, twelve years, was himſelf depoſed, and outed by Amphictyon.

4. *Ericthonius*, who was the reputed ſon of *Vulcan* and *Tethys* (F). He is ſaid to have been the firſt inventer of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years. Erichthonius.

5. *Pandion*, the ſon of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whoſe hard fate, ſo famous among the poets, Pandion.

[g] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 3.

(E) Not that *Amphictyon* who was the firſt inſtitutor of the court of the *Amphictyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have ſprung *ex ſpermate Vulcani in terram delapſo*, by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva* who alſo brought him up. The fable adds, that ſhe having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops*'s three daughters, with expreſs orders not to open it upon any account. *Pandroſos* obeyed the goddeſs; but her two ſiſters, more curious than ſhe, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with ſuch a phrenſy, or, according to the fabulous phraſe, ſo tormented with furies, that they flung themſelves down the ſteepeſt place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

is

is ſuppoſed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years.

Erectheus. 6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion*'s ſon, was reckoned the moſt powerful prince of his time; wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who ſought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orythia* in marriage, and being denyed carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle againſt the *Eleuſians*. He left ſeveral ſons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the deciſion to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops* who was the eldeſt. For this the other two brothers bore *Xuthus* ſuch ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from *Theſſaly* by his brethern.

CecropsII 7. *Cecrops* II. the eldeſt ſon of *Erectheus*: this prince is generally allowed to have been the firſt who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houſes and cottages, ſcattered here and there without order or regular diſtance; but he was, after forty years reign, outed the kingdom by his two diſcontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there.

Pandion II. 8. *Pandion* II. the ſon of *Cecrops* II. was likewiſe driven out of *Athens* by the ſons of his uncle *Metion* who took the adminiſtration for ſome time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his ſucceſſor. During his abode there he had four ſons, with whom he came into *Athens* (G), whence he expelled the ſons of *Metion*, and, after he had reigned *x* ſhort time, either left the kingdom among his four ſons, or they agreed to divide it among themſelves after his death; notwithſtanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldeſt [h] *Ægeus*.

9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himſelf

[h] PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi ſupra.

(G) It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his ſons were grown up, he ſent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionidæ*, ſo that having all ſhared alike the danger, they thought it reaſonable to ſhare alike in the conqueſt.

The ſpace therefore of twenty five years, allowed by chronologiſts (7) to their father's reign, ſeems rather deſigned to mark the interval of the interregnum or uſurpation, from *Cecrops*'s expulſion to his grandſon *Ægeus*'s reign.

(7) *Pauſan. Apoll. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.*

deſpiſed

deſpiſed by his ſubjects, becauſe he could get no children by his wives, and ſometimes inſulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no leſs than fifty ſons beſides daughters, went to conſult the *Delphic* oracle, and was anſwered, that he muſt forbear the uſe of women till his return into *Athens*[1]. This puzzling anſwer forced him to apply himſelf to *Pittheus* king of *Træzen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in expounding oracles, where this prince eaſily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter *Æthra* whom he got with child. As none but theſe three were privy to the ſecret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a ſword and a pair of ſhoes under a ſtone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princeſs, that if the child proved a boy, ſhe ſhould ſend him to *Athens* with thoſe tokens, as ſoon as he was able to lift up the ſtone. He charged her moreover to uſe all imaginable ſecrecy, leſt the ſons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, ſhould way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

Æthra being ſoon after delivered of a ſon, *Pittheus* gave out, that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was ſixteen years old, ſhe brought him to the ſtone, which ſhe ſaw him lift up with eaſe, upon which ſhe diſcovered to him the whole ſecret of his parentage, bid him take up the ſword and ſhoes, and prepare himſelf to go to his father. Both ſhe and *Pittheus*, however, adviſed him to go by ſea, alledging, that ſince *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great ſcourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again ſo infeſted with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theſeus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time ſhewed uncommon marks of courage and ſtrength, no ſooner heard *Hercules* named upon ſuch an occaſion, than he was fired with a deſire to imitate ſo noble a pattern; ſo that all their intreaties could not diſſuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to *Athens*, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be beſt ſeen in the margin (H).

WHILST

[1] PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ.

(H) His firſt encounter after he left *Træzen* was with *Periphetes* the ſon of *Vulcan*, ſurnamed alſo *Corynetes*, or *Club bearer*, from the club he uſed to fight with, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the ſon of *Polyphemon*, ſurnamed *Pityocamptes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying paſſengers between the oppo-

ſite

WHILST *Theſeus* was ſtill at *Træzen*, his father laboured under no ſmall perplexities from his ſubjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almoſt driven him to deſpair. *Androgeus*, the ſon of *Minos* king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be preſent at one of their feaſts, had unhappily contracted ſuch an intimacy with the fifty ſons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing ſome fatal conſequence from it, had cauſed that prince to be privately murdered. Others ſay, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos*, having received the news of his ſon's death and made ſeveral vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the *Athenians* were puniſhed with peſtilence, famine, and ſeveral other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they muſt expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed a yearly tribute upon them of ſeven young men and ſeven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the ſpace of ſeven [k], or, according to

[k] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

ſite branches, which, by their ſudden return, did tear them in pieces: him *Theſeus* put to the ſame death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* ſow, called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdneſs.

Sciron a famous robber, who uſed to throw paſſengers down a ſteep rock after he had made them waſh his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next ſignalized himſelf in the *Eleuſian* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wreſtler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe called *Procruſtes*, by diſtending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he uſed to do to thoſe who unhappily fell into his hands

Laſtly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon* and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he ſacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Puſiphae Mino*'s queen; and who as ſoon as born was by the king's order thrown into the labyrinth and fed with human fleſh; but more reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been a man of great ſtrength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been ſurnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He ſeems alſo to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his conſtant victories at the games which *Minos* had inſtituted in memory of his ſon, or for ſome other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that all

(8) *Philochor. ap Hind. Hiſt. Græc. lib.* i.

to others, nine years [1], these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightned the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

IT was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus*, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous inchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by *Medea*, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger, and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprise, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hasted to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

AFTER this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having incouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and imbarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black, to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his

[1] PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

champion *Taurus*, in ſingle combat, which the king did the more readily grant, becauſe he had ſome juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that his queen, a woman of no ſingular chaſtity, had ſome criminal commerce with him. *Theſeus* after this had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh: He killed his enemy, releaſed all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage, not indeed with her father's conſent; but ſhe, having been an eye-witneſs of his valour and addreſs in the late fight, conceived ſuch a paſſion for him, that ſhe reſolved to run away with him. He left her however in the iſle of *Naxos*: and ſome add, that, after the conqueſt of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the ſeven virgins which *Theſeus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theſeus* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, which ſo exaſperated the *Cretan* king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the ſon of *Neptune*, unleſs he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the ſea. *Theſeus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos*, however, would not be pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theſeus*, ſtill perſiſting in his denial, was by his order caſt into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* uſed to be kept; but he ſtayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furniſhed him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himſelf out of it, and ſetting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the iſland above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her and carried her off, whilſt *Theſeus* ſailed homewards towards *Athens*. Unfortunately for them and for *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late ſucceſs made them forget to diſplay the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to eſpy them from a high rock, obſerving the ſhip afar off ſtill hanging out its ſable colours, doubted not, but that his ſon had like the reſt fallen a victim to the *Minotaur*; and, in a fit of ſudden deſpair, threw himſelf into the ſea, which from him was ſince called the *Ægean* ſea; ſo that when *Theſeus* landed at *Athens*, he found the city divided between grief for *Ægeus*'s death, and joy, for the ſafe return of his valiant ſon and ſucceſſor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theſeus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to ſpend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; ſo that he began, upon his firſt acceſſion to it, to think how to diveſt himſelf of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into

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the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he diveſted himſelf of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianſhip of their laws. The reſt he committed to proper magiſtrates, choſen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, huſbandmen, and artificers. The firſt he inveſted with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two choſe their inferior magiſtrates from among themſelves, to take care of whatever related to their ſeparate orders: ſo that the kingdom was in ſome meaſure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greateſt poſt; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the huſbandmen had the greateſt profit; and the artiſts excelled them in number. He inſtituted two annual feſtivals, the *Panathenæa*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called the *Metoecia*, beſides the famous *Iſthmian* games in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were ſo called from the *Iſthmus* in which they were celebrated. All theſe were chiefly deſigned to draw a concourſe of ſtrangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and ſettle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewiſe aboliſhed all their diſtinct courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called *Prytaneum*, a ſumptuous building which ſtood for many ages [m]. We obſerved before, that the *Athenian* money was ſtamped with an ox; this coin was ſuppoſed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theſeus*'s killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was moſt ſubſervient.

AFTER he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the ſecond, who had ſucceeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have ſeen above. It was then, that *Theſeus* erected that famous pillar in the *Iſthmus*, which ſhewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inſcription on the one ſide, *This is not* Peloponneſus *but* Ionia, and on the other, *This is* Peleponneſus *not* Ionia. What we read concerning his two expeditions againſt the *Amazons*, is ſo blended with fable, ſo differently related [n], and ſo uncertain, that we ſhall give it

[m] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. Vid. & THUCYDID. l. ii. [n] Conf. HERODOT. PLUTARCH. & MEURS. in Theſ. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 4.

in a ſhort note, becauſe they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (K).

Sometime after theſe expeditions, *Theſeus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the ſon of *Ixion*, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Theſſalian* horſemen, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female gueſts; and drove the reſt out of the country. Theſe two went from thence to *Sparta*, and ſtole away the famed *Helena* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where ſhe happened to be dancing [o]. This princeſs was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter* by *Leda*, the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *OEbalia* in *Peloponneſus*; and, though then but nine years old, was already famed for the greateſt beauty in the world; inſomuch, that *Theſeus* though then, as is reckoned, above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof againſt her charms. However the time, and place, and circumſtances of this rape are variouſly reported; we have here followed *Plutarch*'s account of it as the moſt allowed. According to him the two raviſhers were purſued as far as *Tegea*; but they happily made their eſcape out of *Peloponneſus*, and thinking themſelves now ſecure of their prey, they agreed to caſt lots for her, upon condition, that he to whoſe lot ſhe fell ſhould help the other in getting ſome other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for *Theſeus*, he aſſiſted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proſerpina*, daughter of *Aidonius*

[o] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Apollod. Pausan. in Attic.

(K) The firſt expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whoſe companion in all ſuch exploits *Theſeus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his aſſiſtance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken priſoner. *Juſtin* ſays, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himſelf.

However, this gave occaſion to a ſecond expedition, in which ſome affirm, that the *Amazons* made a deſcent into *Attica* to recover their loſt queen, having with them beſides their own forces obtained a powerful ſupply of horſemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his ſon *Panaſagorus* at their head, who did afterwards upon ſome miſunderſtanding withdraw his troops and left them in the lurch. Others ſay, that *Theſeus* went and attacked them near the *Caſpian* ſea: however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of theſe two expeditions he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and theſe, either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

king

king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena* was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the interceſſion of *Hercules*.

DURING his absence *Mneſtheus*, the son of *Peteus* grandchild of *Erectheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which *Castor* and *Pollux* waged against him for the recovery of their sister *Helena*, raised a more powerful faction against him: And as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mneſtheus* harangued the citizens, and told them, that, since their quarrel was only against *Theseus*, their safest way was to open their gates to them, and *Theseus*, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L). His design was to have sailed into *Crete*, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there from *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*, and his now brother-in-law (M); but he was

(L) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or *the place of cursing* (10).

(M) *Theseus* had a son by the *Amazonian* queen named *Hippolytus*, and having soon after married *Phædra* the sister of *Deucalion* the son and successor of *Minos*, by whom he had two sons, he sent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* queen of *Trœzen*; but he coming afterwards to be present at some *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to *Theseus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says, that *Theseus* prayed to *Neptune* to punish him by some violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the sea-shore, *Neptune* sent two sea calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana*, being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him,

(10) *Plutarch. in Thes.*

prevailed

was unfortunately caſt by a tempeſt upon the iſland of *Scyros*. Here he was at firſt kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was ſoon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some ſay, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is moſt likely, at the inſtigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, though others ſay, that, that place being his uſual walk after ſupper, his foot unfortunately ſlipt in the dark. We omit for brevity's ſake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch*'s life of him. All we ſhall add here is, that the *Athenians* did ſometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon*, the famous ſon of *Miltiades*, did raze the whole iſland of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

11. *Mneſtheus* or *Meneſtheus* was the ſon of *Peteus*, and great grandſon of *Erectheus* the ſixth king of *Athens*, and conſequently had a better right to the crown than *Theſeus*, whoſe father was uncertain, and who was at beſt but the ſon of *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted ſon of *Pandion*, as we have ſeen above. Whilſt therefore *Theſeus* was either purſuing his amours, or was impriſoned for the rape of *Proſerpine*, it was eaſy for his rival to perſuade the *Athenians* to raiſe him to the throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, taking the advantage of *Theſeus*'s confinement, came and beſieged *Aphidne* a town in *Attica*, where he had ſent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and theſe two heroes having taken and reſcued their ſiſter, out of revenge to her raviſher, helped his competitor to mount the throne.

Meneſtheus, being thus choſen, was in no great care about the ſons of *Theſeus*, but dreaded his known valour, in caſe he ſhould ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed ſo far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and careſſes, that they would not ſuffer him to come into *Attica*. And as ſoon as he heard, that he was retired into the iſland of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to diſpatch him by the ſtratagem we lately mentioned. *Meneſtheus* reigned twenty four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the ſiege of *Troy*, where having loſt his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Theſean* line.

prevailed upon *Æſculapius* to reſtore him to life, to be a companion of her diverſions.

12. *Demophon*,

12. *Demophon*, one of the ſons of *Theſeus* by *Phædra*, ſucceeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of thoſe that came back ſafe from that ſiege: In his return he landed in *Thrace*, where *Phyllis*, king *Lycurgus*'s daughter, entertained him for ſome time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promiſed to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, conſiſting originally of fifty *Athenians* and as many *Argivi*, for trying of wilful murders, and lying in wait to kill. The occaſion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to ſit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others ſay *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, was driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themſelves in an enemy's country, began their uſual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the ſurpriſed *Athenians* fell upon them and killed a conſiderable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the ground among the ſlain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle, having been conſulted, ordered them to give the ſlain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to ſet up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court ſhould be erected to try all caſes of murder, manſlaughter, and chance-medly. It conſiſted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of ſenſe and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its firſt ſetting up, *Agamemnon* inſiſting that there ſhould be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to ſit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it. *Demophon* ſubmitted himſelf afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his ſubjects by the turn of his horſe, as he was coming from *Troy*. It ſubſiſted a conſiderable time in the ſame form; but *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new-modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it conſiſt of fifty one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age[P]. *Demophon* reigned thirty three years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, or, according to others, his brother

13. *Oxyntes*, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his ſon

14. *Aphydas*, who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the firſt year of his reign.

[P] EUSEB. Chron. lib. i.

15. *Thymætes*,

15. *Thymætes*, the baſtard-ſon of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his baſe nature in many things beſides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We ſhall only mention the laſt inſtance of it which juſtly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years, when *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia* had a conteſt with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in ſingle combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened, that *Melanthus*, a noble *Meſſenian* who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to anſwer the chartel. Upon their very firſt onſet *Melanthus* called to his adverſary, and aſked him why he brought a ſecond along with him contrary to their articles, and whilſt *Xanthus* turned about to ſee who followed him, he ran him through with his lance [q]. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did ſo pleaſe the *Athenians*, that they not only depoſed their puſillanimous king, who was the laſt of the line of *Erectheus*, and ſet their *Meſſenian* champion upon the throne; but inſtituted a feaſt in memory of this action, and called it *Apatheria* from the ſtratagem that gave occaſion to it [r].

16. *Melanthus*, as ſoon as he had mounted the throne, perſuaded the *Athenians* to receive the baniſhed *Meſſenians* and *Neſtoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty ſeven years left the kingdom to his worthy ſon *Codrus* [s].

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponneſus*, and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed that the oracle had promiſed them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions againſt it; but he, who had reſolved to ſacrifice his life to the ſafety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them. He diſguiſed himſelf like a peaſant, went into their camp, fell a quarelling with ſome of the *Dorian* ſoldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceaſed not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were ſo terrified, that they decamped without ſtriking a blow [t].

WITH *Codrus* ended the regal ſucceſſion and title of kings of *Athens*. His ſubjects conceived ſuch veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they eſteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the

[q] Vid. FRONTIN Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5.
[r] POLYÆN. Stratag. l. i. c. 9.
[s] PAUSAN. Achaic.
[t] JUST. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 6.

† management

management of the eſtates to elective magiſtrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and choſe *Medon* the eldeſt ſon of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election, however, was oppoſed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended he could not ſubmit to *Medon*'s authority, becauſe he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it [u], all the *Archons* that ſucceeded him were from him ſurnamed *Medontidæ*, becauſe they were all choſen by ſucceſſion: ſo that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under thirteen perpetual *Archontes*, ſomewhat above the ſpace of two hundred years.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, having added them to the liſt of the *Athenian* kings: neither ſhall we dwell upon the tranſactions which happened under each ſeveral archonſhip; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did ſhew from time to time their diſlike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a reſemblance to monarchy, and giving its poſſeſſor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give ſome marks of their diſcontent under their firſt *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed ſo much quiet during a long ſeaſon, that it ſwarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harraſſed with wars, ſo that they were forced to diſcharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coaſts of *Leſſer Aſia*. Upon the very firſt of theſe expeditions *Nileus* and the reſt of *Codrus*'s ſons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon*, drew a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Leſſer Aſia*, where they diſperſed themſelves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Epheſus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myos*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erithræ*, *Phocea*, *Chios* in the iſle of that name, and *Samos*. Theſe were at firſt each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be ſeen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonſhip, however, upheld itſelf ſo long, in ſpite of the people's diſlike to it, that it paſſed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the ſon of *Codrus* to *Alcmæon* the laſt who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his ſhort reign, which laſted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: ſo that *Charops* the

[u] CASTOR, ap. EUSEB. ubi ſupra.

fon of *Eſchylus*, was forced to accept of it upon thoſe terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the ſeventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. This new decennial dignity had ſcarce paſſed through four hands, before they began again to call for a freſh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the laſt of *Codrus*'s line, in whoſe archonſhip this tumult happened, had ſcarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his ſon and daughter (N), cauſed him to be depoſed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued ſtill through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the laſt of them, either dying, or being depoſed in the laſt year of his archonſhip, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be choſen from among the moſt conſiderable citizens for birth, wealth and intereſt, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new model and confirm, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Year of the Flood 2247. Before Chriſt 752

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdoms of Bœotia *and* Thebes.

Antient names.

WE find two antient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*; the one, and by far the more antient and conſiderable of the two, founded, or rather reſtored, by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia* from *the ox* which is ſaid to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Theſſaly*, and is ſaid to have been founded by *Bœotus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, and brother of *Æolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This laſt having ſent his daughter to *Metapontium* a city of *Italy*, ſhe was there delivered of thoſe two ſons, the eldeſt of whom ſhe called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands in the *Tyrrhe-*

(N) He cauſed his ſon to be torn in pieces by horſes for adultery, and his daughter he ſhut up with a horſe without food, to be devoured alive, for having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous puniſhment, *Suidas* (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called Ἱππο-και-κόρης, *Hippo-kai-Kyres*, in memory of the horſe and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc.* ἱππομένης.

nian,

henian, now *Tuſcan Sea*, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bœotus* the younger ſon went to his grandfather and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of theſe is, that they held this ſettlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the *Theſſalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to ſeek for a new one; upon which they came and poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bœotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us, that theſe *Bœotians* did ſignalize themſelves at the *Trojan* war; and the latter adds, that five of *Bœotus*'s grandſons, *Peneleus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arceſilaus*, and *Clonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bœotian* troops thither.

ACCORDING therefore to *Diodorus* *, this laſt country, though founded into a kingdom, at leaſt ever ſince the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bœotia* till the baniſhed ſons of *Bœotus* gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of *Thebes*; but the moſt current account, eſpecially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himſelf in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had ſeveral other names, according to thoſe of its ſuppoſed founders; thoſe who aſcribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia*; others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, *Aonia* from *Aon* the ſon of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Hyas* the ſon of *Atlas*; but the far greater part ſay, it was originally called *Calydna* from *Calydnus*, the firſt founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes* its antient capital *Stibes* or *Stives*.

IT bordered on the eaſt to *Attica*, and was in time joined to it, as we have ſeen in the laſt article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Cithæron*. On the north by the ſtreight *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, ſaid to flow ſeven times *Geography.*

* Bibl. lib. iv.

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus*, tired with going in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, whom *Jupiter* in the ſhape of a bull, or, as is ſuppoſed, in a ſhip, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was adviſed by the oracle of *Delphi* to follow the track of the firſt ox he ſaw, and where he reſted himſelf to build there the city of *Thebes*, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) *Pauſan. in Bœot. & al.*

in twenty four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, ſuppoſed to do ſo, becauſe its tides are boiſterous and uncertain. On the weſt it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the ſouth the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the ſame length from north to ſouth; but coming near to a point eaſtward [a]. Here is the large lake *Copais* about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two conſiderable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eaſtward. Theſe are the *Aſopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* from thoſe of the *Plateans*, and running through thoſe of *Attica* falls into the *Ægean* ſea; and the *Iſmenus*, which empties itſelf into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, eſpecially *Aonia* properly ſo called; the reſt is low and flat, abounding with excellent paſturage; but whoſe air is ſo thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occaſion of the inhabitants being ſuch famous dunces.

Natural rarities.

Places of note.

Places of note in *Bœotia* were; 1. the *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle, ſaid to have been there given by *Jupiter*, whence he was ſurnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Theſpia*, a town ſituate on the river of that name, and ſhadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muſes, to whom theſe were dedicated, were called *Theſpiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a ſea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs ſwore the deſtruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed ſtreights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the ſtreights of *Thermophylæ* from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the moſt famed place was the city of *Thebes*, ſituate near the river *Iſmenus*, and ſurnamed *Heptapylos* from its ſeven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, as we obſerved before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his ſucceſſors, who did adorn it with many ſtately temples, palaces, and other ſumptuous buildings, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention by and by, were alſo called kings of *Thebes* [b].

Laws and Cuſtoms.

The government was altogether monarchical like thoſe we have ſeen already, but perhaps more deſpotic here than in

[a] Strab Mel. & al. [b] Pausan. in Bœot.

(B) So called from an old ſoothſayer, who inhabited it, and uſed to be conſulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many waſhings, anointings, and the like ſuperſtitious preparations. It is added that thoſe who had once been in it, were never ſeen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, *he has been in the* Trophonian *den*.

the

the reſt, and having no other laws than the king's will; ſome of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their antient cuſtoms, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to underſtand, that ſhe was fixed with her huſband for life, and muſt not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this antient kingdom we ſhall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable-writers. Even the times which elapſed between *Cadmus* and the celebrated war between the two contending ſons of *OEdipus*, and which is the moſt antient piece of hiſtory that we have of all *Greece*, are ſo ſtuffed with the vileſt and moſt abſurd fables of gods turned into ſatyrs and devils, and of men turned into monſters of cruelty and luſt, that we hope we ſhall be excuſed for ſkipping over all that has not ſome affinity with the hiſtory itſelf. The time in which chronologiſts place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550 c, and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be ſuppoſed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally deſtroyed by the *Epigoni* it had ſtood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but uſurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *OEdipus*, and three of the race of *Penelus* the great grandſon of *Bœotus*. Beſides theſe we find *Homer* mentioning *Eetion* as king of *Thebes*. We have ſpoken of him in another place †, and ſhall omit him here in our liſt, becauſe it doth not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pauſanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have ſignalized himſelf in the defence of that city.

Chronology

Year of the Flood, 1545. Year before Chriſt 1454.

c Vid. HIND. Hiſt. Græc. † See before, p. 428.

The

The List of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows:

1 *Cadmus*
2 *Polydorus*
3 *Labdacus*
4 *Lajus*
5 *Amphion* an uſurper
6 *Zethus* his brother
Lajus reſtored
7 *OEdipus*
8 *Eteocles* and
9 *Polynices*
10 *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*
11 *Therſander* ſon of *Polynices*
12 *Tiſamenes*
13 *Autesion*
14 *Damaſichton*
15 *Ptolomeos*
16 *Xuthus*

After this laſt the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, reſolved themſelves into a commonwealth, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

Cadmus, according to the *Greeks*, was the ſon of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, or, according to others, of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians* his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook: theſe add, that his wife *Hermione* was likewiſe a mere minſtrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tell us, that his father, ſending him and his two brothers in queſt of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having ſought her far and long in vain, and deſparing of ſucceſs, came into *Bœotia*, where, as we have ſeen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at firſt oppoſed by the *Hyantes* and *Aones*, who were then in poſſeſſion of that territory: the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into *Locris*; but the latter he admitted, upon their ſubmitting themſelves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built

† Vid. Arrian. l. xiv. c. 22.

(C) Who and whence thoſe people were, whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variouſly conjectured: ſome think, that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians*; but we think *Bochart*'s conjecture (3) the moſt reaſonable, that they were *Canaanites*, driven out of their land by

(2) *Vid. Uſſer. an ſub. A. M.* 2549. (3) *Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 19. *See Vol. II. p.* 304, & *Note* (A).

Joſhua,

built the city of *Thebes*, and a citadel, which he called by his own name *Cadmea* [d], which name it retained many ages after.

THE fable adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom the poets make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus* and assisted at his wedding; and that he had by her one son named *Polydorus* and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Encheleæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to choose him their general, he left *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was, that he and

[d] PAUSAN. ubi supra.

Joshua, whose time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moses* (4), who were the same with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim* or *Easterlings*, because they inhabited mount *Hermon* the most eastern part of *Canaan*, from which the same author supposes *Cadmus*'s wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

The fable of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* signifies *a serpent*.

These conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*; for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of *Canaan* (5) and written in the plural Θεβη by *Josephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of those who derive it from *Theba* the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reason why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of those who make *Bacchus* to be the same with *Nimrod*, and of those who make him the son of *Jupiter Ammon*, since in either opinion he must have been vastly more antient (8).

However, *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three-years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of those parts; and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(4) *Gen.* xv. 19. (5) *c.* ix. 50. (6) *Ant. l.* v. *c.* 5. (7) *Vid. Steph. Byzant. sub Thebæ.* (8) *Vid. Bochart. ubi supra. Ch.* xviii. (9) *Vid. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iv.

his

his wife are feigned to have been turned into ſerpents (E), or, as ſome interpret it, to have degenerated from their priſtine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another ſon, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new-conquered ſubjects, or elſe that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece.

Cadmus is univerſally allowed to have introduced the uſe of letters into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet at firſt had but ſixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He alſo was the firſt that ſet up ſchools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and braſs had the name of *Cadmean* given it in memory of his being the inventer of it, or rather of his introducing the uſe of it into thoſe parts [e].

Cadmus being retired into *Illyrium*, as we have ſeen, left the *Theban* government to his ſon *Polydorus*, in whoſe reign his great favourite and nephew, *Pentheus* the ſon of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the inſolence to prophane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and ſiſters. *Polydorus*, whoſe ſon *Labdacus* was yet under age, when he found himſelf dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nycteus*, whoſe daughter *Antiope* (F), the greateſt beauty then in all *Greece*, being ſoon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilſt he undertook a war againſt the raviſher of his daughter. He went ſoon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight enſued, in which *Nycteus* received a mortal wound and loſt the battle, upon which he cauſed himſelf to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother

[e] Vid. Herodot. l. v.

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great ſerpent, he ſtrewed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting againſt each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(F) This young princeſs who was married to *Zethus*, is ſuppoſed to have been carried off by her own conſent, becauſe her dying father gave him orders to puniſh her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that ſhe was pregnant, he contented himſelf at firſt with divorcing her, though he was afterwards perſuaded by his next wife to clap her into a priſon, out of which ſhe was afterwards releaſed by her two ſons (10).

(10) *Pauſan. in Corinth. c.* v.

ther guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to reſcue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flufhed with his victory (G), neglected a ſlight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death ſome time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as ſhe was coming back to *Thebes*, ſhe fell in labour, and was delivered of two ſons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak by-and-by.

3. *Labdacus*, when of age, finding that *Laomedon*, who had ſuccceded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon*, was attacked by two powerful enemies, *Archandes* and *Architeles*, the ſons of *Achæus*, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be reſtored; and *Laomedon*, though then aſſiſted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet choſe rather to deliver up that princeſs, than to exaſperate the *Theban* king by a refuſal *. We have ſeen what reception ſhe met with in a late note. *Labdacus*, dying ſoon after, left his ſon *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus*, having made

* PAUSAN. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is ſaid to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late ſucceſs, and that when it was finiſhed, he prayed to the goddeſs, that if ſhe accepted of it, ſhe would ſhew ſome particular token of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) Theſe twins, *Homer* ſays (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. Their firſt exploit was to murder *Lycus* and his wife, and to reſcue their mother out of her confinement. After this they ſeized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

Antiope is alſo called *Nyctеis* from her father *Nycteus*, and the antient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verſes to this purpoſe; *That ſhe had* Aſopus *for her father*; Epopeus *and* Jupiter *for her gallants*; *and* Amphion *and* Zethus *for her ſons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* ſay, was not the ſon of *Marathon*, the ſon of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the ſon of *Erectheus* (14). *Heſiod* makes him the ſon of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may ſee what we ſaid of him in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

(11) *Id. ibid.* (12) *Odyſſ. l.* ii. (13) *Aſius ap. Panſan. ubi ſupra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Ibyc. ap. eund.*

it his firſt care to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, the only ſurviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and loſt the day. *Amphion* ſeized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at leaſt the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt by the mother's ſide (K), whilſt the upper city or citadel retained its antient name of *Cadmea*. It is to theſe two heroes that *Homer* attributes the incloſing and fortifying the former with a famous ſtrong wall, with ſeven gates, and a number of ſtately towers at a convenient ſpace from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long againſt the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged ſoon after which deſtroyed great multitudes. and among the reſt *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who ſucceeded him, fell under other misfortunes, his only ſon was killed by his own mother, the grief of which ſhortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of ſetting *Lajus* again upon his throne.

Lajus having married *Jocaſta*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Epicaſte*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apollo*'s oracle, that if he had a ſon by her, he ſhould be killed by him. *OEdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* therefore gave to a ſhepherd to be ſlain (M); but he, moved with compaſſion, left him expoſed in a place, where he was ſoon after taken up by the herdſman of, and preſented to, *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and, from the ſwelling which the boring and anguiſh had left in them, called

(K) Some pretend, that ſhe was one of the three daughters of the river *Aſopus*, or rather of *Aſopus* the *Phliaſian*, from whom that river had its name: but the *Bœotians* affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of *Aſopus* the *Bœotian*, probably the ſame which was alſo called *Nycteus* the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Aſius* above quoted calls *Aſopus*.

(L) What the fable adds, concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion*'s lyre in the building of thoſe walls, is ſo well known, that we need not ſay any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had firſt brought muſic into *Greece*, from *Lydia*, where he had learned it (16), and that it was ſo admired for its novelty and excellence, that he eaſily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilſt he diverted them with the muſic of his harp; and probably alſo by his eloquence, which he was no leſs a maſter of, perſuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live ſociably and in community.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beaſts.

(16) *Vid. Plin. lib.* vii. *Ch.* lvi. *Pauſan. in Bœotic. &al.*

him

him *OEdipus*, and brought him up as his own [f]. When he came of age, and underſtood that he was not the ſon of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphi* to enquire after his parents, and at the ſame time *Lajus* led by his fate went likewiſe to enquire what was become of his ſon. They met at *Phocis*, and, ſome ſcuffle happening between them, *OEdipus* unwittingly killed his father and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocaſta*, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the *Sphinx*'s riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their inceſtuous embraces (O). Some add, that he had alſo two daughters by her, but others ſay they were by another woman.

As ſoon as *OEdipus* was appriſed, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and inceſt, the horror of his guilt threw him into ſuch a fit of diſtraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having curſed his unhappy poſterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took ſanctuary in *Eumenides*'s grove, and ſoon after ended his miſerable

[f] Conf. PLUTARCH. in Theſ. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & al.

(N) This was a miſchievous monſter which infeſted the neighbourhood of *Thebes*; it had a face and body like a dog, and deſtroyed all the paſſengers that could not expound her riddle. *Creon* the father of *Jocaſta* ruled then at *Thebes*, and having conſulted the oracle, was anſwered, that there would be no end of this miſchief till ſomebody gave her a ſolution; whereupon he cauſed it to be proclaimed through *Greece*, that the man that expounded it ſhould have *Jocaſta* to wife; and *OEdipus* proved the perſon who gained the fatal prize, and from that inceſtuous marriage had the two ſons who were the occaſion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at leaſt the account which all the antient poets, except *Homer*, have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raiſe the greater compaſſion for that unhappy couple and their progeny; but *Homer*, on the contrary, who introduces *Ulyſſes* ſaying, that he had ſeen in hell the fair *Epicaſte*, who through imprudence had married her own ſon, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father and huſband of his mother, makes him add, that *the gods, by haſtening this prince's death*, prevented the ſad effects of that inceſtuous marriage. For, as *Pauſanias* juſtly obſerves (17) how could they be ſaid to ſtop the courſe of that inceſt, if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled, *OEdipiad*, or *the adventures of* OEdipus, that he had thoſe children by *Eurigania* the daughter of *Hyperbas*.

(17) *In Bœotic. cap.* vi.

life. As for *Jocaſta*, ſhe hanged herſelf for grief even before he left the kingdom.

HIS two ſons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them ſhould reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other: But *Eteocles* having refuſed to reſign after he had reigned his year, *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where having married *Adraſtus*'s daughter, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, he engaged that prince to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his right: theſe two came ſoon after with a powerful army, and beſieged *Eteocles* at the ſeven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the ſame time put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, and went and conſulted an old blind *Theban* ſoothſayer about the ſucceſs of the war; and was anſwered, that victory would infallibly fall on his ſide, if *Menœceus* the ſon of *Creon* and the laſt of the *Cadmean* race, would voluntarily ſacrifice himſelf to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his country[g]. This did not however, prevent hoſtilities being carried on with the utmoſt fury, and with ſuch terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes ſhould decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, which they did with ſuch deſperate fury, that both fell by each other's ſword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a ſecond battle, wherein both ſides loſt ſeveral of their brave commanders, and ſuch a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almoſt ruined by it. A treaty was then expoſtulated by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead; but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was ſo exaſperated againſt them, that he not only abſolutely refuſed it, but cauſed the princeſs *Antigone* to be buried alive, becauſe ſhe had cauſed the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was ſoon after killed by *Theſeus*, who came with an army againſt him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury their ſlain, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

IN the mean time the ſons of thoſe ſeven generals, who fell before *Thebes*, reſolving to revenge themſelves on that city for the ill ſucceſs of the laſt expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed the ſiege afreſh. *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*, who by this time came to age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægyalcus* one of their chiefs. But being himſelf ſoon after

[g] Id. ibid. Vid. & CICER. STAT. & al.

killed,

killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium* [h], the *Thebans* began to ſue for a treaty, and whilſt that was tranſacting, conveyed themſelves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Heſtiæa*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some ſay, that theſe, being appriſed of their flight, plundered the city, and quite eraſed her walls. Others affirm, that *Therſander Polynices*'s ſon diſſuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; ſoon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way ſignalized himſelf at *Myſia*, and was killed by *Telephus*. His ſon *Tiſamenes*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was choſen their chief, and was alſo killed there by *Eurypylus* the ſon of *Telephus*. After his death *Tiſamenes* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates, which purſued the unfortunate offspring of *OEdipus*, did not prove ſo favourable to his ſon *Auteſion*, who, we are told, was ſeized with ſuch a dreadful phrenſy, or, according to the poetic phraſe, was perſecuted by the furies to ſuch a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

AFTER his departure the *Thebans* raiſed *Damaſichton*, the grandſon of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his ſon *Ptolomeos*, and he was ſucceeded by *Xanthus*, who was the laſt who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherouſly killed by *Melanthus* in ſingle combat, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Athens*. After his death the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, reſolved to put it into many hands, and to ſettle themſelves into a commonwealth [i], as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of ARCADIA.

Names. ARCADIA, ſo called from *Arcas* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Caliſto*, was antiently called *Pelaſgia*, being inhabited by the antient *Pelaſgi*, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from *Pelaſgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have ſpoken in a former ſection of this chapter †, as having been ſuppoſed by a late author to be the ſame with *Peleg* the ſon of *Eber* in ſcripture. The *Pelaſgians* did alſo ſurname him *Autochthon* [a], which was a name the *Grecians* gave to thoſe

[h] Conf. PAUSAN. Bœot. & APPOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7. [i] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. † See before, p. 432, & note (D). [a] XENOPH. STRAB. MEL. & al.

whoſe

whoſe original was not known. It is true, we find the *Pelaſgians* in ſeveral other parts of *Greece*, as was there obſerved; but their chief and primitive ſeat is generally ſuppoſed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whoſe inhabitants are univerſally allowed the antienteſt people in *Greece*, and boaſted themſelves to be older than the moon.

Geography. This country was ſituate in the heart of *Peloponneſus* (A), having *Elis* on the weſt, *Argolis* on the eaſt, *Laconia* and *Meſſenia* on the ſouth, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north [b]. Its ground, which afforded excellent paſturage, made it famous for the vaſt number of herds it bred; for the tuneful ſtrains of its ſhepherds, who excelled all others in their paſtoral performances, and the ſweetneſs of their vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and for the extraordinary worſhip that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was alſo a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegea*, and another dedicated to *Minerva* in the city of *Stymphalus*, ſituate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here alſo bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to ſuch a ſize and number, that they darkened the ſun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infeſted this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

Natural rarities.

Here was alſo the famed lake *Pheneus*, from which ſprings the river *Styx*, famous for the coldneſs of its water which chills them to death that drink it; it is alſo of ſuch corroſive nature that it will eat iron and braſs [c]. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whoſe name is ſo ſacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had ſworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the uſe of *Nectar* for a hundred years.

The *Arcadians* were at firſt a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelaſgus* to build huts, live ſociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or

[b] Strab. D. Sicul. Pausan. Mela, & al. [c] Id. ibid.

(A) The *Arcadians* were conſequently at a diſtance from the ſea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us, that they had neither ſhips, nor any knowledge of ſailing (1); ſo that when they are ſaid to have imbarked for the ſiege of *Troy*, we muſt underſtand it of *Agamemnon*'s fleet, which tranſported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib. ii.*

beech-mall

beech-maſt (B), and to cloath themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts. They began afterwards to give themſelves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their ſoil. But as this country abounded with excellent paſture grounds, ſo it was expoſed to continual incurſions from thoſe, who were either forced out of their own country, or were diſcontented with it. And this put them upon the neceſſity of exchanging the crook for the ſword, and to inure themſelves to ſome warlike diſcipline in their own defence, who would otherwiſe in all likelihood have preferred a paſtoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, eſpecially the highlanders, became ſuch excellent ſoldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other eſtates. They commonly uſed to come to the wars clad with the ſkins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they uſed with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length ſuch expert warriors, eſpecially in a defenſive war, that they have ſometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other ſide, witneſs that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* againſt *Tegea*, when, fluſhed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they ſhould take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle diſcomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambuſh, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with thoſe very chains they had brought with them *. Having therefore ſuch brave females to defend their country in caſe of invaſion, they uſed to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring ſtates, in the ſame manner as the *Switzers* are now; and this made them ſome amends for their want of commerce occaſioned by their diſtance from the ſea.

* HERODOT. l. i. & PAUSAN. in Arcad.

(B) Which kind of food, *Pauſanias* tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, inſomuch, that the *Lacedemonians* conſulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage againſt them, received this anſwer from the pythoneſs, that though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their ſide, yet could they expect no ſucceſs againſt a warlike people, whoſe chiefeſt dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(2) *In Arcad. c. i.*

THIS

This extraordinary change in ſo rude a nation was as quick as it was ſurpriſing. *Lycaon* the ſon of their founder, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the following note, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his ſubjects, by introducing the worſhip of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the ſame prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C); his ſons, of whom he had a conſiderable number, ſet themſelves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names [d], and which we ſhall mention in their proper places. In theſe they gathered the people into bodies, and brought them ſtill nearer to a ſocial life; and in the next reign they began to ſow corn, make bread, ſpin wool, and to make themſelves garments of it [e]. Another author adds [f], that they learned the uſe of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making cheeſe, of oil, and ſome other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations,

[d] In Arcad. ch. iii. [e] Id. ibid. [f] Justin. ex Trog. l. xiii. c. 7.

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, forbad the ſacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have ſacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its riſe only from the ſavage nature of that prince implyed in his name, λύκος, ſignifying *a wolf*: the account which *Ovid* gives of him is as follows:

Jupiter, deſirous to know whether the wickedneſs of men anſwered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon*'s palace, where having made himſelf known, the people were going to ſacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his gueſt to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having miſſed his blow, he killed and dreſſed a *Moloſſian* youth, whom he kept as a hoſtage, and ſet him before his gueſt to eat, for which the exaſperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightning, and turned his inhuman hoſt into a wolf.

(D) This laſt author ſays, that *Ariſtæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all theſe things, was the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Theſſalian* princeſs whom that luſtful god carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four ſons, the three firſt of which ſettled in *Theſſaly*, and the other, *viz.* *Ariſtæus*, came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This ſtory, however, is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Siculus*, who affirm, that ſhe had but one ſon by *Jupiter*, namely *Monius*, who was alſo ſurnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding of cattle; and *Pauſanias* ſays, that this *Ariſtæus* inſtructed *Arcas* the 4th king of the country, without taking any

 notice

nerations, the *Arcadians*, from being but one remove from wild beaſts, became civilized, induſtrious, inured to ſociety, huſbandry, and a regular government. To all theſe we may add, that theſe advantages, which expoſed them to frequent invaſions from abroad, put them likewiſe upon the neceſſity of cultivating the martial arts, firſt in their own defence, and afterwards for intereſt and gain, whence they became ſuch brave ſoldiers and expert warriors, as we obſerved they were. Hence it was, that moſt of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but eſpecially the *Meſſenians*, with whom they ſeem to have maintained an inviolable friendſhip. But *Hercules*, of all the antient heroes, had the greateſt confidence in them, inſomuch, that we ſeldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having ſome *Arcadian* forces to aſſiſt him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their paſtoral life, for which they have been ſo highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians*[g]. *Arts and husbandry.*

THEIR government, like that of all their neighbours, was at firſt altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the ſubjects began to claim ſomething like a negative power, eſpecially in matters of great moment, ſo that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, ſuch as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their conſent. This may perhaps be one main reaſon why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other eſtate of *Greece*; but this will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. We ſhall confine ourſelves here within our epoch, and to that ſeries of kings which that nation pretended to be deſcended from *Peluſgus* their firſt founder, and which *Pauſanias* has given us from their tradition and records. And herein if he differs ſometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Juſtin*, and other antient writers, we may ſuppoſe he had his reaſons for ſo doing; and, if we except the remoteſt times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkneſs, the ſtanding monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it ſometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father betwen his ſons, and continued ſo, till want of iſſue, alliances, or ſome other circumſtance united it again. Beſides this, the ſeveral cities, built by the ſons of *Government.*

[g] APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

notice of his reigning there. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more of this *Cyrene* when we come to ſpeak of *Theſſaly*.

Lycaon, ſeem to have been divided into cantons under their ſeveral chiefs; but whether always under one ſovereign or not, is not ſure. Hence it is, that we read of theſe cantons, as of ſeparate people, who made alliances, not only among themſelves, but with foreign ſtates, and ſignalized themſelves during ſeveral centuries under their reſpective names, ſuch as *Tegeans*, *Trapezans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we ſhall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their being miſtaken in the ſequel of the *Grecian* hiſtory for ſo many diſtinct people from the *Arcadians*.

The ſucceſſion of the kings of *Arcadia*, who reigned from their founder to *Ariſtocrates*, who was murdered by his ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians* [h], is as follows.

1 *Pelaſgus*	8 *Aleus*	14 *Cypſelus*	20 *Æginetes*
2 *Lycaon*	9 *Lycurgus*	15 *Lajus*	21 *Polymeſtor*
3 *Nyctimus*	10 *Echemus*	16 *Bucolion*	22 *Echmis*
4 *Arcas*	11 *Agapenor*	17 *Phialius*	23 *Ariſtocrates* I.
5 *Clitor*	12 *Hyppothous*	18 *Simus*	24 *Hicetas*
6 *Azan*	13 *Epytus* II.	19 *Pompus*	25 *Ariſtocrates* II.
7 *Epytus* I.			

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning. If *Pelaſgus*, the ſuppoſed founder of this monarchy, were the ſame with *Phaleg* or *Peleg* the ſon of *Eber*, in whoſe days the earth is ſaid to have been divided [i]; it muſt have begun at leaſt as early as *Terah*'s time; but we hope we have ſufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore †, as well as the other conjecture of the ſame learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians* *. Thoſe who place the foundation of it about *Moſes*'s time ſeem ſtill to have antedated it [k]; neither would we venture to place it before the expulſion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in ſearch of ſome more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joſhua*'s time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelaſgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops* I. *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him this was about 1120 years before Chriſt, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Chriſt, 1556, at which time we

[h] Pausan. ubi ſupra. ch. ii. & ſeq. Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. S. [i] Gen. x. 25. vid. & before, p. 233, & 432. note D. † See Vol. I. p. 374. * See the world, l. ii. c. 6. ſect. 4. [k] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hiſt. of

have

have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that *Pelaſgus* could be of recenter date than he, if we conſider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the ſucceſſions of their kings; and that *Pauſanias* thinks, that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder [1]. Upon this ſuppoſition therefore, that they began near about the ſame time, it will follow, that this of *Arcadia* laſted in the line of *Pelaſgus* about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and firſt of the 28th olympiad, in which *Ariſtocrates* II. and the laſt of the race was ſtoned to death. This is the utmoſt we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whoſe beginning is ſo dark and remote. We ſhall in the next place ſubjoin what we find moſt material concerning theſe monarchs.

WE have already ſaid all we know concerning *Pelaſgus* and his ſon *Lycaon*, except that this laſt built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, and called it *Lycoſura*, cauſed *Jupiter* to be worſhipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycæus*, and inſtituted the *Lycæan* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous iſſue, the reader may ſee them in the margin (E). Among ſo many ſons *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Caliſto*, with whom *Jupiter* having had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a ſhe-bear,

[1] ARCAD. c. i.

(E) Theſe cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*, *Oreſthaſium*, by *Oreſtheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia* from *Phialus* the ſon of *Bucolion*, *Trapezonte* from *Trapezeus*, and ſo of the reſt which were built by his other ſons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Helliſſon*, *Acacus*, (from whom this laſt tribe pretends *Mercury* has that ſurname in *Homer* which ſignifies *without evil*, implying, that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thochnus*. *Hypſus* built *Hypſuntes*, *Menelea*, and *Thyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The reſt of thoſe cantons, bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Chariſians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Aſeatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hereans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richeſt canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methydion* †. The youngeſt of *Lycaon*'s ſons called *OEnotrius*, inſtead of following the example of the reſt, obtained a ſum of money and forces from his brother *Nyctimus*, who ſucceeded *Lycaon*, ſailed into *Italy*, and ſettled there, and was the firſt who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3). Hence that of *Virgil*:

† *De his Vid. St. Byzant ſub. voc. & Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (3) *Pauſan. in Arcad. ch.* iii.

bear, and *Diana*, to pleaſe that jealous goddeſs, ſhot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

3. *Nyctimus*, and he dying, we ſuppoſe childleſs, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the ſon of *Caliſto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved husbandry. He had three ſons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), beſides a natural ſon he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldeſt called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Aphydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and ſettled in *Phocis*, and built a city which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was ſucceeded by his only ſon

6. *Clitor*, who inſtituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfulleſt prince of his time, but died childleſs; ſo that his ſhare of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus*, eldeſt ſon of his brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venomous ſerpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his couſin

8. *Aleus*, the ſon of *Aphydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three ſons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamus*, and *Cepheus*; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ (4).
OEnotrii coluere viri.

(F) The fable adds, that *Mercury*, out of compaſſion to the young princeſs, and by *Jupiter*'s order, ſaved the infant ſhe was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where ſhe became a conſtellation, or, if you pleaſe, that conſtellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muſe of that name who preſides over matters of love; but a wood-nymph, ſuch as they called *Dryades*. Thoſe who inhabited the mountains were called *Oreades*; thoſe of the water *Nercides*; and thoſe of ſprings and rivers *Naiades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the ſon of *Elatus*. This is the ſame mountain on which *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Mercury* on *Maia* the daughter of *Atlas* †

(4) *Vid. Gedoyn. Not. in eund. ch.* iii. (5) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c.* iv. † *See before, p.* 272.

for

for her criminal converſe with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

9. *Lycurgus*, whoſe two ſons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandſon of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* aſſiſted *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops* againſt the *Heraclidæ*, who firſt entered *Peloponneſus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules* at their head. We have ſpoken of this expedition in a former ſection, and of the ſucceſs of *Echemus* againſt that champion whom he killed in ſingle combat, he left his kingdom to a ſon of *Ancæus* the ſon of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the ſiege of *Troy* (L), and in his return thence, being, like the reſt of the ſurviving *Grecian* chiefs, toſſed about by contrary winds and tempeſts, was caſt at length upon the coaſts of *Cyprus*, and ſettled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pauſanias*, was only worſhipped at the ſmall city of *Golgos* [m]. From him the kingdom paſſed to the line of *Stymphalus* the ſon of *Elatus*, who was the youngeſt ſon of *Arcas*.

[l] Arcad. c. ii. [m] Arcad. c. v.

(I) This princeſs having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilſt he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no ſooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a cheſt with her child and flung into the ſea; ſhe was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus* by *Teuthras* king of *Myſia*, who was ſo charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her ſon *Telephus* as his own, and made him his ſucceſſor (6).

Others ſay, that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the ſea, and that ſhe being delivered in her way to *Nauplia*, an *Argolic* port, ſhe left her child there, and that he, inſtead of drowning the mother, ſold her to *Teuthras*. The child was ſuckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into *Myſia*, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(K) Theſe were *Ancæus*, who, being returned from the *Argonautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epochus*, who was carried off by ſickneſs.

(L) Moſt probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whoſe ſhips they were tranſported to and from that ſiege, as we obſerved in a former note.

(6) *Pauſan ubi ſupra.* (7) *Apollod l.* ii. *Diod. Sicul l. iv. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

12.

12. *Hippothous* the great grandſon of *Stymphalus* was the perſon who ſucceeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom from *Tegea* the antient metropolis to *Trapeza*; he was ſucceeded by his ſon

13. *Epytus* II. in whoſe days *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* [n] (M). *Epytus* was afterwards ſtruck blind for his preſumption in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantinea*, and dying ſoon after it left the crown to his ſon

14. *Cypſelus*, in whoſe days *Creſphontes*, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Meſſenia*, was murdered with two of his ſons. The third named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypſelus*, who was his grandfather by the

[n] Vid. HERODOT. l. i. c. 66. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedemonians*, having proved unſucceſsful againſt the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle, that they would continue ſo, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to conſult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable anſwer, as it is engliſhed by *Littlebury*.

In the Arcadian *plain lies* Tegea,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form reſiſts form, miſchief on miſchief ſtrikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's *ſon,*
Carry him off, and be victorious.

The ſolution of this puzzling anſwer was afterwards accidentally found out by *Liches*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tegea*, and obſerving, with ſome attention, a ſmith working at his ſhop, was told by him, that in the ſinking of a well, he had found a coffin ſeven cubits long, and that having had the curioſity to open it, to ſee if the body anſwered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches, comparing the place he was in, and the anſwer of the oracle, did eaſily conceive, that by the ſmith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the double miſchief thoſe which are cauſed by *Iron*; upon which, having acquainted the *Spartans* with this diſcovery, it was agreed, that he ſhould be baniſhed for ſome fictitious crime, that he might be the leſs ſuſpected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with ſome difficulty hired the ſmith's incloſure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to *Sparta* (8).

(8) *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 66.

mother's

mother's ſide (N), and by his aſſiſtance regained the *Meſſenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the uſurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing conſiderable during the reigns of his four next ſucceſſors, *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this laſt, an antient ſtatue of *Ceres*, ſurnamed the *Black*, was ſet on fire, which was looked upon as a preſage of that monarch's ſpeedy death, which happened accordingly ſoon after: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the ſea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandiſes uſed to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved ſo beneficial to the kingdom, that, in gratitude to thoſe iſlanders, *Pompus* called his ſon and ſucceſſor by their name *Æginetes*. This laſt was ſucceeded by his ſon

21. *Polymeſtor*, in whoſe days happened that fierce invaſion we ſpoke of at the beginning of this ſection, in which the *Lacedemonians*, being come againſt *Tegea*, were diſcomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans*: however, *Charilaus* was ſoon after releaſed, upon his oath and promiſe, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould not fight againſt them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of *Minerva Haliea*, where they ſtill continued in *Herodotus*'s time °. *Polymeſtor* was ſucceeded by his brother

22. *Echmis*, who aſſiſted the *Meſſenians*, the old and conſtant allies of the *Arcadians*, againſt the *Lacedemonians*, and was ſucceeded by his own ſon

23. *Ariſtocrates* I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, prieſteſs of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly reverenced by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and raviſhed

° HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponneſus*, not by the iſthmus of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypſelus* was forced to make an alliance with *Creſphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head againſt them, in conſideration of which, his ſon helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(9) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

her

her at the very altar of the goddeſs. For this fact he was ſtoned to death by his ſubjects, who, to prevent the like ſacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from thenceforth none but married women ſhould he admitted to the prieſtly function.

WE know nothing concerning his ſon *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Ariſtocrates* II. the laſt of the royal line of *Cypſelus*, and with whom we ſhall cloſe this ſection; he was ſtoned to death by his own ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at war. We ſhall ſee the ſequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we ſhall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, caſt his body out of their territories, left it expoſed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycæus*, on which they cauſed an inſcription to be ingraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it engliſhed by Mr. *Hind* in his *Grecian* hiſtory [p].

[p] P. 167. Vid. & PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, & in Meſſenic.

(O) The baſe betrayer of *Meſſene*'s ſtate
Has met at length a well-deſerved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors juſtice ſhun;
Hail, mighty *Jove!* ſave the *Arcadian* throne.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of THESSALY, *with a ſhort account of that of* PHOCIS.

Name. THESSALY is ſuppoſed to have received its name from *Theſſalus* [a], the father [b], or, according to others [c], the ſon of *Græcus*, an antient king of an obſcure village, from whom the *Greeks* are ſaid to have been deſcended [d]. It was alſo antiently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Æmon* the ſon of *Chlorus*, the father of *Theſſalus* and grandſon of *Pelaſgus* [e]. From this laſt it was alſo called *Pelaſgia*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyr-*

[a] STEPH. BYZANT. ſub voce Θισσαλ. [b] EUSEB. Chronic. vid. & not. Scalig. in eund. [c] Vid. BYZANT. ſub voce Γραίκος. [d] Id. ibid. & CLUVER. lib. iv. c. 8. [e] BYZANT. ſub voce Αιμον.

rha

rha Deucalion's wife; but it was moſt commonly known by that of *Theſſaly*, as it is now by that of *Janna*.

Division.

IT was anciently divided into four diſtricts, or perhaps kingdoms. *Theſſaliotis*, *Iſtiæotis*, *Pelaſgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this laſt when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which deſtroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only ſuch as happily eſcaped into the high mountains of *Theſſaliotis*, and *Deucalion*, and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and reſted at length upon *Parnaſſus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of ſtones behind them [f]. However, the name of *Theſſaly* and *Theſſalians* in time prevailed, and came to ſignify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magneſia* and *Phthiotis*, and ſometimes not; ſometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and ſometimes ſevered from it, and again rejoined to it [g].

Situation and extent.

Theſſaly, properly ſo called, had on the eaſt the provinces of *Magneſia* and *Phthia* abovementioned, and theſe two were bounded by the *Ægean* ſea. On the weſt it had *Illyricum* and *Epyrus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the ſouth *Græcia Propria*. It extended from weſt to eaſt about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

Natural rarities.

IT was famous for its twenty four hills, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe that follow:

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Oſſa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules* for their luſtful attempt upon the women that aſſiſted at *Pirithous*'s nuptials. Here were alſo the plains of *Pharſalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempea*, about ſix miles in length and five in breadth, ſo pleaſantly ſituate between the mountains of *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, ſo beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus*, which ran through the midſt of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muſes. On the ſouth borders of *Theſſaly* were ſeated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

THE

[f] OVID. Metam. init. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. [g] CLUVER. ubi ſupra. MELA, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

(A) The latter were ſo called from μύρμηξ a *piſmire*, not, as the poets feign, becauſe *Æacus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, ſeeing his

Rivers. THE whole kingdom of *Theſſaly* was very pleaſant and fruitful, being watered by ſeveral great rivers which run quite acroſs the country. The chiefeſt of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themſelves into the *Ægean* ſea, by the gulph of *Theſſalonica*, antiently called *Sinus Thermaicus*. This country ſeems alſo to have been above others productive of poiſonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* makes uſe of the word *Theſſalus* to expreſs *a poiſonous thing*; but upon the whole it was ſo fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the ſame rich nature, it was ſeldom free from foreign invaſions from ſome neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note. CITIES of note were; 1. *Lariſſa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Lariſſeus* (B). Its ſituation was excellent, being near the gulph above-mentioned, and upon the river *Peneus* near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempea*: 2. *Demetrias*, ſituate on the *Sinus Pelaſgicus*, now *Golfo dell Armiro*, and ſtrongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegaſa* on the ſame gulph, famous for being the place where the ſhip *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were inſtituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as ſome ſay, in memory of his killing the ſerpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Theſſaly* was

country diſpeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a freſh ſupply of ſubjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but becauſe, as *Strabo* ſays, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the piſmires in their diligence and oeconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other huſbandry from that inſect.

(B) Others ſay, that he was born at *Phthia*, eſpecially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearneſs of thoſe two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his reſidence in the other.

(C) We have already ſpoken of ſome others inſtituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in ſeveral parts of *Greece*. The four moſt conſiderable were, the *Iſthmian*, the *Olympic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Pythian*; theſe made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who reſorted to thoſe places in great number, but which were ſtill much more eſteemed for the concourſe of the nobleſt and greateſt youths, who came to ſignalize themſelves there, ſome for their ſtrength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accompliſhments.

The

was, according to *Heliodorus* [h], called *Hypatha*, and ſituated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo de Ziton*, and at a ſmall diſtance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poiſoned ſhirt.

Theſſaly was famous, among other things, for ſuch an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus* king of *Pylus* refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tiryas*, except he procured him ſome of them, which he ſoon after did by the help of his brother *Bias* (D) [i]. What fine horſes they bred, and how expert they were in the uſe and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, ſince the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them [k]. This fable, however, reflects no leſs a brand upon them for their brutiſh incontinency, than it commends them for their ſkill in horſemanſhip. The attempt which they made upon the women that aſſiſted at the nuptials of their neighbour, *Pirithous* king

Rarities.

[h] Hiſt. Æthiop. ap. HEYLIN. [i] PAUSAN. in Meſſenic. c. xxxvi. [k] OSOR. SERV. VATTABL. & al.

The prize, which was given to the victors at theſe *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may ſee a fuller account of all theſe games in *Potter*'s antiquities (1).

(D) We have already ſpoken of theſe two brothers in a former ſection, and ſhewn how they came to their ſhare of the *Argolic* kingdom †. Our author adds, that *Bias*, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Theſſaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into priſon. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art ſo well with *Iphiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many ſurpriſing events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary ſkill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who preſented them to *Neleus*, and he left them to *Neſtor*, who cauſed them to be kept in a ſtable under ground, which was ſtill to be ſeen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horſe, and to have been the monſtrous offspring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud inſtead of *Juno*. The ground of this ſtory was, that theſe people did manage their horſes ſo well, that they were ſuppoſed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the moſt famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφελὴ, which ſignifies *a cloud*; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

(1) *Ch.* xxi. & *ſeq.* † *Sect.* iii. *p.* 451. *de his vid.* & *Pauſan. in Meſſenic. ch.* xxxviii.

of the *Lapithæ*, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the hiſtory of their wars with other nations affords us a conſtant proof of the latter, ſo that in ſpite of their debauchery they have ſtill ſhewed themſelves a warlike nation, and as ſuch their alliance, as well as aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed, if we conſider how liable the pleaſantneſs and fertility of their country made them to foreign invaſions, it will be no wonder they ſhould be ſo well inured to the trade of war. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have ſaved them from being ſwallowed up by ſome of their neighbours, conſidering that their ſcanty territories conſiſted only of four ſmall kingdoms or diſtricts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reaſon we ſhall not pretend to give here a liſt of their kings, much leſs of thoſe petty tyrants, who reigned, ſome over one or more, others over all the four diſtricts; but ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning what we find moſt remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all muſt be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Theſſaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not, however, pretend, to ſettle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop *Uſher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Iſaac Newton* and him. The occaſion of this expedition was as follows:

Year of the Flood, 1714. Year before Chriſt 1285.

Argonautic expedition.

Æſon, the third in deſcent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age or weary of government, whilſt his ſon *Jaſon*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimede*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias*, his brother by the mother's ſide, guardian of the kingdom till his ſon came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had reſolved to ſecure

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we muſt not omit the rape of *Cyrene* a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypſeus* king of *Theſſaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, ſo called from his ſtammering, ſettled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princeſs, after which he is ſaid to have recovered the free uſe of his ſpeech, as the oracle had obſcurely foretold (2). There is alſo a fountain of the ſame name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(2) *Juſtin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7. (3) *Pauſan. in Lacon.*

the

the government to himſelf, ſent to conſult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one ſhoe. It happened ſome time after, that as he was ſacrificing to *Neptune* he called his nephew to him, who was on the other ſide of a rivulet, and *Jaſon*, making more haſte than good ſpeed to croſs the brook, dropped one of his ſhoes, and gave him occaſion to think, that he was the perſon pointed at by the oracle. He then aſked him what courſe he would take with a perſon of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jaſon* readily anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchis* in ſearch of *the Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and ſent him immediately upon that enterprize [1]. *Jaſon* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a conſiderable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ſhip to be built for his purpoſe at *Pegaſa* by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argo*, and hence he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

THESE adventurers, after many ſtrange difficulties and exploits which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at

[1] lib. 1.

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in poſſeſſion of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine* ſea and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had ſome conſiderable mines of gold, which gave riſe to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding alſo with poiſonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make uſe of, the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantreſs. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never ſlept.

(H) The firſt place they touched at was the iſland of *Lemnos* in the *Ægean* ſea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their huſbands in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were ſo charmed with theſe brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They ſailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king, *Cyzicus*, but looſing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were miſtaken for *Pelaſgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement enſued, in which *Cyzicus* and a great number of his men were killed on the ſpot. The return of day-light having diſcovered the unhappy miſtake, they only ſtayed to bury their dead, and ſailed to *Myſia*, a country in *Aſia Minor* near the *Helleſpont* †.

Here *Hercules* plying his oar with more might than ſkill, unluckily broke it, and whilſt he was gone into the wood to cut himſelf a

† *See before* p. 392.

new

at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jason* acquainted *Æetes* king of the country with *Pelias*'s command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promiſed to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own ſingle ſtrength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been preſented to him by *Vulcan*), and plow the ground with them, ſowing it with the dragons teeth which *Minerva* had given

new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was ſtolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, ſo that whilſt he and his brother-in-law's ſon *Polyphemus* went in ſearch of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind and ſailed into *Bithyna*.

Here *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious ſtrength, having obliged them, as he did all ſtrange comers, to fight with him at whorlbats, was killed by *Pollux* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Bebryces*, ſeeing their king fallen, would ſoon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions reſcued him from the danger, after which they ſailed immediately to *Salmydeſſus* a city in *Thrace*, where they conſulted the famous blind ſoothſayer *Phineus*, concerning the ſucceſs of their expedition.

This perſon, who, according to the fable, was continually infeſted with *Harpyes*, a monſtrous kind of bird with womens faces and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his proviſions, and poiſoned the reſt with the ſtench they left upon it, promiſed to direct them ſafely to *Colchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Symplegades*, two rocks or, according to others, two iſlands, about half a league diſtant from the ſtraits of *Boſphorus*, and ſo near together, that at a diſtance they ſeem to run againſt each other, and which, the poets ſay, were often puſhed ſo cloſe by the force of the winds, that they ſhut up the paſſage. He therefore adviſed them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the ſtreight, unleſs they ſaw him got ſafe to the other ſide; they followed his advice with ſome ſucceſs, the pigeon having loſt only one part of his tail, and the ſhip received a ſmall bruiſe on its hinder part.

From this ſtraight they ſailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon*, the ſon of *Apollo* and *Aſteria*, and a ſoothſayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot did likewiſe die here, and was ſucceeded by *Ancæus*. At length, having croſſed the river *Thermodon* and mount *Caucaſus*, they arrived ſafe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their Journey *

* *Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. *Apollod. l.* i. *Vid. Hind, Hiſt. Græc.*

him,

him, and were the remainder of thoſe which *Cadmus* had ſown at *Thebes* [m].

Jaſon, perplexed how to perform theſe conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promiſed him, that if he would marry her ſhe would aſſiſt him in it, and he had no ſooner agreed to it, than ſhe gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof againſt the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, ſhe taught him how to tame thoſe fierce creatures, ſo as to be able to yoke and make uſe of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to ſow would preſently ſpring up into armed men, which would infallibly deſtroy him, unleſs he raiſed an immediate diſſention among them by throwing ſtones at them, during which he might eaſily cut them off. *Jaſon*, having ſucceſfully performed the taſk; went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promiſe, whilſt he, inſtead of delivering it, was contriving how to deſtroy him and his company and burn their ſhip. To prevent this miſchief, *Medea* went, and by her enchantments caſt the watchful dragon into a deep ſleep, ſtole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her deſire, alſo her brother *Abſyrtus*, into his ſhip, and ſailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery, purſued immediately after them, which when ſhe perceived, ſhe cut her brother in pieces, and ſcattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to ſtop his farther purſuit as it actually did. For the diſconſolate king, ſurpriſed at her unnatural barbarity, ſtayed to gather up the fragments of his ſons body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time ſhe and the *Argonauts* eſcaped into *Theſſaly*, not without having firſt felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Abſyrtus* (I), and after having ſpent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING

[m] Id. ibid. Vid. HYND. ubi ſupra, l. i.

(I) The fable adds, that *Jove* having purſued the *Argonauts* with dreadful ſtorms, and caſt them upon unknown coaſts, the ſhip *Argo*, to their great ſurpriſe, ſpake to them, and aſſured them, that that god would never be appeaſed, till they were cleanſed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed ſorcereſs, ſuppoſed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perſe*, who lived in the iſland of *Æea*. They had no ſooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, ſailing by the coaſts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their inchanting muſic, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*.

During his abſence, *Pelias*. who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken ſome means to cut off his father in order to fix the kingdom upon himſelf and his ſon *Acaſtus*, and the old king, being appriſed of his plots, had poiſoned himſelf by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewiſe, oppreſſed with grief for his death, and the ſuppoſed loſs of her ſon and kingdom, had hanged herſelf, ſo that *Pelias* now thought himſelf ſecure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jaſon* returned ſucceſsful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had ſo well ſtrengthened himſelf in it, that *Jaſon* brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing againſt

Orpheus.[7] Thence they ſailed between *Scylla* and *Charibdis* invironed with the fire and ſmoke, which ſeemed to iſſue out of thoſe and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger alſo, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra* the iſland of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had ſent in purſuit of them. Theſe went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promiſed to do in caſe ſhe was not already married to *Jaſon*. But his queen, being appriſed of this promiſe, went and married them privately and out of hand, ſo that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to ſettle in this iſland, whilſt the *Argonauts* ſailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make uſe of her inchantments to deliver the ſhip from being ſunk by the ſtones, which *Talus*, a man of braſs and the preſent of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that iſland, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was cloſed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend, that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others ſay, ſhe poiſoned him with ſome deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an iſland inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a ſupply of freſh water. Hence ſailing by *Eubœa* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they firſt ſet out *.

(K) We have obſerved already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was underſtood ſome mines in the country of *Colchis*. Theſe are ſuppoſed by ſome mythologiſts to have been contiguous to ſome of thoſe torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucaſus*, and to have brought down with them ſome quantities of gold duſt, which the inhabitants ſaved by ſetting fleeces of wool acroſs ſome of the narrow paſſages of thoſe currents. This is indeed the moſt rational account that can be given of that

* *Id. ibid. vid. &. Pauſan. paſs.*

matter,

againſt him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourſe to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as ſome ſay, reſtored *Jaſon*'s father to life. After this ſhe preſuaded *Pelias*'s daughters to boil their old father, on pretence ſhe would reſtore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acaſtus* mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obſequies, baniſhed *Jaſon* and his wife from *Theſſaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we ſhall find them again in the next ſection.

Acaſtus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife *Hippolyte*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the ſon of *Cacus*, and had ſolicited him in vain for ſome time, till inraged at length at his conſtant refuſal, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband for having made ſome attempts upon her honour. *Acaſtus*, believing her and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himſelf and his unchaſte wife ſlain by him.

THE next *Theſſalian* prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated *Achilles*, the ſon of *Peleus* and *Thetis* the goddeſs of the ſea. This hero was king of *Phthia*, one of the four provinces of *Theſſaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which ſhe held him. After this ſhe ſent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned muſic, arms, and the riding of the great horſe. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he ſhould meet with his death there, ſhe diſpatched him privately in woman's apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyros*, an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea and one of the *Cyclades*, where, among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This tranſaction, as *Pauſanias* obſerves, ſeems to have been deſignedly omitted by *Homer* as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preſerved by all the other poets.

matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards diſguiſed after their cuſtom, and embelliſhed with the ſtories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful ſeas, dangerous paſſages, and many ſuch difficulties which attended the ſearch after that precious metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of ſheeps ſkin, and in which was written the whole ſecret of tranſmuting all metals into gold; it ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already ſpoken of this river in the hiſtory of *Arcadia*.

In the mean time, the *Grecian* chiefs being likewiſe forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterprize againſt *Troy* would prove unſucceſsful unleſs they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulyſſes* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Thetis*, finding that her ſon was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy*, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an impenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal ſiege. Here he forbore acting for ſome time, upon a pique he had taken againſt *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his reſentment being at length ſwallowed up in the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth ſought nothing but to revenge it, which he ſoon after did. *Hector* was not only ſlain, but moſt barbarouſly uſed by him after his death, he having cauſed his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpuniſhed, and *Priam* having redeemed his ſon's ſhattered remains at an exceſſive price, *Paris*, another of his ſons, ſoon after ſhot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable *.

The two moſt memorable things, which the *Theſſalians* are ſince recorded for, are, their driving the *Bœotians* from their country of *Arne*, a ſmall territory in *Theſſaly*, ſo called from its metropolis built by *Bœotus* the ſon of *Neptune* by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M), the ſecond of that name, who was the ſon of *Hyppotes* and grandſon of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their conſtant wars againſt the *Phocians*. The former of theſe happened, according to *Thucydides* [1], ſixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their firſt ſettlement in that territory; when the *Bœotians*, being driven thence, went and poſſeſſed themſelves of a country then named *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bœotia*.

* See before, p. 388. [1] lib. i.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is ſaid to have ſent her to *Metapontium*, a city in *Italy* (4), where ſhe was delivered of two ſons *Æolus* and *Bœotus*, the former of whom poſſeſſed himſelf afterwards of the iſles in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, ſince called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bœotus* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilſt his people retained that of *Bœotians* from him (5).

(4) *Id. ſub. voc.* Μεταπον. (5) *D. Sicul. l.* 4.

We

We have elſewhere ſpoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcileable hatred intailed between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the *Theſſalians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies; witneſs thoſe ſtatues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies, which, *Pauſanias* tells us [m] they ſet up, both on their borders and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their ſignal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of *Phocis* was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, ſo that the *Theſſalians*, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our readers pretty near in his own words [n]. The *Phocians* having got intelligence, that the *Theſſalians*, were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city ſituate near the mount *Parnaſſus*), they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and potſherds, which they covered, however, ſo well with earth, that the *Theſſalian* horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it, till they were ſo intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them [o]. Their deſire of revenge ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The anſwer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better.* Upon receiving this anſwer, they ſent *Gelon* with 300 men in the night to obſerve the motions of the *Theſſalians*, but with expreſs orders not to engage with them, but to return by ſome by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their

[m] In Phocid. c. xiii. JUSTIN. DIOD. & al.
[n] Ibid. c. 1. Vid. & HERODOT. l. i. & viii.
[o] HERODOT. l. viii. PAUSAN. in Phocid.

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land, which lies between the ſouth border of *Theſſaly* and the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*. It ſeems therefore that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We ſhall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the cloſe of this ſection,

hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horſes, or put to the ſword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into ſuch conſternation, that they reſolved either to conquer or periſh to the laſt man. Their firſt care was to ſecure their wives and children, the ſtatues of their gods, and what elſe they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all theſe to ſome thirty of their moſt reſolute men, with orders, that if they loſt the day, they ſhould murder their wives and children, and ſet fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

This deſperate reſolution, which gave riſe to the proverb of *the Phocian deſpair*, was no ſooner taken, than they marched directly againſt their enemies, and the remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the ſucceſs of this combat, made them engage with ſuch deſperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which ſoon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the *Theſſalian* word for the onſet was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a ſtatue to him, together with thoſe of their moſt famous heroes and generals, in his temple at *Delphos* [p].

The *Theſſalians* were ſtill more ſtrangely outwitted upon another expedition againſt the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount *Parnaſſus*, they were routed by the following ſtratagem, deviſed by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army, and highly eſteemed amongſt them. They took ſix hundred choſen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaiſter, and ſent them into the *Theſſalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaiſtered over like themſelves. Theſe in their march being firſt perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and miſtaken for ſome ſtrange army of ghoſts, threw their enemies into ſuch panic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the ſpot, routed the reſt, and got a conſiderable ſpoil, the tenth of which they ſent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one half of the ſhields of the ſlain; the other half was hung up up as a trophy in the city of *Aba* [q]. Theſe frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred againſt them, inſomuch, that they never ceaſed their hoſtilities againſt each other till each

[p] Id. ibid. [q] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

ceaſed

ceaſed to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other eſtates of *Greece*, will be beſt ſeen in the following chapter.

The antient kingdom of Phocis.

HAVING ſaid ſo much of the *Phocians* war againſt the *Theſſalians*, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconſiderable indeed with reſpect to the ſmallneſs of them, yet richly deſerving our notice upon ſeveral accounts, though not worth being treated of in a ſeperate ſection, conſidering how little we know of its original foundation, ſucceſſion of kings, government, and laws, and other ſuch-like particulars.

Situation and limits.

¶ *Phocis* was ſituate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately obſerved, between *Theſſaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth. On the weſt it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the eaſt by *Bœotia* and *Megaris*, ſo that it was hemmed in from the ſea on all but the ſouth ſide. Its greateſt length was from north to ſouth, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from eaſt to weſt, ſcarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the wideſt, but about 20 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower ſtill towards the north [r].

Name.

THIS country is generally allowed to have took its name from *Phocus* the ſon of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been ſoon after invaded by the *Æginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the ſon of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the firſt did inſenſibly give way to that of the ſecond.

Mountains

Phocis is famed for ſeveral celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnaſſus*, ſacred to *Apollo* and extolled by all the poets. Its height was ſuch, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* with many others are ſaid to have

[q] HERODOT. ubi ſupra, CLUVER, &c.

[r] STRAB. PAUSAN. MELA.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed ſon of *Jupiter* by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Æginea*. He is recorded to have been a prince of ſuch ſtrict juſtice, that after his death, *Pluto* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his ſon *Phocus*, whom he had by his ſecond wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the ſea, did quite eclipſe and obliterate the fame of his predeceſſor.

ſaved

ſaved themſelves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time and has ſince gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cythæron*, both conſecrated to the muſes, and on that account highly celebrated alſo by the poets. They are ſaid to contend with that of *Parnaſſus* for height and bigneſs [f]. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note except the *Cephiſus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnaſſus* northward, and empties itſelf into the *Pindus*, which laſt was near the boundary of that kingdom.

It had ſeveral conſiderable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whoſe oracle was reſorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. We have had occaſion to ſpeak ſomething of the name, antiquity, richneſs, and magnificence of it in a former ſection, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was conſulted and delivered; and ſhall now add ſuch other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that *Apollo* was the deity who preſided over it. How he came by it is variouſly reported, and may be ſeen in the note (Q). Its firſt diſcovery was owing to ſome goats who were feeding on mount *Parnaſſus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. Theſe goats having been obſerved by the goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to friſk and leap after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, and to have uttered ſtrange and unheard-of ſounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curioſity

[f] Id. ib. Vid. & Virg. Ovid. Pers. &c.

(P) So called, as is ſuppoſed, from the *Greek* Ἀδελφοὶ, *brethren*, becauſe *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worſhipped there. The fable ſays, that *Bacchus*, having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both reſtored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

(Q) Some ſay, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and uſed to give its anſwers by dreams. Others, that *Neptune* and the earth were at firſt partners in it, but that he reſigned his ſhare to the earth, who was ſucceeded by her daughter *Themis*, the ſame who was conſulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repeople the earth. *Themis* in time reſigned it to her ſiſter *Phœbe*, and ſhe to *Apollo* (1).

Some antient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come ſo fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for

(1) *D. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *Pauſan. in Phocid.*

ſity to go and view it, and found himſelf ſeized with the like fit of madneſs, ſkipping and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were poſſeſſed with ſuch phrenetic enthuſiaſm, that they threw themſelves headlong into the vorago; inſomuch, that they were forced to iſſue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being ſeated received and returned the anſwers of the deity in the manner we have elſewhere deſcribed [c]. We meet with ſome different accounts of this wonderful place, which *Pauſanias* has given us, upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may ſee in that author [d]. This miraculous place was ſoon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the ſame author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was ſucceeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of ſolid copper, and ſaid to have been the workmanſhip of *Vulcan*. This laſt was deſtroyed by an earthquake according to ſome, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a ſumptuous one, all of ſtone, was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of *Greece* and *Peloponneſus*, contended for being ſituate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expreſſes it, the navel of the world (R) [e], becauſe the navel is in the middle of the body. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituated, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a ſeſſions-town for all the *Grecian* eſtates. Here ſat the court of the *Amphictyones*, choſen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called ſo from *Amphictyon* the firſt founder of this high

[c] Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. iv. [d] PAUSAN. in Phoc.
[e] Vid STRAB. Geogr. l. ix. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, & Corinth.

which ſhe was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his aſſiſtance (2), who ſeems on all hands to have confirmed the poſſeſſion of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable ſays, that *Jupiter*, deſirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let looſe two eagles, *Pindar* ſays crows, and others ſwans, the one from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt, and that they met in this place. The city of *Philus* and ſome others pretend to the ſame; but *Strabo* places it in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(2) *Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiaſt. in Æſchyl.* (3) *Geogr. l. ix. Vid. & Pauſan. in Corinth.*

court f.

court [f]. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn; cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Græcia*, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. We ſhall have frequent inſtances of the power of this court in the courſe of the *Grecian* hiſtory. The following one which relates to the *Phocians* ſhall ſuffice for the preſent.

The *Phocians*, having preſumed to plow the territories of *Cyrra*, which were conſecrated to the *Delphic* god, were ſummoned by the other *Grecian* eſtates before this court, and had a conſiderable fine impoſed upon them for their ſacrilege. They refuſed to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next ſeſſion their dominions were adjudged confiſcated to the uſe of the temple. This ſecond ſentence did but exaſperate the *Phocians* the more, who, at the inſtigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and ſeized upon the temple, plundered it of its treaſure, and held the ſacred depoſitum for a conſiderable time. This ſecond crime brought all the eſtates of *Greece* upon them. A war was decreed againſt them, which was called *the holy war*, and laſted ten years, during which the *Phocians*, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finiſhing ſtroke to their total defeat and puniſhment. The war being ended, the grand council aſſembled again, and impoſed an annual fine of ſixty talents upon the *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had ſuſtained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand aſſembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy ſentence; their known bravery made their aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary to the reſt, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their uſual courage and gallantry, and ſoon obliterated their former guilt, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Considering therefore the great concourſe of people which this *Amphictyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo* brought into the city of *Delphi*; to ſay nothing of the vaſt offerings and preſents which were ſent from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians*, unto that oracle, we ſhall not need wonder at its having been one of the richeſt and moſt opulent of all *Greece*; though that proved likewiſe the occaſion of its being ſo often plundered by other nations, as we ſhall ſee it was, in the very next chapter.

[f] Pausan. in Phocid. ch. ii.

The

THE next in dignity, both for its antientneſs and grandeur, was the city of *Elatea*, ſituate on the river *Cephiſus*, and ſaid to have been built by *Elatus*, the ſon of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that antient nation which came with him into *Phocis* [g]. *Aba* was likewiſe conſiderable for having *Abas*, the ſon of *Lyncæus* and *Hypermneſtra*, for its founder, and for having alſo an oracle of *Apollo*. This was alſo the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the reſt were deſtroyed; but whether ſpared out of reſpect to *Apollo*, to whom it was conſecrated, or, as *Pauſanias* affirms, becauſe it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the ſea-ſide of *Delphi*, was the port-town to it, and *Criſſa*, ſo called from *Criſſus* the ſon of *Phocus*, was another ſea-port. Theſe were both ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was ſometimes called *Sinus Criſſeus* from the latter. The laſt city of any note was *Daulis*, not ſo much for its bigneſs or richneſs, as for the tallneſs and ſtoutneſs of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repaſt which was ſerved there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace* by the women of this city, by whom he was ſoon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his ſiſter-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athens* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter.

[g] Ibid. Vid. & BYZANT. ſub voc. Ελατια.

(S) The fable goes, that *Tereus*, after having married *Progne*, did likewiſe raviſh her ſiſter *Philomela*, cut out her tongue, and caſt her into priſon, to prevent her diſcovering his villainy, but ſhe found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole ſtory of it on a piece of embroidery, which ſhe ſent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feaſt of *Bacchus*, when they were all to meet together, and having got her ſiſter out of priſon, made her kill her ſon *Itis*, whom ſhe had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be ſet before him. When *Tereus* was appriſed of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her ſiſter, but they, by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the ſtart of him and killed him. *Ovid* has ſince turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheaſant, his mother into a ſwallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is ſtill bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pauſanias adds, that no ſwallows do hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houſes, as they do every where elſe (4).

(4) *Phocid. c. iv.*

SECT. VIII.

The history of the antient kingdom of CORINTH.

THIS little eſtate was ſituate on the iſthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo de Lepanto*, and the iſthmus, or neck of land, which joins *Peloponneſus* to the continent, on the north, *Sicyon* on the weſt, the gulph of *Saron* on the eaſt, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the ſouth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 degrees 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was alſo famed for the fountain *Pyrene*, ſacred to the muſes, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek* *Hippocrene*, or, *the fountain of the horſe*, which was feigned by the poets to have ſprung from the horſe *Pegaſus* ſtriking his foot againſt the rock. Others place this laſt fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greateſt part on that of *Parnaſſus*. As for that of *Pyrene* we ſhall ſpeak more of it by-and-by.

Corinth is ſaid to have been founded by *Siſyphus*, the ſon of *Æolus* and grandfather of *Ulyſſes*. This *Siſyphus*, is the ſame who was killed by *Theſeus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endleſs puniſhment in hell (A), for having caught that intrigueing god in the height of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*. The antient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, ſaid to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex* the wife of *Epimetheus*, the ſon of *Japetus*, and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Siſyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or ſix years before *Deucalion*'s flood [a].

[a] Vid. HIND. hiſt. of Greece, lib. i.

(A) This puniſhment, as it is feigned by the poets, conſiſts in the rowling of a great ſtone to the top of a hill, which he has no ſooner reached, than it tumbles down again, ſo that his labour is never to be at an end.

ITS

ITS new name of *Corinth* is variouſly traçed, ſome thinking, that it was ſo called from the *Greek* κόρινθος, *ſatiety* or *abundance*, implying the opulence of the place; others go ſtill farther for its etymon [b]; but the antient inhabitants pretended, it had its name from *Corinthus* the ſon, as ſome of them ſaid of *Jupiter*, or, as others, of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But moſt authors aſcribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it to *Corinthus* the ſon of *Pelops*. Among other names it antiently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or *city of the ſun*, for which this reaſon is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the iſthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) [c].

[b] Id. ibid. [c] Vid. APOLLOD. DIO. PAUSAN. & al.

(B) *Pauſanias* quotes an antient *Corinthian* poet called *Eumelos* (ſome fragments of whoſe poems are ſtill preſerved in that author and in the works of *Athenæus*), according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandſon of *Aloeus*, who was the ſon of the ſun. And being for ſome reaſon afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into ſome of the maritime coaſts of *Attica*; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponneſus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two ſons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names; *Sicyon* being formerly called *Aſopis*, and *Corinth Ephyra* (1).

(C) If *Dion*, *Apollodorus*, and other mythologiſts, may be believed, the gods were ſo fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrops*'s time each of them contended to have, at leaſt, one city, where he might be particularly worſhipped. *Neptune* came the firſt into *Attica*, where, ſtriking the ground with his trident, he formed a fountain or horſe. *Minerva* came ſoon after, and in *Cecrops*'s preſence planted an olive-tree, which the laſt quoted author tells you was ſtill to be ſeen in his time (2). Theſe two deities diſputing their claims to the country on account of the preſent each had made to it, *Jupiter* cauſed the controverſy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called Ἡλιοπόλις from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandſon of the ſun, or from the height and dryneſs of its ſituation and territory, is ſcarce worth enquiring. Only we cannot omit a conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called Ἠλοπόλις from the ruggedneſs and barrenneſs of its ſituation and territory, for ſuch *Strabo* tells us (4), it really was.

(1) *Pauſan. in Corinthiac. c. i.* (2) *Apollod. l. iii.* (3) *Not. in Byzant. ſub voc. Corinth.* (4) *Geogr. l. viii.*

However, we meet with a number of other antient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in thoſe days to dedicate cities to ſome of the gods, and ſurname them accordingly, without loſing their original name.

Corinth had, beſides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely, *Lecheum*, ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D), on that of *Saron*. Theſe were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And theſe were ſo well ſituate for naval commerce, and ſo near the metropolis, that they made ample compenſation for the barrenneſs of the ſoil. Theſe two naval roads, which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* ſeas, might eaſily have gained them a ſuperiority, if not a command, over all *Greece*, had not this advantageous ſituation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almoſt impregnable by nature, and commanding both thoſe ſeas, they could eaſily cut off all communication from one half of *Greece* to the other, ſo that it was not without reaſon called one of the *fetters* of *Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve theſe advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, ſo that the little influence they had over the other eſtates was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increaſed, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of ſtrangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Aſia*, their city became in time one of the fineſt in all *Greece*; being adorned with ſumptuous buildings, ſuch as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them inriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and baſes, from which the *Corinthian order* took its name, with numberleſs ſtatues done by the moſt famous artiſts[d]. Inſomuch, that with reſpect to its riches (E), greatneſs, and excellent ſituation, it was

[d] Pausan. in Corinth. c. ii. & ſeq.

(D) That this laſt was a diſtinct city from *Corinth*, at leaſt in St. *Paul*'s time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18. and from his epiſtle to the *Romans*, *Ch.* xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little eſtate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being ſo conveniently ſituated between two ſeas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant inſtance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courteſan *Lais*, who uſually exacted 10,000 drachms

was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the ſumptuous embelliſhments of the fountain of *Pyrene* we mentioned a little higher (F), conſiſting of ſeveral caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large baſon, and is very pleaſant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The ſtadium or courſe, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whoſe avenue was lined on one ſide with the ſtatues of all thoſe who had won the prize at the *Iſthmian* games (G), and on the other with

drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous *Demoſthenes* ſay, that he did not deſign to buy repentance at ſo dear a rate. But ſhe met with a worſe fate in *Theſſaly*, whither ſhe went in ſearch of freſh cuſtomers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their huſbands and ſons, put her to death.

(F) *Pauſanias* tells us, this fountain owed its firſt origin to the tears which *Pyrene* ſhed for the death of her ſon *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as ſoon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he aſſures us, that it was a vulgar error, ſince they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of theſe games is variouſly reported; ſome ſay, they were inſtituted by the *Corinthians* in honour of *Melicertes*, the ſon of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable ſays, that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in ſecond marriage, after he had had two ſons by his firſt wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved ſo cruel a ſtep-mother to them, that her huſband grew enraged at her, and, having put *Learchus* one of the ſons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other ſon; but that ſhe, to avoid her huſband's fury, having thrown *Melicertes* down into the ſea, and herſelf after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and ſwam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and inſtituting theſe games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theſeus* in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may ſee what we have ſaid of that hero in a former ſection †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with ſacrifices, in honour of the ſons of *Medea*, whom they

(5) *Corinth. c.* iii. (6) *Id. ibid.* (7) *Apollod. l.* i.

† *See before p.* 475.

had

with ſtately pines ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, which was not very ſpacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Tritons* or *Sea gods*. Here were alſo the chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphitrite*, both drawn by horſes covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a ſtanding poſture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious baſs-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe all the other edifices, and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this ſmall ſpot of ground was inriched, the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee them deſcribed more at large by *Pauſanias* abovementioned.

But while the *Corinthians* ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffic and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours did ſo much value themſelves, they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home and envied abroad, made both indeed very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect ſome neighbouring eſtate, or to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this little kingdom furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the *Grecian* cities, inſomuch, that it was common for theſe to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own, or of any other eſtate. The truth is, the *Corinthians* were of all others the greateſt aſſerters of liberty, and though they continued ſome centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

The *Corinthian* monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of their founder *Siſyphus*, who is ſuppoſed

had unjuſtly put to death, and for which it ſeems they had been puniſhed by the gods, with the death of their own children, who uſed to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder, they erected a ſtatue repreſenting fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children uſed to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. Cor. c.* iii.

poſed

poſed to have begun it about the year of the world 2490, above ſeven or eight generations, or about 430 years, when his line became extinct, or as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with a long ſucceſſion of kings of his line, concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe remains but their names and the years they are ſaid to have reigned; for this reaſon we think it needleſs to give here a liſt of thoſe monarchs, whoſe names the reader may ſee in *Euſebius*'s chronicle, and ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened during this epocha. After the ending of *Siſyphus*'s line, the kings who deſcended from *Aletes* affected to call themſelves *Heraclidæ*, he being the great grandſon of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Hercules* [e]. This name, however, they changed for that of *Bacchiadæ*, from *Bacchis* the fifth in deſcent from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been upon ſome account or other more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe *Bacchiadæ* held the kingdom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which time they grew ſo numerous on the one hand, and on the other ſo weary of kingly government, that they intirely diſſolved it in the reign of *Teleſtes* their laſt king. This prince being become very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen *Arieus* and *Perantas* formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years [f], and in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal *Bacchiadæ* ſeized upon the government (H), and ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of their own body, whom they called *Prytanis*, to preſide over the reſt. *Corinth* continued under the *Bacchiadal* ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when *Cypſelus*, deſcended from them

Year of the Flood 1915. Before Chr. ſt, 1084.

Year of the Flood, 2099. Year before Chriſt 900.

[e] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, c. iv. [f] Id. ibid. vid. & DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(H) Some antient authors do indeed tell us, that *Automenes*, the ſon of *Teleſtes*, did reign one year after the death of his father (9), and it is not unlikely, that he made ſome vain effort to keep the crown; but *Pauſanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us, the diſſolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder of that king (10), but whether in the laſt year of this or in the firſt of that, 'tis agreed, that the government was then changed into an ariſtocracy.

(9) *Euſeb. D. Sicul. & al.* (10) *Corinth. c.* iv.

by

by the mother's ſide (I), having received ſome obſcure hint from the oracle that he would be king of *Corinth*, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his ſon, but not by his grandſon, found means to wreſt the power out of their hand. The time of this uſurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypſelus* and his ſon, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontate of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our preſent epoch. From *Siſyphus*, the firſt founder, to this *Cypſelus*, the *Corinthian* government had ſtood almoſt 860 years, or 430 years in the line of *Siſyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Ariſtocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchiadæ*.

Siſyphus

(I) His mother *Labda* the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchiadæ*, was lame, and ſo deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man deſcended at a great diſtance from the *Lapithæ*, contrary to the ſettled maxim of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had till then refuſed to intermarry with other families, the better to ſecure the government to their own.

This *Eetion*, having no children, went to conſult the oracle of *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obſcure terms, that he ſhould have a ſon by his lame wife that would prove a ſcourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchiadæ*, having likewiſe been forewarned by the ſame oracle, and in the ſame intricate terms, againſt *Eetion*'s offspring, ſent ten men of their own body to murder the boy *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as theſe were going to *Eetion*'s houſe they agreed, that he to whom the child was delivered ſhould kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it, in the name of their whole body, and *Labda*, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the firſt that aſked for it; but the infant at that inſtant ſmiling in his face, and he, not having the power to ſtrike the blow, gave it to his next companion, and he moved with the ſame pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the ten, and reſtored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no ſooner got out of the houſe, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal ſharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their diſcourſe, took care to convey the child under a buſhel or corn meaſure, called in *Greek* κυψέλη, *Cypſele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pauſanias* calls it a coffer or cheſt, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with ſome fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards conſecrated by his deſcendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful eſcape (11. However that be, the bloody deputies,

(11) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* xvii.

having

Sisyphus is generally allowed the first founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the son of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theseus* for the many inroads which he made into *Attica*, as we hinted at the beginning of this section. He left several sons, and amongst them *Glaucus* who succeeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have shewn before.

Glaucus, called by *Euripides Creon* (L), received *Jason* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Thessaly* by *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glauce* to *Jason*, the slighted sorceress *Medea* was so inraged at it, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had had by *Jason*, and fled to *Athens* [g]. *Pausanias* adds, that *Glaucus*, having assisted at the funeral games, which *Acastus* had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses [h], and that *Glauce* flung

[g] Vid. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 9. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. iv. & EURIP. in Medea. [h] ELID. c. iii.

having searched the whole house in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being ashamed to own their weakness, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and *Cypselus*, thus wonderfully preserved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as shall be shewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) *Pausanias* doth indeed quote an antient poet, named *Eumelos*, who pretends, that this country had been given by the sun to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jason* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the son of *Mercury*, from whom it having past in time to *Corinthus* the son of *Marathon*, who died without issue, or, according to *Apollodorus*, left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jason* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that, *Jason* having taken a dislike at *Medea* and gone away from her, she appointed *Sisyphus* her successor (13).

But there are two solid arguments against this poetic fiction; the one, that *Sisyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jason*, so that these two could not be cotemporaries. The other is, that *Sisyphus* must have been dead some time before *Jason* came to *Corinth*, since *Euripides* tells us in his *Medea*, that *Creon* did then reign there, who is supposed to be the same with *Glaucus* the son and successor of *Sisyphus* (14), as we shall see immediately.

(L) The author above quoted supposes him to be so called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* signifying the same as *reigning* or *governing*.

(12) *Id. in Corinth. c.* iv. *Vid. & Herodot. l.* v. (13) *Corinth. c.* iv. (14) *Vid. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

herſelf into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preſerve her from *Medea*'s inchantments, and that that fountain was ſince called by her name [i].

Bellerophon, ſo called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the ſon of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have ſeen in a former ſection how he was forced to retire into *Argos* for that manſlaughter, and there falſely accuſed by *Sthenobœa* of an attempt upon her, for which he was ſent by *Prœtus* to *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, to be put to death (M). The firſt dangerous expedition, which the *Lycian* king ſent him upon, was to ſubdue the *Solymi* a neighbouring people, againſt whom he ſent him with a very ſmall number of forces; but that defect being ſupplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned *Bochart* ſuppoſes, their three gods, which they painted on their enſigns [k], one in the ſhape of a lion, a ſecond of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own, in memory of this conqueſt, gave birth to the fable of his killing the monſter *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition

[i] Id. in Corinth. c. iv. [k] Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6.

(M) It is likely, as *Pauſanias* obſerves, (15) that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the ſame author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then ſubject to the *Argives*, doth not ſo well appear. It is true, thoſe *Corinthian* troops that went to the ſiege of *Troy*, are ſaid by *Homer*, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the enſigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as did alſo the *Arcadians*?

However, as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his couſin, the ſon of *Ormytion*, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he aſcended it after *Glaucus*'s death, and during *Bellerophon*'s abſence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been ſo blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, diveſted as much as poſſible from the poetic fictions, with which thoſe writers have diſguiſed them.

(N) This monſter the poets feign to have had the head and breaſt of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it ſpit out fire and flame (16). We have ſeen what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. The reader may ſee his arguments, which are far from deſpicable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had ſome vulcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequent-

(15) *In Corinth.* (16) *De hac vid. Heſiod. Teogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid.* &c.

ed

expedition was againſt the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himſelf alſo from an ambuſh of *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had ſet to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. *Jobates* at length, ſtruck with admiration at his bravery and ſucceſs, ſought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his ſervices, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage and declaring him his ſucceſſor [l].

ALL theſe atchievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary aſſiſtance. For *Minerva*, who took pity on the innocent prince, lent him the famous horſe *Pegaſus (O)*, after ſhe had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whoſe help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the moſt ſignal of his exploits, eſpecially that of killing the *Chimæra* [m], againſt which *Neptune* was likewiſe pleaſed to give him his aſſiſtance. After theſe ſucceſſes and great change of fortune, he is ſaid to have grown ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, that it brought a new ſeries of miſchiefs upon him, which gave occaſion to the fable mentioned in the laſt note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegaſus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind [n].

[l] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [m] APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 3. [n] Id Ibid. PAUSAN. SICUL. & al.

ted by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by ſerpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave riſe to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again ſuppoſe it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians*, named *Chimarras*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted on his ſhip, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infeſted thoſe parts a conſiderable time, and done great damage to *Lycia*, and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have ſprung from *Meduſa*'s blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they ſurnamed *Chalinitis*, from the *Greek* Χαλινὸς a *bit* or *curb-bridle*, becauſe ſhe had clapt one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's ſervice.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon*, being got on the back of *Pegaſus*, was ſo affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horſe, finding himſelf without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the conſtellation that ſtill bears his name.

(17) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.* (18) *Plutarch. de virtut. Mulier. & Hind. Hiſt. Græc.*

WE took notice above, that *Thoas* the ſon of *Ornytion* ſucceeded *Creon* or *Glaucus*; from him the crown deſcended to his ſon *Demophon*, to his grandſon *Propidas*, and laſtly to his two great grandſons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of theſe two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the ſon of that *Hippotes*, who had been baniſhed *Pelsponneſus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle, for killing one *Carnus* an *Acarnanian* prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* againſt *Thebes*, mentioned in a former ſection.

HE met, however, with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the *Corinthians*, who ſhewed upon that occaſion a great reluctance to ſubmit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, *Aletes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too ſtrong, beat and expelled them out of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. From him it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of his deſcendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchiadæ*, till *Teleſtes* the ninth from him. This prince, being very young when *Ariſtomedes* his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who ſoon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him ſixteen years, but left it to his own ſon *Alexander*, who reigned alſo twenty ſix years; but was at length killed by *Teleſtes*, whom it ſeems they had ſtill ſuffered to live during this long uſurpation, and who then ſeized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himſelf killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the ariſtocracy of the 200 *Bacchiadæ* under their annual Prytanes o.

o PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. EUSEB. Chron. l. i. D. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The history of the antient kingdom of Lacedæmon *or* Sparta.

THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation ſtill prided themſelves in, when it was afterwards changed into thoſe of *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians*. As for thoſe of *Sparta* and *Lacedemon*, though they be often confounded by writers antient and modern, yet, in propriety of ſpeech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, ſo called, according to the tradition of that people, from *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and ſo called from *Lacedemon*, the huſband of *Sparte* and heir and ſucceſſor of *Eurotas*. The ſame tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandſon of *Lelex*, ſurnamed alſo *Autochthos*, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have been originally a native, and from him his ſubjects bore the antient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Myles*, and this by his ſon *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reaſon of the bogs and marſhes with which it was covered, cut a ſpacious channel through it, into which ſuch quantities of water drained themſelves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas*, having no male iſſue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedemon*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his ſucceſſor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built ſoon after and made the ſeat of the kingdom, by that of his wife[a]. Thus far the *Laconic*

The name.

And their etymon.

[a] PAUSAN. in Laconic. ch. i. Vid. & St. BYZANT. ſub. voce Sparta & Laconia.

(A) This princeſs was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania* and uncle of *Jupiter*, and is ſaid to have been raviſhed both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her ſon *Lacedemon*. Near this place was alſo a village called *Aleſies*, from the *Greek* Ἀλέω, *to grind*, becauſe *Myles* the ſon of *Lelex* is reported to have found the firſt mule there, and to have made uſe of it for grinding of corn (1).

(1) *Pauſan. in Laconic. c.* 20.

This

Laconic tradition: others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the ſon, according to ſome, or, according to others, the brother, of *Phoroneus* [b], the ſon of the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the ſon of *Amydas* [c]. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* [d] tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the ſame perſon whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by ſome reckoned the brother, and by others the ſon of *Phoroneus* [e]; but this laſt is confuted by *Pauſanias*, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that *Phoroneus* had any ſon of that name, and that the *Lacedemonians* themſelves did not acknowledge any ſuch perſon. We omit that monſtrous account which ſome give of *Sparta*'s being ſo called from *Cadmus* making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Sparti*, who were ſaid to have had that name given them, becauſe they ſprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had ſown, and which we have mentioned elſewhere. This monſtrous ſtory is even rejected by the *Greeks* themſelves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as for that of *Lacedemon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedemon* mentioned above [f] (B).

Geography. *Laconia* was ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt nook of *Peloponneſus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Meſſenia* on the weſt, the bay of *Argos* on the eaſt, and the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. Its extent from eaſt to weſt, where it reached fartheſt, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. eaſt, longitude; but it grew ſtill narrower, as it extended itſelf northward. The extent of it from north to ſouth was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude [g]. We do not pretend to

[b] Euseb. Chron. [c] Eustat. in Iliad. B. [d] Sub voce Lacedemon. [e] Idem in voce Mycenas. [f] In Corinth. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. [g] Vid. Strab. Mela. Pausan. & al.

This mountain was likewiſe famous for furniſhing huntſmen with a great variety of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, boars, deer, and vaſt quaintities of wild goats (2).

(B) Beſides the names of *Lacedemonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in antient geographers that of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom *Straba* makes the firſt inhabitants; ſo that the name of *Laconia* is poſterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia* from *Oebalus* the ſixth from *Eurotas*. It had alſo the name of *Hecatompolis* from the hundred cities which it is ſaid once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib.* viii.

ſay

ſay, that this extent of their dominions was ſuch from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were antiently contained within a much narrower compaſs, and that a great number of thoſe cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Heliots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the ſuperior power of the *Lacedemonians*, eſpecially after the *Ephori* had ſo far clipped the royal perogative, and enſlaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all thoſe neighbouring eſtates, rather than live an idle and ſlaviſh life under thoſe upſtart and tyrannic magiſtrates.

As all the ſouth part of this kingdom was incompaſſed by the ſea, and the eaſt and north-eaſt part by the *Argolic* bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief which were thoſe of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio*, and *Capo Matapan*. Theſe two, being ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies betwen them, and is now called the *Golfo de Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas* mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Baſilipotamo*, vulgarly *Vaſilipotamo*, or *royal river*, diſcharges her waters with an eaſy and gentle courſe.

ALL the ſea-coaſts of *Lacania* were likewiſe furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greateſt and moſt convenient were thoſe of *Trinaſſus* and *Acria*, ſituate on each ſide the mouth of the *Eurotas*; and *Gythium*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Trinaſſus*. This laſt, *Pauſanias* tells us, had the remains of a caſtle ſtill ſtanding, which might be at firſt built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules* *ſea-ports.*

(C) This cape which juts out a great way into the ſea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Pſamatheus*. Here was alſo the famous temple of *Neptune* built in form of a grotto, falſely ſuppoſed by the poets to be the paſſage out of which *Hercules* brought out *Pluto*'s dog *Cerberus*, ſince there is no ſubteranean place under it; but what ſeems to have given riſe to this fancy was, that here was bred a moſt dreadful ſerpent, whoſe bite was ſo mortal, that it was thence called *hell-hound*, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Euryſtheus* (4).

(4) *Id. ibid. Pauſan. Miela. &c*

(D) ;

(D); but the moſt noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malveſia*, ſeated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malveſy* or *Malmeſy*, which grew round the neigbbourhood of it, and with which it ſupplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more ſea-port towns along the *Laconian* coaſts, and what made theſe ſtill more famed, was a kind of ſhell-fiſh caught in that neighbourhood, whoſe blood was of excellent uſe for the dying of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-ſea* [h].

Inland towns did likewiſe abound in this kingdom, the moſt conſiderable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called alſo improperly *Lacedemon*, and ſituate upon the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles diſtance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at leaſt beautified, by *Lacedemon* the firſt king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the ſon of *Lacedemon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedemon*, and diſtant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for ſending a conſiderable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the ſame name. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Doria ns*, and turned into an inconſiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were ſeen ſome of the ruins of its antient grandeur. One of the fineſt buildings that eſcaped the common ruin was the temple and ſtatue of *Alexandra*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the ſame with *Caſſandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos* ruined by the *Spartans* (E).

Cities of note.

[h] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(D) They pretend, that theſe two, having diſputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel, agreed to build this city at their common charge; for which reaſon the inhabitants of it pretend themſelves not to be ſprung from mortal men, and had the ſtatues of thoſe two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(E) Theſe people, whoſe city had been built by *Helius* the ſon of *Perſeus*, had a worſe fate than any of the reſt. For having refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heraclidean* line, the *Lacedemonians* fell upon them with an army, took them priſoners, reduced them to the loweſt and moſt miſerable ſlavery, and, to compleat all, made a law, which forbid their maſters either giving them their liberty, or ſelling them into other countries (6).

(5) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (6) *Strab, ubi ſupra, p.* 363. & 365.

4. *Thulana*, near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuctrum*, upon the bay of *Messenia* and situate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the most remarkable of the three [i].

MOUNTAINS they had in great number, the country was divided from *Messenia* by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one [k], besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them, however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be past by. Rivers of note, besides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantness. The *Thiasus*, said to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* landed, after he came from *Scyros* to marry *Hermione*. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit some others of less note.

THE soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the *Lacedemonians* were a brave courageous people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power, they were wanting in no civil or military discipline, in order to secure the one and curb the other. And by these means it was, that they became so powerful, and made so considerable a figure in *Greece* [l]. *Soil.*

THEIR government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them *Government.*

[i] De his vid. PAUSAN. ibid. &. BYZANT. sub. voce. [k] MELA. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. STRAB. ubi. supra. [l] Vid. THUCYDID. l. ii. PAUSAN. in Laconic. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

whoſe advice and council they made uſe of upon all emergent occaſions; but as theſe were choſen by the prince and might be turned out at pleaſure, they ſeldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, ſo that his will was ſtill the ſupreme law. In this manner it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of twelve princes from *Lacedemon*, the ſon-in-law of *Eurotas* the founder of this monarchy; not indeed conſtantly in the male line, which being extinct in *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndareus* their ſeventh monarch, it paſſed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Meſſenia*, in right of his wife *Helena Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him it paſſed to his ſons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the deſcendants of *Helena*, in *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, whoſe ſon *Tiſamenes*, being outed by the *Heraclidæ*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedemon* to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*. For though ſome have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* liſt, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponneſus* (F).

However, whether under him, or his twin-ſons, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign became ſubject to two. For theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia*, and elſewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately,

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the ſon of *Ariſtomachus* and brother to *Creſphontes* and *Temenus*, is ſaid to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilſt their navy was getting ready for this expedition; here it was that he left his twin-ſons *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Auteſion* (7), his ſucceſſors, both to the expedition and to all the conqueſts they ſhould make in it.

Pauſanias ſays, he was killed by the ſons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were couſin-germans to *Tiſamenes* the ſon of *Oreſtes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended, that *Apollo* had ſhot him to death at *Delphos*, becauſe he came thither, not to conſult the oracle, but to adviſe with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponneſus*; ſo that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead ſome time before the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Heraclidæ*.

(G) This laſt is ſometimes called *Procles*, and ſometimes *Protocles* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls him *Patrocles*; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pauſanias*, always call him *Procles*; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyiſts, ſome of whom were uſed to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(7) *Pauſan. in Laconic.*

ternetly,

ternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes*; but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedemon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as ſuch. *Pauſanias* adds, that the *Delphic* oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the pythoneſs did not make any objection againſt it [m]. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, did not end with thoſe two brothers, though, from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of *Euryſthenes*, and twenty ſeven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the ſame time (H).

BUT, though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed, through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. *Euryſthenes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Agis*, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſurnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandſon of *Procles*. Theſe two ſoon came to divide themſelves into two diſtinct parties, under which the people, who are not always the dupes of thoſe that govern them, did liſt themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their heads to court them, by largeſſes, by ſome new privileges, and other ſuch-like condeſcenſions, which though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the royal prerogative. This the *Lacedemonians* ſoon perceived, and being become conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the reins of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances, they became the haughtier and more inſolent, as they found their affection and aſſiſtance neceſſary to either competitor. This gave birth to freſh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or ſtratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The conſequence of all this was, that the people, inſtead of becoming more tractable by any conceſſion, grew the more turbulent and headſtrong, taking every advantage they could againſt thoſe, who, thro' either their eaſy nature, or through neceſſity, were glad to court their affection,

[m] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, c. i.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the laſt of the firſt line, having killed his copartner *Eurydamidas*, was ſhortly after vanquiſhed by *Antigonus*, as ſhall be ſeen in the following chapter.

and vexing and blackening thoſe, who had courage enough to curb and uſe them with any ſeverity. By theſe diviſions the regal dignity was brought into ſuch contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confuſion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it, during ſome part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

This great patriot and lawgiver was the ſon of *Polydectes*, the 6th king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a ſecond wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of ſucceſſion remained in him, and he accordingly took the adminiſtration upon him, waiting, however, to ſee, whether his ſiſter-in-law was with child. This princeſs finding herſelf pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promiſe that if he would marry her, ſhe would take ſome effectual method to deſtroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though ſhocked at the propoſal, yet gave her ſome diſtant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal uſed all proper means to prevent her miſcarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he ſent for ſome perſons of note to be preſent at her labour. She was ſoon after brought to bed of a ſon, the news of which being ſent to him whilſt he was at ſupper with ſome noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, ſaid to thoſe who were preſent, *This is your king*; laid him on a chair of ſtate, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not, however, ſatisfy all the *Spartans*; the incenſed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, perſuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to ſeize and make himſelf the more ſure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore ſo vile an inſinuation, and ſo far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himſelf into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a ſon to ſucceed him. This laſt action having at once put an end to all thoſe unjuſt ſurmiſes which had been raiſed by his enemies, and procured him the eſteem of all thoſe that wiſhed well to their country; he met with leſs difficulty in the proſecution of his more glorious deſign of new-modelling the government. Another circumſtrnce which facilitated this change was, that during his abſence, ſuch depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miſerable ſtate, that not only his friends, but even thoſe who had been his moſt zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embaſſies, to entreat him to come back and ſave his country from ruin [n].

[n] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat.

These

THESE were the inevitable conſequences of that fatal diviſion of the regal authority between two competitors, which, however, *Lycurgus* took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a taſk. He contented himſelf therefore with reducing their authority, by conſtituting a ſenate endowed with the ſupreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, beſides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter; in which we ſhall give a more particular account of the form of government which he eſtabliſhed, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a ſure and laſting ſanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of *Lacedæmon* 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming ſubject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of theſe laſt during ſeven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following liſt therefore of thoſe kings, we ſhall begin it only from *Lacedemon* the ſon-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that ſtate. As to his ſuppoſed predeceſſors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we ſhall content ourſelves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this ſection.

AND as for thoſe of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of government made by *Lycurgus*, beſides that they are all out of our epocha, they are more to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedemonian* army, than as royal ſovereigns, and conſequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A LIST of the royal *Lacedemonian* line.

1 *Lacedemon*
2 *Amyclas*
3 *Argalus*
4 *Cynorta*
5 *OEbalus*
6 *Hippocoon*
7 *Tyndareus* his brother
8 *Caſtor* and *Pollux*
9 *Menelaus*
10 *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes*
11 *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*
12 *Tiſamenes*

THE

The *Herculean* line.

1 *Euryſthenes*	1 *Procles*
2 *Agis*	2 *Sous*
3 *Echeſtratus*	3 *Eurytion*
4 *Labotas*	4 *Prytanis*
5 *Doryſſus*	5 *Eunomus*
6 *Ageſilaus*	6 *Polydectes*
7 *Archelaus*	7 *Charilaus*

1. Concerning *Lacedemon*, we know little more beſides what we mentioned at the beginning of this ſection, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called *Phaenna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an antient poet [o], and that his deſcendants raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of *Aleſies*, where *Myles* is ſaid to have found the firſt mule.

2. *Amyclas* his ſucceſſor is ſtill more unknown (I), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a ſtory, that, whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſo ſubject to frequent and ſtrange noiſes as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law, that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any ſuch occaſion. The *Dorians*, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a ſudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, *I will ſpeak, knowing how the* Amycleans *were ruined for holding their peace*; and the old ſaying of *Amyclas vivere*, was uſed to ſignify *to ſee, and hear, and ſay nothing.* The people of this city became afterwards fa-

[o] Alcman. ap. Pausan. Lacon. c. xviii.

(I) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch, that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the ſame time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up.

His diſconſolate father erected a ſtately tomb with his ſtatue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feaſt to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid*, in his metamorphoſes makes this youth the ſon of *OEbalus*; but *Pauſanias*, who had ſeen his monument, ſays he was the ſon of *Amyclas* (8).

(8) *Lacon. c. i. & xix.*

mous

mous likewiſe for their ſtrict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did ſo ſtrictly keep, that they forbore the deſtroying even of thoſe very ſerpents which annoyed and deſtroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas*'s three ſucceſſors, *Argalus*, *Cynorta*, and *OEbalus*, except that this laſt gave his name to a canton of *Lacedemonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon *Hippocoon*, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon *Tyndareus*. *OEbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perſeus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *OEbalia*, came ſoon after and deprived him of it.

WHILST *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated, for the murder of *Iphitus*: *Hercules*, it ſeems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *OEchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus* king of that country, at ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed *Megara*, refuſed to give *Iole* to him; in revenge of which affront he drove away *Eurytus*'s horſes, and taking his ſon *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. *Hippocoon* therefore and all his ſons did ſtoutly oppoſe his being expiated, becauſe they thought the action too black to deſerve ſuch a favour [p], and *Hercules* ſtayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refuſal.

HE did not wait long for it; for a firſt couſin of his, named *Oeonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the ſtreets of that city, paſt by chance before the houſe of *Hippocoon*, out of which a maſtiff came and flew upon him. *Oeonus* flung a ſtone at him, which being perceived by *Hippocoon*'s ſons, they ruſhed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouſe the fury of that ſanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the ſcuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a ſtrong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed *Hippocoon* and ten of his ſons, beſides a great number of

[p] Id. ibid. c. xv.

Lacedemonians;

Lacedemonians; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conqueſt, to that baniſhed monarch, in truſt for his own poſterity, as we have elſewhere hinted (K). *Tyndareus*,

(K) *Hercules*, having ſucceeded ſo well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to *Juno*, becauſe ſhe had not thwarted him in it, as ſhe had formerly done upon all occaſions, and for want of a better victim offered her a goat, from which ſhe was afterwards worſhipped by the *Lacedemonians* under the name of *Juno Ægophage*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the conſtant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His laſt exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finiſh the hiſtory of that renowned hero, was againſt *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought, unjuſtly *Iole* from him. He went therefore againſt him, ſlew him and his ſons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming ſoon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubœa*, to offer ſome ſacrifice there, he ſent his ſervant *Lychas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the ſhirt and coat in which he uſed to perform that ceremony.

This princeſs had ſome time before been attempted by the centaur *Neſſus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules*, beholding it from the ſhore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monſter finding himſelf dying, adviſed her to mix ſome oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her huſband's ſhirt with it, pretending, that it would infallibly ſecure him from loving any other woman; and ſhe, too well appriſed of his inconſtancy, had actually prepared the poiſoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lychas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, and ſhe, in a fit of jealouſy, failed not to anoint his ſhirt with the fatal mixture, which had no ſooner touched his body, than he felt the poiſon diffuſe itſelf through all his veins; the violent pain of which cauſed him to diſband his army and to return to *Trachin*. His torment ſtill encreaſing, he ſent to conſult the oracle for a cure, and was anſwered, that he ſhould cauſe himſelf to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the reſt to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dreſſed himſelf in his martial habit, flung himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the by-ſtanders to ſet fire to it; others ſay, that he left the charge of it to his ſon *Philoctetes*, who having performed his father's commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the ſame time *Jupiter*, to be as good as his word, ſent a flaſh of lightning which conſumed both the pile and the hero, inſomuch, that *Iolaus* coming to take up his bones, found nothing but

(9) *Cæl. Rhod.* (10) *Ovid. Metam. l.* 9. *Diodor. l.* 5. *Seneca, in Hercule Oetæo.*

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwiſe called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedemonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than ſolicitous about the performance of them, was no ſooner reſeated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to ſecure it to himſelf and deſcendants againſt the *Heraclidæ*. He had two brave ſons by his wife *Leda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemneſtra*, whoſe ſtrange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). *Helen*'s fatal beauty had cauſed her to be ſtolen away by *Theſeus*, as we have ſeen before, and after ſhe was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, ſtill afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be carried off again, had obliged all her ſuitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man ſhe liked, and that in caſe ſhe ſhould be ſtolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her huſband. She choſe ſoon after *Menelaus* the ſon of *Atreus*, after which ſhe being ſtolen away again by *Paris*, her huſband, encouraged by his brother *Agamemnon*, challenged all thoſe princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promiſe, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have ſpoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own conſent, and *Clytemneſtra*, as we have ſeen elſewhere, not only lived in adultery during her huſband's abſence, but murdered him imme-

aſhes, from which they took up the notion that he was paſſed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit ſon indeed for ſuch a father, and a fitter god for ſuch votaries, who could deify, raiſe altars and temples, offer ſacrifices, and inſtitute feaſts to a mortal, who had ſullied his beſt actions with ſo many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his ſon *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira*, ſhe hanged herſelf as ſoon as ſhe was apprized of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amorous intrigue with her in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſoon after her matrimonial commerce with her huſband, the reſult of theſe amphibious embraces was, that ſhe was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Caſtor* and *Clytemneſtra*; whence *Caſtor*, as *Tyndareus*'s ſon, was mortal, but *Pollux*, as ſon of *Jupiter*, is ſaid to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks*, however, according to *Pauſanias* (11), pretended, that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemeſis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurſe, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology not worth diſproving.

(11) *Ubi ſupra.*

diately after his return) is ſaid to have built a temple to *Venus* (M), and erected a ſtatue of cedar to that goddeſs, with a vail over her face and chains about her legs, either, as ſome think, to expoſe her as the cauſe of their unlawful love, or, as *Pauſanias* thinks, to intimate to poſterity the indiſſoluble tie of wedlock [q]. He began likewiſe to build a ſtately temple to *Minerva*, whom he ſurnamed *Poliuchos*, or *guardian of the city*, but died before he could finiſh it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two ſons, after he had reigned about forty years [r].

8. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, deſigning to have enriched it with the ſpoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had reſcued their ſiſter *Helena*, but left it likewiſe imperfect. The *Lacedemonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of maſſive braſs, from which it was called *Chalciæcos*. Theſe two heroes likewiſe ſignalized themſelves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to *Minerva Aſia*, in acknowledgment of their ſucceſs and ſafe return from *Colchis*, from which they are alſo ſaid to have brought away a famous ſtatue of *Mars*. They had likewiſe a bloody combat with the ſons of *Aphareus*, *Ida*, and *Lyncæus*, the latter of whom is ſaid to have had ſuch piercing eyes, that he could ſeen even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occaſion of their quarrel is variouſly reported; *Theocritus* ſays, that they had ſtolen the daughters of *Leucippus* the brother of *Aphareus*, but *Pauſanias* and *Pindar* ſay, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lynceus*, and *Ida* was ſtruck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deſerve a place here, we ſhall give a ſpecimen of them in the margin [f] (O).

9. *Menelaus*

[q] LACON. c. 16. [r] Ch. xvii. [f] De his vid. PLUTARCH. in Theſeo. DIOD. APOLLOD. & PAUSAN.

(M) *Pauſanias* adds, that this temple, which himſelf ſaw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called *Morphe*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and ſignifies *form* or *figure*, implying that ſhe was the goddeſs of beauty.

(N) Hence the ſaying of *Lynceæan* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us, that he could diſcover *Caſtor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(O) Theſe two famous brothers are celebrated by the antient poets under ſeveral names, ſuch as *Anactes* from the *Greek* Ἄναξ,

(11) *In Lacon. c.* XV. (12) *Nemeen. Ode* 10.

which

9. *Menelaus* the ſon of *Atreus* ſucceeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have ſpoken of the war which her rape occaſioned, and the ſucceſs of it in a former chapter. At their return from the *Trojan* war, being, upon ſome difference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent ſtorms, he arrived ſafely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helena*, whither *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds. *Herodotus* gives us a quite different account of his going into *Egypt*, and gives us his reaſons for it; but as it contradicts moſt of the antient poets

which ſignifies *a king* or *prince*, ſuch as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, moſt probably likewiſe from the *Greek* Ἀμβολιη, *procraſtination*, *delay*, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is alſo called by that name. They were alſo called *Apherei*, as ſuppoſed to preſide over the liſts; but the name they were moſt commonly known by was that of *Dioſcuri*, from Δίος and κοῦροι, becauſe they were reputed *the ſons of* Jupiter.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the ſea of pirates, and from this laſt they were worſhipped as gods of the ſea, and are ſaid to have appeared to mariners in ſtorms, and the notion was, that if only one was ſeen, it betokened ſhipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have appeared at land upon ſeveral occaſions: They once facilitated the eſcape of the *Lacedemonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were cloſely purſued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by *Ariſtomenes* and his *Meſſenian* troops. At another time they came to the very houſe where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who was then in poſſeſſion of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were ſtrangers come from *Cyrene*. They aſked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them, that the whole houſe was at their ſervice, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They ſeemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young woman and thoſe that waited upon her were gone as well as the gueſts, and nothing found in her chamber but the two ſtatues of the *Dioſcuri*, and a table with ſome ſweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when *Caſtor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might ſhare his immortality with him, which being granted, they are ſaid to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the ſign *Gemini*, of which two of the ſtars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other riſes.

(13) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra*, c. xvi.

and hiſtorians, we ſhall relate it in the margin (P). *Menelaus* was ſucceeded by his two ſons by a former wife, or rather by a ſlave, namely,

10. *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes*; but the *Lacedemonians*, unwilling to ſubmit themſelves to a ſpurious offſpring, *Oreſtes* eaſily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-ſhed.

11. *Oreſtes*, the ſon of *Agamemnon* king of *Meſſenia*, came to the *Lacedemonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemneſtra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the hiſtory of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithleſs mother and her paramour, and aſcended the *Meſſenian* throne *. He was, however, accuſed of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather *Tyndareus*, who muſt have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus*, the ſon of *Icarius*, and couſin-german, and conſequently the neareſt relation, of *Clytemneſtra*. He it was who cited him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his ſenſes. What their ſentence was our author doth not inform us, but tells us elſewhere [t], that he had ſeen an old building which was called *Oreſtes*'s *manſion*, in which he was forced to live ſeperate from the reſt of mankind, except that they took care to ſupply him with

* See before p. 457.

[t] PAUSAN. Arcad. ch. xxxiv.

(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the *Egyptian* prieſts, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coaſts of *Egypt*, where he was accuſed of the theft by ſome of his ſervants, who went and took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the ſtory, detained the woman and the goods ſhe had brought with her till her huſband came to demand them, and let the raviſher go as being a ſtranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were anſwered that ſhe was left in *Egypt*, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the ſiege; but when the city was taken, and ſhe not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the ſtory is, as he tells us, that if *Helen* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madneſs in *Priam* to have ſacrificed that noble city, and the lives of ſo many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the poſſeſſion of another man's wife, ſince he was neither heir to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of thoſe that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 113, *& ſeq.*

food

food and other neceſſaries, till he had quite expiated his crime [u]. He died and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle adviſed him to retire, as we have ſeen in a former ſection.

12. *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes* by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*, ſucceeded him both in this kingdom and thoſe of *Argos* and *Meſſenia*, and was ſoon after outed out of all by the *Heraclidæ*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponneſus*, claimed the latter, as being of the line of *Perſeus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, becauſe *Hercules*, having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left in it truſt with *Tyndareus*, as we have lately ſeen. What became of *Tiſamenes* is variouſly reported: ſome ſay he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos* [w]; others, and with more probability, ſay, he eſcaped into *Achaia*, and reigned there; ſome time after which he was killed one of the firſt in a combat againſt the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lacedemonians*, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in *Sparta* [x]. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, who with their forces entered it with the ſound of the flute [y], an inſtrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reaſon the *Lacedemonians* made uſe of it from that time, whenever they founded to battle [z].

Euryſthenes and *Procles* having thus obtained the kingdom, at firſt divided it into ſix parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they ſtill kept their reſidence. This, though for the preſent it had the deſired effect of ingratiating themſelves to the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cauſe of many grievous diſturbances. For *Agis*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Euryſthenes*, finding, that the people were grown headſtrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving ſeveral cantons of thoſe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedemonians*. They did indeed all ſubmit to it, except the *Heliots*, who were made a ſevere example to the reſt; but theſe ſeverities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

ON the other hand, his copartner *Sous* the ſon of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their eſteem by his bravery and new conqueſts. We have an inſtance of his con-

[u] Id. Corinth. c. xxxi. [w] APOLLOD. l. ii c. 8. [x] Vid. PAUSAN. Achaic. c. i. & STRAB. Geogr. l. viii. [y] STRAB. ibid. [z] POLYÆN. Stratagem. l. i c. 10.

duct

duct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being beſieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry ſtony place, where his army ſuffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himſelf to reſtore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both ſides, *Sous*, having called his ſoldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being all oppreſſed with exceſſive thirſt, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As ſoon therefore as he had ſeen them drink their fill of the water, he took ſome of it in the hollow of his hand, and ſprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The conſequence of which was, that his abſtinence having made the contract void, ſeeing he and all his men had not drank at the ſpring, he could ſafely refuſe to reſign his conqueſts to them [a].

Agis, from whom the deſcendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Echeſtratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his ſon *Eurytion*, otherwiſe alſo called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon*; from him this line, which had till then took the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ* [b], &c. In this reign, ſome ſeeds of diſcord between the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives* began to appear, which were, however, ſtifled by the prudence of thoſe two monarchs. The *Cynoſureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynoſurus* the ſon of *Perſeus*, were complained againſt by the *Argives*, for not only ſuffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewiſe for doing the ſame themſelves, and ſometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedemonians* baniſhed all the *Cynoſureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that ſeverity not only prevented all ſuch ravages for ſome time, but reſtored a good underſtanding between the *Argives* and them [c].

BUT this peaceful diſpoſition did not laſt but till the next

[a] PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap HIND. ubi ſupra. [b] PAUSAN.. MEURS. &c. [c] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. c. ii. & iii.

reign,

reign, when *Labotas* (Q), the ſon of *Echeſtratus*, and *Prytanis*, the ſon of *Eurytion*, declared war againſt them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedemonians* poſſeſſed the town and territories of *Cynoſura*, by right of their late conqueſt, yet the *Argives* were ſtill incroaching upon ſome part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendſhip. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration, at leaſt we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either ſide. After this things continued in a peaceful ſtate, at leaſt with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worſe within doors through the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of the princes, both between themſelves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Doryſſus*, and *Prytanis* by his ſon *Eunomus*, the former of theſe, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor *Ageſilaus*, are by ſome ſaid to have reigned but a ſhort while [d]; and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty nine, and the latter forty four years [e]. As for *Eunomus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length ſtabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two ſons behind him, *Polydectes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a ſecond wife. He was ſucceeded by the former, and he dying ſoon after left the kingdom to *Lycurgus*, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a ſon, to whom he immediately reſigned it, and baniſhed himſelf out of *Lacedæmon*, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth, into which he afterwards modelled that government.

[d] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. c. ii. HIND. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. p. 97. [e] MEURS. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(Q) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his hiſtory of *Cræſus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has ſince ſhewn (15), ſince that prince had been dead ſome time before that lawgiver was born.

(15) *Meurſ. antiq. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pauſan. Laconic.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The History of the antient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, *and* Achaia.

WE ſhall join theſe antient kingdoms together in one ſection, becauſe they made but a ſmall figure in the world, in compariſon of thoſe that have gone before, and becauſe they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilſt their being ſo often mentioned in the foregoing ſections, and in the following hiſtory of *Greece*, will not permit us to paſs them by without taking notice of their ſituation, original, antiquities, and hiſtory, as far as it can be got out of antient authors, their wars and exploits, and other ſuch particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable, and are worth our notice here.

Elis. THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at firſt peopled, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, by the deſcendants of *Eliſhah*, the ſon of *Javan*, and grandſon of *Japhith* [a], if not by *Eliſhah* himſelf, from whom this territory at leaſt, if not the whole peninſula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean* *Names.* *Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Eliſhah*, where he celebrates its fine purple dye [b] (B). According therefore to this ſuppo-

[a] Gen. x. 2, & 4. [b] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 4.

(A) The poets derive that name from *Eleus* the ſon of *Neptune*, whom they make the firſt founder and king of it (1). *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Æthlius*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Protogenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the firſt who reigned here, and gives ſome other etymons of the word not worth notice, ſince we have a much antienter one, and clearer from fiction; in the patriarch *Eliſhah*.

(B) It is true, the prophet here ſpeaks of iſles and not of a continent; but we have often ſhewn, that that word in the language of ſcripture doth not ſtrictly imply an iſland; but the maritime countries, eſpecially thoſe about the *Mediterranean* †; and we have the teſtimony of ſeveral antient authors, that the coaſts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a ſhell-fiſh which they uſed in this dye, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(1) *Vid. int. al.* Ovid. *Metam.* & *Steph. Byz. ſub voce* Ηλις & *Gronov. not. in eund.* † *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 372. & *before p.* 433. (2) *Pauſan. in Laconic. Vid.* & *Bochart. ubi ſupra,* & *auctor. ab eo citat.*

†

ſition,

ſition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or ſome of his immediate deſcendants, it was not without good reaſon, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boaſted themſelves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponneſus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to ſettle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greateſt part of that peninſula [c].

Elis was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of *Peloponneſus*, having the *Ionian* ſea on that ſide, *Arcadia* on the eaſt, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparifſos* or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Torneſe*, with *Meſſenia* on the ſouth: its extent from eaſt to weſt was at the wideſt about forty eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almoſt 23 deg. eaſt longitude; and from north to ſouth about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude [d]. *Extent.*

ITS chief cities were, 1. *Elis*, ſituate on the river *Peneus*, and almoſt in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large ſpacious place called the *Xyſtos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themſelves for ſome time by diet, exerciſe, and other ſuch preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the *Olympic* plains [e]. In this place their ſenate did likewiſe uſe to aſſemble themſelves, and the candidates for all kinds of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewiſe a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, with the ſtatue of that blind goddeſs of a ſurpriſing bigneſs, and made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet. *Cities.*

[c] PAUSAN. Elid. c. i. & ſeq. [d] Conf. STRAB. Geogr. l. viii. MELA. l. ii. c. 4. CLUVER. WELLS, & al. [e] PAUSAN. Elid. c. xxiii.

(C) So called from the *Greek* ξύω, to *trim* or *poliſh*. This place was ſurrounded with a wall, and lined on the inſide with plantane trees of great height, to caſt an agreeable ſhade on the courſe. Here *Hercules*, in order to inure himſelf to hard labour, is ſaid to have ſpent ſome time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the incloſure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women uſed to repair about ſun-ſet during the time of the *olympic* games, and to lament the death of that hero by ſeveral mournful actions, eſpecially by ſmiting upon their breaſts (3).

(3) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* xviii.

They had likewiſe ſeveral others dedicated to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This laſt deity was held in the greateſt veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended, that he appeared to them on the day in which his feaſt was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewiſe a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddeſs was carved a cock, becauſe he is ſuppoſed the moſt courageous of all winged creatures f. Here was alſo the palace of *Augeas* one of their kings, and the famous ſtables, the cleanſing of which proved a taſk fit only for the great *Hercules* (E). †

Olympia. 2. THE city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity, ſituate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the *olympic* games, inſtituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after ſome ſuſpenſion, reſtored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater ſolemnity, and a vaſter concourſe of people, than any of theſe we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by *Olympiads*, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewiſe for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, ſaid to have been built from the ſpoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the

Olympic games.

f PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. † See before, p. 455. Note.

(D) This feaſt-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his prieſts repaired on the night before, with three empty flaſks which they left there, ſhut up the temple, and ſealed the locks of it, every byſtander being permitted to clap his own ſeal to them; and on the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with *Eleans* and ſtrangers, and having firſt ſhewed to them that the gates were ſafe and juſt as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flaſks filled with wine. (4).

(E) It is ſaid to have held three thouſand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, ſo that when *Hercules* undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus* according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(F) This ſolemnity, which had been ſo often interrupted, and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others, but without any ſettled time, was at length reſtored by *Iphitus* and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, ſo that between every celebration four complete years expired, which ſome have miſtaken

(4) *Id. ibid.*

for

the *Piſeans*; in which was a famous ſtatue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, near which is alſo the famous *Olympian* wood or grove dedicated to the ſame deity. As for its antient name of *Olympia*, it hath long ſince changed it for that of *Scouri*. 3. *Piſa*, ſituate on the river *Alpheus* (G), and near the mouth of it, ſaid to have been founded by *Piſus* the grandſon of *Æolus*, and whoſe inhabitants ſignalized themſelves under *Neſtor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Eleans*, becauſe the *Piſeans took upon them to celebrate the olympic* games by their own authority; for this, the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raiſed a war againſt them, and after many battles fought, in which they had ſtill the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and baniſhed its inhabitants. IT

for five. Hence every four years was called an *olympiad*, which computation was afterwards obſerved for a conſiderable number of centuries, as well as the ſolemnity of thoſe games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whoſe change immediately preceded the ſummer ſolſtice. Againſt that time the prieſts of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to obſerve every new moon, eſpecially that after which the ſolemnity was to be celebrated, and to cauſe it to be proclaimed. They were likewiſe intruſted with the regiſtering of the names of all the victors at thoſe games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each *olympiad*

We muſt, however, obſerve here, that this exact and ready way of computing by *olympiads* did not begin immediately after the firſt of them, but commenced only from the firſt year of the 28th, in which *Chorœbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned hiſtorical, whereas thoſe which preceded it up to the deluge are called fabulous and heroic, becauſe mixed with fable (5), as thoſe who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and alongthe city of *Piſa*, ſoon after which it is ſwallowed up in the earth. From thence it is ſuppoſed to run by a ſubterranean channel under the ſea without mixing with the ſalt water, and ſo to paſs quite into *Sicily* where it mixes itſelf with the fountain *Arethuſa* near the city of *Syracuſe*, inſomuch, that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis* ſide, is ſaid to come out at the fountain abovenamed (6). Hence

(5) *De his vid. Plutarch Pauſan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter. Archæolog. Hind. & al. plur.* (6) *Vid. Diod. Pauſan. & al.*

It were fruitleſs to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, ſince we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or ſome of his deſcendants. As to what prophane authors ſay of it, it is ſo mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we ſhall give our readers a ſhort ſketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

Kings of Elis.

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at firſt diſtinct from that of *Piſa*; this laſt having kings of its own for a conſiderable time. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Endymion*, who married *Aſterodia*, or, according to others, *Chromia*, the daughter of *Itonus* and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three ſons, *Paon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When theſe were grown up, he promiſed his kingdom to him that ſhould win the prize at the *olympic* race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Ætolus*, however, ſtayed with him at *Elis*, but *Paon*, unable to brook the loſs of ſuch a noble prize, went to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, and ſettled in that canton on the river *Aæus*, which took from him the name of *Paonia*. *Epeus* went to the ſiege of *Troy*, and is ſuppoſed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horſe. It was in his reign that *Pelops* the *Lydian*, or according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Aſia*, killed *OEnomaus* king of *Piſa*, ſeized on his kingdom, and took the city *Clympia* from the *Eleans*.

Ætolus.

the poetic fiction of *Alpheus*'s love to *Arethuſa*, which tells us, that this laſt, to avoid his amorous purſuit, hid herſelf under-ground, and that he was forced to do the ſame in order to get at her by ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, which he at length accompliſhed near the place where that river and fountain mix their ſtreams.

Pauſanias adds, that the *Eleans* had a law, which condemned any woman to death that ſhould either appear at the *olympic* games, or even croſs this river during that ſolemnity; and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who tranſgreſſed it, had diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a maſter or keeper of thoſe games, and conducted her ſon thither; but when ſhe ſaw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her diſguiſe, ſo that her ſex was diſcovered. She was, however, ſpared on account of her father, ſon, and husband who had gained the *olympic* prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keeper ſhould appear there naked.

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(7) *In Elid ch.* vi.

Epeus

Epeus died without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

THIS prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the ſon of *Jaſon* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponneſus*, and went to ſettle in *Ætolia*, where we ſhall find him in the ſequel. He was ſucceeded by *Eleus*, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Neptune*, by *Eurycyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom (I).

WE have already mentioned more than once the large ſtable which this prince is ſaid to have had, and its being cleanſed by *Hercules*. The truth of the ſtory, if we may believe *Pauſanias* [g], was, that he kept ſuch large quantities of oxen and ſheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, ſo that it was become incapable of producing either graſs or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and ſome part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the taſk by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refuſed to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus Augeas*'s eldeſt ſon, and he, having given it againſt his father, was baniſhed the kingdom together with his client. *Augeas*, being afraid of that hero's reſentment, was forced to ſtrengthen himſelf by a double alliance, one with *Actor*, the ſon of *Phorbas* by *Hyrmine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amarynceus*, a *Theſſalian*, a man well verſed in the art of war, whom he invited into

[g] Elid. c. i.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus* mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the ſon not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius* or the ſun.

(K) This river which ſome pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we obſerved in a late note, is by our author here called *Minyeus*, which name *Strabo*, who ſays it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long ſtay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is ſomething forced, and it ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that that river had thoſe two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pauſan. in Elid. c. ii. Vid. & Gedoyn. Not. in eund.*

Elis. To bind theſe two the faſter to his intereſt, he made them his aſſociates in the kingdom, ſo that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army againſt him, he met with ſuch ſtout reſiſtance from them, particularly from *Actor* and his ſons, that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that theſe brave youths were to go to the *Iſthmian* games, he went and lay in ambuſh againſt them, and killed them all, and with ſuch privacy, that it coſt the *Eleans* ſome time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tirynthus*, they ſent ambaſſadors in vain to the *Argives* to puniſh him, and to the *Corinthians* to interdict the *Argives* from the *Iſthmian* games, for ſuffering the aſſaſſin of thoſe who were going to them to live unpuniſhed in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their requeſt; and *Hercules* having raiſed a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and beſieged them, took and ſacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to let fly his reſentment againſt the *Piſeans* for aſſiſting them, had not the oracle prevented it. *Hercules*, who would not ſit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a preſent of it to *Phyleus* the ſon of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom reſtored him all the priſoners he had taken (L), and among the reſt *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to *Pauſanias*; others ſay he killed him and *Eurytas*, another of his ſons [h].

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, ſtay in it but as long as was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the

[h] Conf. DIODOR. SICUL. I. iv. & PAUSAN. Elid. c. iii.

(L) Theſe priſoners muſt have been very few in compariſon of thoſe that were killed, ſince *Pauſanias* tells us, that the *Elean* women, finding their country almoſt ſtript of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva*, that they might conceive at the very firſt matrimonial intercourſe; and that the goddeſs having granted their requeſt, they built a temple to her, and called it *Minerva, the mother of mankind.* And moreover in memory of this ſignal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect ſignifies the ſame as ἡδὺ, *ſweet*, to expreſs the pleaſure of that matrimonial intercourſe (9).

(9) *Id. ibid. c. iii.*

ſtate,

ſtate, after which he retired to the iſland of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying ſoon after, the crown fell to his next ſon *Agaſthenes*, whoſe ſon *Polyxenus*, having ſucceeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of thoſe who returned from thence, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eleus* II. It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their laſt but ſucceſsful attempt againſt *Peloponneſus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made ſeveral fruitleſs ones againſt it. We have already had occaſion to ſpeak more than once of this expedition, for the ſucceſs of which, having conſulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Ætolian*, whom they ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, becauſe his horſe and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, ſome ſay, his brother *Thermius*, others ſay, *Alcidocus* the ſon of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered *Peloponneſus* they ſhould allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his ſervices, but becauſe he had a title to that kingdom as being the ſixth in a lineal deſcent from *Endymion* the ſecond king of it. They agreed ſo much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's ſide, his great grandmother being ſiſter to *Dejanira*, the mother of *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules*. The ſucceſs of this expedition we have ſeen in ſome former ſections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conqueſts between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement [i].

Oxylus, who expected to have taken poſſeſſion of it without any oppoſition, found himſelf miſtaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refuſed to reſign it to him. However, to avoid expoſing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each ſhould chuſe a champion, who ſhould decide the right of it by ſingle combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* ſlinger, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*,

[i] Id. ibid. & APOLLOD. l. ii. STRAB. Geogr. l. x.

(M) It is but a ſmall inconſiderable iſland on the *Ionian* ſea near that of *Cephalenia*, it is now called *Dulicha* and *Tziakki*.

he

he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or thoſe of his ſucceſſors; he had two ſons, *Ætolus* and *Lajus*, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he ſhould be buried, neither within nor out of it. His ſon *Lajus* ſucceeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material tranſactions in this kingdom, if we except ſome of their wars with their *Arcadian* neighbours, and with ſome other eſtates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the *olympic* games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection.

Before his reign, *Greece* had been almoſt ruined by wars and peſtilence. *Elis* ſeems to have ſuffered more than any other eſtate, ſo that thoſe games had been interrupted for a conſiderable time. *Iphitus* ſent to conſult the oracle concerning the means of appeaſing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy againſt theſe calamities, and was anſwered, that the reſtoration of thoſe games would prove the ſafety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his ſubjects were exhorted to ſet about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon ſome account or other exaſperated againſt them (N). He next cauſed the *olympic* games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promiſe of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before: he likewiſe took upon himſelf to be ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games, a privilege which the *Piſeans*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, had often ſharply diſputed with his predeceſſors, and which continued in his deſcendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two preſidents whom they choſe by vote, and which in time increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve. We have ſpoken a little higher of the place where they ſat; their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all diſputes that aroſe concerning

Reſtores the olympic *games.*

(N) *Pauſanias* tells us, there was a kind of diſpute between the *Eleans* and the reſt of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally deſcended from *Oxylus*, if he was not, it was not without reaſon that he feared the reſentment of that god, whoſe particular kindneſs to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly ſuffer ſuch a wrong to go unpuniſhed: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeaſing his anger by this ſacrifice.

the

the victory in all the ſeveral exerciſes which were performed in them.

§ *Ætolia* was ſo called, as we have ſeen a little before, from *Ætolus*, the ſon of *Endymion* and brother of *Epeus*, whom he ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis*, the ſon of *Jaſon*, at ſome funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be gueſſed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both ſides, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, were the greateſt robbers in all *Greece*, and continued ſo, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and other heroes, had extirpated thoſe vermin every where elſe [a]. Ætolia.

THIS ſlip of ground, for ſuch it was, had on the eaſt the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozoleans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Evenus*, or *Lycormas*. The *Acarnanians* on the weſt were alſo parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians* with part of *Epirus*, and on the ſouth the bay of *Corinth*: its utmoſt extent from north to ſouth was about forty eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from eaſt to weſt, where it was wideſt, ſomething above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg .40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and ſouthward, eſpecially the latter, where it ſcarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one ſea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *OEnias*, ſituate on the mouth of the *Achelous* abovementioned [b]. *Its ſituation and extent.*

IT had no other rivers but the two we have juſt ſpoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Neſſus*, and the latter, which was alſo called *Thoas* from its rapidity, deſcended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia* into the *Ionian* ſea. Concerning this laſt the poets have feigned many ſtories, or blended the hiſtory with many fables which the reader may ſee in the margin (A). As for its name,

[a] THUCYD. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Theſeo. & al. [b] Vid. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER, & al.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. Theſe two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himſelf likely to be worſted by him, changed himſelf firſt into a ſerpent, and then into a bull. *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty* the companion of *Fortune*; Hence the ſtory of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himſelf ſtill inferior to his rival, turned himſelf into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever ſince,

name, ſome think it received it from *Achelous* one of the kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reaſon of the ſalubrioufneſs of its waters [c]; but as we meet with three rivers of this name [d], and in three different countries, it is not likely they ſhould all have it upon this laſt account; however, this of *Ætolia* is by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable, inſomuch, that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers.

The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered ſeveral of their cities almoſt impregnable, and the people ſo ſtout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite eſtates of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The moſt noted of theſe cities were thoſe that follow; *Thermus* or *Thermius*, ſituate almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance with ſuch high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the ſtates of the country aſſembled, and the repoſitory of all their wealth and treaſure in times of danger, yet was it not ſo much as fortified with a wall, the difficult aſcents and narrow paſſages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed ſufficient to guard it both from ſurprize or invaſion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the nobleſt and wealthieſt *Ætolians*, and had the ſurname of *Panetolium*, upon account of the ſenate holding their meetings there [e]. 2. *Calydon*, ſituate near the foreſt of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the nobleſt youths of *Greece*, ſlew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B). Hither

[c] Eustat. [d] Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. ſup. Citat [e] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. x. Polyb. Byzant. ſub. voce Θερμὸς & Gronov. not. in eund.

ſince, or, as others have it, for grief and ſpite flung and choaked himſelf in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea* or *plenty*.

This poetic hodge-podge of ſerpents, bulls, and horns, ſeems to have taken its riſe from the ſerpentine turnings and windings, and likely alſo from the rapidity and noiſe of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough ſaid to be the offſpring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two ſtreams, where it divided itſelf, and the plenty which theſe brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by ſome other way made ſerviceable to fertiliſe the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the *cornucopia*.

(B) This fierce and monſtrous creature had done ſo much miſchief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country who

her it was alſo that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponneſus*, and though he had a numerous ſpurious brood ſcattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate iſſue, he married *Dejanira* the daughter of *OEneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*, and to ingratiate himſelf to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made ſuch improvements upon it, as gave riſe to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which ſeems to have continued for ſome time the ſeat of the antient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the ſon of *Ætolus* [f], from whom the kingdom was for ſome time called *Calydonia*, but reſumed its antient one in ſome following reign. The ſituation of this city was very pleaſant and commodious, being ſeated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midſt of it, and having ſome pleaſant plains round it and the *Calydonian* foreſt at a ſmall diſtance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in proceſs of time to remove the ſeat of the kingdom and ſenate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory, whoſe inhabitants were ſurnamed *Curetes*, becauſe they ſhaved the fore-part of their heads, leſt their enemies ſhould lay hold on it, but let the hinder-part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of leſs note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted ſtates of *Greece*.

f Vid. BYZANT. ſub voce.

who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his aſſiſtance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to deſtroy it. The chief of theſe were, *Theſeus*, *Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus*, all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, beſides a number of other heroes. To theſe we may add the famous *Arcadian* princeſs *Atalanta*, who behaved with ſuch uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may gueſs at the bigneſs of this monſtrous boar by the length of his tuſks, *Pauſanias*, who tells us that one of them was ſtill preſerved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, ſays it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend, that it was ſent by *Diana* as a puniſhment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he ſacrificed to all the gods beſides at the cloſe of the harveſt. *Pauſanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was perſuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad. c.* xlvi.

The *Ætolians* were in general a ſtout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, ſeldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the advantage over them by reaſon of their ſituation. It was chiefly in ſuch excurſive exploits that they ſignalized their courage, without ſtriving to enlarge their territories, till ſome of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

It were, however, needleſs here to give a liſt of their kings, many of whom have been known to antient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the deſcendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*, *OEneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his ſon *Meleager* (C); and to theſe we ſhall only add the two heroes of his race, who ſignalized themſelves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

The firſt of theſe was *Tydeus* another ſon of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occaſion to mention him in the hiſtories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the firſt of theſe kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manſlaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughthers of *Adraſtus*, theſe three princes went jointly againſt *Thebes* to recover *Po-*

(C) The fable ſays, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought to bed of him, ſhe ſaw the three fatal ſiſters ſitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a billet out of it, ſaid, the boy ſhould live as long as it remained unburnt: as ſoon as they were gone, ſhe got up and quenched the ſtick, and repoſited it in a ſafe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the laſt note. That young prince having preſented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the firſt wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention aroſe to ſuch a height, that the exaſperated prince killed them both. *Althea*, ſeeing her two brothers killed, fell into ſuch fury, that ſhe ran to the fatal brand which ſhe had ſaved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her ſon was immediately ſeized with a burning fever in his bowels, and ſoon after expired.

Pauſanias, who tells us that this fabulous ſtory was deviſed by an antient tragic poet, named *Phrynicus* (ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the 67th *olympiad*) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us, upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, becauſe he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* againſt the *Curetes*, mentioned a little higher, and in whoſe favour that god had declared himſelf (11).

(11) *In Phocid. c.* xxxi.

lynices's

Iynice's right; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed such glorious exploits againſt *Eteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before he expired, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemy's head brought to him by the brave *Amphiaraus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and ſwallowing them [g].

HIS ſon *Diomedes* was one of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the *Trojan* war, he had indeed the good fortune to return ſafe from it, but meeting with a worſe enemy at home, in his faithleſs wife *Ægiale* and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he ſhared that kingdom with *Daunus*, as we have ſeen above †. From this time we meet with nothing conſiderable in the hiſtory of this nation, except a few warlike excurſions which they made in conjunction with ſome of the great eſtates of *Greece*, in which they aſſiſted ſometimes as allies, and ſometimes as auxiliaries, and which have been already interſperſed in the hiſtory of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achæan* league which proved ſo fatal to them, and of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. The reſt of their time was ſpent in mutual excurſions between them and their neighbours the *Dorians* and *Locrians*, of whom we are to ſpeak next, and eſpecially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnanians* whoſe territories lay on each ſide of *Ætolia*. Theſe two laſt being more obſcure and inconſiderable than any of the reſt, the reader will find all that we think need be ſaid of them in the following note (D)

THE

* See before p. 459 & ſeq. 492. & ſeq. [g] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7. † See before, p. 460, 461.

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we obſerved in the geography of *Ætolia*, were ſituate on the eaſt of that kingdom. It was a ſmall territory lying on the north coaſt of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itſelf about twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the weſt, it was bounded by the river *Evenus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the eaſt they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, ſpoken of in the cloſe of the ſeventh ſection of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, ſituate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name from the *Heraclidæ* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponneſus*, but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajazet*.

The

Locris. The *Locrians* were either the ſame people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the laſt note, or ſo blended with them, that

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being ſome of the antienteſt inhabitants of theſe parts, if we admit the etymon which ſome give us of their names, and that they were called ſo from the ſtench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beaſts without any dreſſing) gave to their bodies; for this was all the dreſs which the firſt inhabitants of *Greece* uſed, till *Pelaſgus* and ſome other founders taught them a better, as we have ſeen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the hiſtory of *Arcadia*.

Others think, that this ſtinking name was owing to the ſtench of their rivers and marſhes, and others again to the quantity of *Aſphodel* or *Daffadil* which grew in thoſe parts, one ſort of which has an ill ſmell, and uſed to be ſowed antiently over graves; a third affirm, that this ſtench was cauſed by the blood which the centaur *Neſſus* ſcattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not ſo ill-ſcented, is, that in the reign of *Oreſtheus* the ſon of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth inſtead of whelps, a ſtick of wood, which that prince cauſed to be put into the ground, from which, when the ſpring came, a vine ſprang forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of *Ozoles* came not from ὄζειν *to ſtink*, but from ὄζος, *a branch* or *ſprout*: however that be, *Pauſanias* tells us, the *Locrians*, who were likewiſe called *Ozoles*, were ſo ill-pleaſed with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12); we ſhall ſpeak of them in the next place above.

As for the *Acarnanians*, their territories were parted on the eaſt by the river *Achelous*, and ſurrounded by the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt and ſouth, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were antiently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the ſame race with thoſe of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter *, or, whether ſo called, becauſe like the *Pleuvons* they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not eaſy to determine.

Their name of *Acarnanians* they afterwards received from *Acarnanus* the ſon of *Alcmon*. This laſt was the ſon of *Amphiaraus* the noted ſoothſayer, whoſe wife *Eriphyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war, for which reaſon he left orders with his ſon to murder her, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. He having executed his fathers commands, was ſo tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief, and was anſwered, that if he could find

(12) *Ibid c.* xxxviii. (13) *Strab. Mel. & al.* * *See before, p.* 248. *& ſeq. & ſub note* (A). † *Ibid. p.* 459.

out

that they are not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed by their names, or indeed by any thing but their ſituation. In this reſpect they were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the ſouthern or maritime parts. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, ſo called from the mount *Cnemis*; theſe were ſituate in the middle: and 3. The northern *Locri*, ſurnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus* or *Opoes*, near the coaſts of the *Ægæan* or *Eubœan* ſea; authors, however, are not ſo well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of theſe antient nations [h]. *Antient* indeed, if we conſider that *Homer* tells us, they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and ſlings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Zephyrian* promontory, from which they were called *Locri Epizephyrii* [i].

THE *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former ſection. Their chief city was *Ampliſſa*, ſituate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphiclea*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and deſtroyed with the reſt of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pauſanias* tells us, it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been corrupted by his tranſcribers [k] (E). The *Epicnemidian* *Their three tribes.*

[h] De his vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER. & al. ſup. Citat. [i] PAUSAN. Achaic. c. xxiii. & Phocid. xxxviii. [k] Id. ibid. vid. & BYZANT. ſub voce Αμφικαια, & Gronov. not. in Loc.

out ſome country which had ſprung up out of the ſea, ſince his parricide, and did ſettle there, he ſhould be freed from his mother's avenging ghoſt. After much ſeeking he found this ſpot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and ſettled himſelf there.

He ſoon after married *Callirrhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two ſons, *Acarnan* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes* was, that the latter ſhaved the fore-part of their heads, and the others did not (15). Again, ſome derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*, and others from the *Greek* κύραι *maidens*, becauſe they affected to go dreſt like young women, though in this latter ſenſe it ſhould properly be writ κόραι. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their conſtant wars with the *Ætolians*, at leaſt during this epocha. The remainder of their hiſtory will be beſt ſeen in that of *Epirus*, of which they afterwards became a province.

(E) This laſt is more likely to be the caſe, both becauſe *Herodotus*

(14) *Pauſan. in Arcad. c.* xxiv. (15) *Vid. Byzant. ſub voce Acarnania.*

midian Locrians were the only ones of all the three who had a right to ſend deputies to the grand *Amphictyonian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient authors [1]. They had another city called *Cnemis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Thoſe who deſire to know more of theſe antient cities, as well as of that of *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may ſee an ample deſcription of them in the authors above quoted †. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if ſo, which was the antienteſt, is paſt our ſkill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we ſhall in the ſequel ſee, that they ſignalized themſelves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

Towns of note.

Doris. § *Doris* was ſituate on the ſouth of *Theſſaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta* and a ridge of other hills. It had on the ſouth *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*; on the eaſt it was parted from the *Locri Epicnemidii* by the river *Pindus*; and on the weſt from *Epirus* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note they had not. Mountains they had in great number, and thoſe not

[1] Polyb. Livy, Puausan. Vid. & Palmer. Antiq. Græc: l. v. & Byz. ſub voce. † Vid. & Palmer. antiq. Græc. l. iv. & alib. paſſ.

dotus no where calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly becauſe this laſt name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pauſanias* himſelf gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of ſome fear for his young ſon, had cauſed him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was ſaved by a ſerpent, who twined about and defended him. The father, coming at that inſtant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the ſerpent and his ſon, and when he was better informed by ſome ſhepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he cauſed them to be both burnt upon the ſame funeral pile.

It ſeems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence Αμφικαια, from Αμφικαιεσθαι, both being carried to the ſame pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no alluſion to that or any other part of the ſtory (17).

(16) *Phocid. c.* xxxiv. (17) *Vid. Sylburg. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

inconſiderable

conſiderable ones: the moſt famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with ſome others of leſs note, ſurrounded them on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the weſt; yet they abounded with ſpacious plains and very fruitful: the air was ſweet and healthy, and the ſoil capable of being improved to all advantages of huſbandry. Their territories were not large, they extended only at moſt about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the wideſt, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30. eaſt longitude [m].

THIS country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus*, the ſon of *Hellen*, and grandſon of *Deucalion*, who firſt peopled, or rather conquered, it, at leaſt that part of it which lies below the mountains *Oeta* and *Pindus*: they were afterwards driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for ſome time about *Macednum* and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned ſoon after to *Dryopis* (F), and the country about *Oeta*, where they continued till they made that famous deſcent into *Peloponneſus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have ſpoken in ſome former ſections, and whither they carried alſo their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of

[m] Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, &c. [n] HERODOT. l. i. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. &c.

(F) A country ſituate in the neighbourhood of the mounts *Oetæ* and *Parnaſſus*, and called *Dryopis*, from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph raviſhed by *Apollo*; but more probably from δρῦς, *an oak*, and ὄψ *voice*, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain and the ruſtling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themſelves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themſelves the ſons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them priſoners and carried them to *Delphos*, where he preſented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponneſus*, which he accordingly did, and gave them a ſettlement there near the *Aſinean* and *Hermionian* territories; hence the *Aſineans* came to be blended with and to call themſelves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preſerved

(18) *Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c.* xxxiv.

of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others [o].

2. *Erineus*, ſituate on the moſt northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the antient geographers and hiſtorians. 3. *Lilæa* on the ſouthern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolemy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with ſome few of leſs note.

We have nothing remarkable left concerning theſe people before their naval deſcent into *Peloponneſus*, the particulars and ſucceſs of which have been ſeen in the former ſections, and need not be repeated here. After their conqueſt of and ſettlement in that *Peninſula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a ſtately temple to *Jupiter Tropeus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and anſwerable to the ſurname given to that deity, ſince it almoſt overturned the whole ſtate of affairs in all the different kingdoms and ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, whoſe cities were now forced to receive a garriſon of *Dorians*, and to ſubmit to a foreign government.

Achaia *its names.*

§ *Achaia Propria* (H), ſo called from *Achæus* the ſon of *Xuthus*, was originally called *Ægialea*, from *Ægialeus* the firſt king of *Sicyon*, as ſome affirm [†]; others think, it comes from the *Greek Ægialos*, *ſea-ſhore*, becauſe above half of it was ſurrounded with the ſea [p], but whether it was originally a part of the *Sicyonic* kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed ſeems the more probable, becauſe the king, who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of

[o] De his vid Ptolem. Strab. &c. Byzant. & Palmer. Ant. Gr. See before p. 441. [p] Pausan. Achaic. c. i.

moſt pure by the *Meſſenians*, even through all their various tranſmigrations: 2. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture; and 3. to the *Doric* muſic, in oppoſition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*.

Theſe three kinds of muſic uſed to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth ſort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(H) It is called *Achaia Propria* to diſtinguiſh it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itſelf was ſometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*, and *Achaia*, containing all the remainder of *Greece*, both inland and the iſlands about it.

(19) *Pauſan. in Euetic. c.* xii. *Athen l.* xiv. *c.* 7.

Achæus;

Achæus came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the laſt quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name in the liſt we have left of them, unleſs perhaps *Selinus* be the ſame with *Telchin*, or *Selchin* as he is alſo called, the grandſon of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the ſurname of *Ionia*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely, that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the ſons of *Achæus* came and invaded it, and drove the *Ionians* out of it.

Situation and extent.

Achaia had *Sicyon* on the eaſt, and the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the ſouth, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north: its utmoſt extent was from eaſt to weſt ſomewhat above fifty miles, but from north to ſouth about half that diſtance [q], being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the *Piereus* which diſcharged itſelf into the *Ionian* ſea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous ſea-port mentioned by antient authors, and ſo called from *Olenus* its founder, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*. We find another city of the ſame name in *Ætolia* [r]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention the reſt of their cities in the following ſketch of their hiſtory.

Xuthus, one of the ſons of *Hellen*, the ſon of *Deucalion*, having been baniſhed by his other brothers out of *Theſſaly* after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treaſury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Creuſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a diſpute ariſing between his ſons, *Xuthus* was choſen umpire between them, and having adjudged the ſucceſſion to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldeſt, the others, drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and ſettled in *Achaia* *, and died there. His ſon *Achæus* did ſoon after raiſe a ſmall number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces, with which he went into *Theſſaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-ſlaughter, and went into *Laconia* where he died, and his poſterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*.

BUT in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialea*. *Selinus* then king of it, having but one only daughter, inſtead of repulſing him, gave her to him in marriage, and ap-

[q] STRAB. MELA, &c. [r] Vid. BYZANT. in voce. * See before, p. 470.

pointed him his ſucceſſor. *Ion*, having ſucceeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were ſurnamed *Ionians*; but the country ſeems to have retained its antient name, ſince, *Homer*, in the liſt of *Agamemnon*'s forces, makes mention both of it and of the city of *Helice*.

Ion was ſoon after choſen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war againſt the *Eleuſians*, and was either killed in it, or died ſoon after, and was buried in a ſmall town of *Attica*. The crown, however, paſſed to his deſcendants, who enjoyed it undiſturbed for a conſiderable time. In the mean while, thoſe of his uncle *Achæus*, and known by the name of *Acheans*, had ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdoms of *Argos* and *Lacedemon*. When therefore they came to be driven out of theſe two countries by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, they bethought themſelves of laying claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tiſamenes* the ſon of *Oreſtes* at their head, and pleaded a ſuperiority of kindred, being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of *Xuthus*; but what they truſted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them ſome *Dores*, who agreed to aſſiſt them in this expedition. Accordingly they came againſt them with this army, and ſent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, ſurpriſed at ſuch an unexpected meſſage, reſolved, however, to oppoſe their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if they were once ſuffered to ſettle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tiſamenes*, whoſe noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: They therefore reſolved to march againſt the invaders, and on the very firſt onſet the *Acheans* loſt indeed their prince, but gained the victory and purſued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps ſo much in conſideration of the great ſervices which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make uſe of their aſſiſtance againſt the *Dores* whom he now began to fear. Here they ſtayed no longer than till the firſt archontat, when *Medon*'s brethren, unwilling to ſubmit to

their

their lame brother, invited them among other *Grecians* to go and ſeek their fortune elſewhere *.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead and the *Ionians* gone off, his ſons agreed to divide their new conqueſt by lot; this little kingdom chiefly conſiſted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; namely, 1. *Helice* mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the aſſembly of the ſtates was removed after the ſubverſion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigneſs: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5 *Rhyphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. Theſe twelve cities were at firſt divided between the four ſons of *Tiſamenes*; *Diamenes*, *Spartan*, *Telles* and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth ſon *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Aſia*. Theſe, together with their couſin *Damaſias*, the ſon of *Penthilus* and grandſon of *Oreſtes*, having jointly reigned over this new *Achaian* ſtate for ſome time, agreed again to take into partnerſhip *Preagenes* and his ſon *Patrus*, who were the ſovereigns of thoſe *Acheans* who had been baniſhed out of *Lacedemon*, and gave them the ſovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the laſt of theſe *Patra*. By what appears from this diviſion of the *Achaian* government, it ſeems, as if it then became a kind of ariſtocracy, rather than a ſeven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what ſhare the ſubjects had in it we cannot find out; only it ſeems from the ſhort ſketch *Pauſanias* gives us of it, that all thoſe cities abovementioned, except *Pellene*, were in ſome meaſure free cities, and that the ſtates of *Achaia* ceaſed not to aſſemble themſelves, even when the reſt of *Greece* was terribly harraſſed with wars and peſtilence. In this aſſembly it was, that the famous *Achean* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very firſt, and were followed by all the other ſtates, not only of *Peloponneſus*, but by thoſe on the other ſide the *Iſthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who ſoon after entered into a war againſt them as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

* See before, p. 481.

[r] Vid. PAUSAN. in Achaic. paſſ. & PLUTARCH. D. SICUL. & Auct. ſup. citat.

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FINIS.

A N

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

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AN

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Hiſtory of the ATHENIANS.

SECT. I.

Of the ſtate of ATHENS, *from the eſtabliſhing annual Archons to the* Achæan *league.*

THE *Athenians* acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the moſt glorious nation in *Greece*, when *Greece* was in her greateſt glory, and which makes the *Athenian* name venerable, even in theſe diſtant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though *Athens*, as we have already ſhewn, was in antient times, as indeed moſt nations were, governed by kings, yet thoſe kings were far from being abſolute. The beſt of them preſcribed bounds to themſelves, and the people preſcribed bounds to the worſt. For the *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and reſerved, even in the days of *Theſeus*, ſuch an authority in their hands, as engaged *Homer* to difference them from the other nations of *Greece* [a]. The glorious death of *Codrus*, who ſacrificed himſelf for his ſubjects, and his ſons diſputing the ſucceſſion, furniſhed the *Athenians* with a pretence for ridding themſelves of kings. It was improbable, they ſaid, that ever they ſhould have ſo good a prince as *Codrus*, and to prevent their having

[a] Iliad. lib. v.

a worſe, they could have no king but *Jupiter* [b]. However, that they might not ſeem ungrateful to his family, they made his ſon *Medon* their ſupreme magiſtrate, with the title of *Archon*; they afterwards rendered that office *decennial*, but continued it ſtill in that family. The extinction of the *Medontidæ* at laſt left them without reſtraint, upon which they not only made this office *annual*, but created nine *Archons* [c]; by the latter invention they provided againſt the too great power of a ſingle perſon, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehenſion of their *Archon's* having time to eſtabliſh an *optimacy*, and ſo change the conſtitution. In one word, they attained now what they had long ſought, the making their ſupreme magiſtrates *dependent* on the *people*.

That theſe magiſtrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as might be ſufficient to preſerve the order and peace of the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The *firſt* was ſtiled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was diſtinguiſhed by his name. The *ſecond* was called *Baſileus*, i. e. *king*. He too had his peculiar function and his particular tribunal. The *third* had the name of *Polemarchos*, war was his province eſpecially, though he had the direction of many things beſides military affairs. The other ſix had the title of *Theſmothetæ*, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws and conſervators of the conſtitution. We ſhall ſpeak of all theſe officers diſtinctly in their proper place; at preſent we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the *abolition* of the decennial magiſtracy in *Athens*. As to the reaſons on which the names of the three firſt magiſtrates and their diſtinct officers were founded, they are variouſly, and not very clearly, reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magiſtrates to theſe new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former, as was conſiſtent with the ends for which this change was made: As the *Romans* allowed their conſuls to have faſces carried before them, and bore with the word *Rex*, when it implied no more than a ſupreme ſacrificer. This change happened at *Athens* in the twenty fourth *Olympiad*, but in what year of that *Olympiad* is not well ſettled. *Creon* was the firſt of the new *Archons*, and the names of his ſucceſſors, at leaſt ſuch of them as are recorded in hiſtory, the reader will find in the

[b] Schol. in nub. Aristophan. [c] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. Euseb. Chron. Pausan.

following

following table, which alſo ſhews the years in which they bore that office (A).

An

(A) The *Athenian* hiſtory takes up ſo great a part of thoſe volumes which are left us of the antient writers of *Greece*, that though little has been ſaid by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of its magiſtrates; yet the induſtry of ſuch of the learned as have laboured in this way, and, by collecting the ſcattered paſſages of *Grecian* writers, have formed treatiſes of the *Athenian* government under its ſeveral mutations, have given us ſuch lights on this important ſubject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to ſet it clearly and diſtinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of thoſe laſt mentioned authors, that if ſuch as peruſe this work ſhould be deſirous of entering more deeply into the *Athenian* polity, than the conſtruction of this hiſtory will permit us to do, they may not be at a loſs for guides. *William Poſtel*, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, and was deſervedly famous for his extenſive learning, hath written a very curious treatiſe of the *Athenian* republic, conſiſting of thirty five chapters, wherein he handles concifely the functions of the *Athenian* magiſtrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the ſeveral parts of the *Attic* conſtitution on each other (1). But if the ſuccinctneſs of *Poſtel* leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, *Sigonius*'s four books, with his ſcheme of the *Athenian* hiſtory, will ſufficiently ſupply it. *Sigonius* was a man of much reading, vaſt diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the ſame kind which he compoſed (2). This excellent perſon was a profeſſor in the univerſity of *Modena*, and, by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired ſuch a ſtupendous knowledge in hiſtory and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As *Sigonius* exceeded *Poſtel*, ſo *Sigonius* himſelf hath been tranſcended by *Ubbo Emmius*, rector of the Univerſity of *Groningen*, who, having reſolved upon a work of the ſame nature, made his deſcription extend not only to the *Athenian*, but to all the republics of *Greece*, and ordered it ſo, that this deſcription made but one third part of his work, the two former parts containing an exact deſcription of antient *Greece*, and a regular hiſtory of its inhabitants, collected in the words moſtly of original writers (3). If to theſe we add the almoſt numberleſs treatiſes of the very learned *Meurſius* on every part of the *Athenian* government (4), there can no queſtion be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly underſtood as any thing of the ſame nature can be. But as things are never perfect at

(1.) *Tractatus de Republicis ſive Magiſtratibus Athenienſium.* (2) *De Republica Athenienſium, Venetiis* 1565, 8vo. (3) *Vetus Græcia Opus diſtinctum in Tomos tres.* (4) *Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lection. Attic.* &c.

An exact Table of ſuch of the annual archons of *Athens* as are mentioned in hiſtory.

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		xxiv.
684	*Creon*	1
683	*Tleſias*	2
682	*Lyſias*	3
		xxvii.
670	*Autoſthenes*	3
		xxix.
663	*Archimedes*	2
		xxx.
658	*Miltiades*	3
		xxxiii.
645	*Dropis*	4
		xxxv.
639	*Damaſias* I.	2
		xxxvi.
634	*Epænctus*	3
		xxxix.
623	*Draco*	2
		xliii.
608	*Ariſtocles*	4
		xlv.
599	*Megacles*	2
598	*Phiſombrotus*	3
597	*Solon*	4
		xlvi.
596	*Dropides*	1
		xlvii.
591	*Eucrates*	2
590	*Simon*	3
		xlix.
582	*Damaſias* II.	3
		li.
576	*Archeſtratides*	1
		lii.
569	*Auſtomenes*	4

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		liv.
561	*Hippoclides*	4
		lv.
560	*Comias*	1
559	*Hegeſtratus*	2
		lvi.
552	*Euthydemus*	2
		lviii.
547	*Euxiclides*	2
		lix.
543	*Alcæus*	2
		lxii.
532	*Heraclides*	1
		lxiv.
523	*Miltiades*	2
		lxviii.
	Iſagoras	*an. incert.*
		lxix.
	Aceſtorides	*an. incert.*
		lxx.
	Myrus	*an. incert.*
		lxxi.
496	*Hyparchus*	2
495	*Philippus*	3
494	*Themiſtocles*	4
		lxxii.
492	*Diognetus*	2
491	*Hybrilides*	3
490	*Phænippus*	4
		lxxiii.
488	*Ariſtides*	1
487	*Anchiſes*	2
486	*Acratides*	3

firſt, ſo we held it more reaſonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the conſtruction of the *Athenian* democracy to its ſettlement by *Solon*, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

484 *Leoſtratus*

A. a. Ch.	*Olymp.*
	lxxiv.
484 *Leoſtratus*	1
483 *Nicodemus*	2
482 *Aphepſon*	3
	lxxv.
480 *Callias qui & Calliades*	1
479 *Xanthippus*	2
478 *Timoſthenes*	3
477 *Adimanthus*	4
	lxxvi.
476 *Phædon*	1
475 *Dromoclides*	2
474 *Aceſtorides*	3
473 *Menon*	4
	lxxvii.
472 *Chares*	1
471 *Praxiergus*	2
470 *Demotion*	3
469 *Phædon*	4
	lxxviii.
468 *Theagenides*	1
467 *Lyſiſtratus*	2
466 *Lyſanias*	3
465 *Lyſiſtheus*	4
	lxxix.
464 *Archidemides*	1
463 *Tlepolemus*	2
462 *Conon*	3
461 *Euippus*	4
	lxxx
460 *Phaciclides*	1
459 *Philocles*	2
458 *Bion*	3
457 *Mneſitides*	4
	lxxxi.
456 *Callias*	1
455 *Soſiſtratus*	2
454 *Ariſton*	3
453 *Lyſicrates*	4
	lxxxii.
452 *Chærephanes*	1
451 *Antidotus*	2
450 *Eutydemus*	3

A. a. Ch.	*Olymp.*
449 *Pedieus*	4
	lxxxiii.
448 *Philiſcus*	1
447 *Timarchides*	2
446 *Callimachus*	3
445 *Simachides qui & Lyſimachides*	4
	lxxxiv
444 *Praxiteles*	1
443 *Lyſanias*	2
442 *Diphilus*	3
441 *Timocles*	4
	lxxxv.
440 *Myrichides ſive Marichidas*	1
439 *Glaucis*	2
438 *Theodorus*	3
437 *Euthymenes*	4
	lxxxvi.
436 *Nauſimachus qui & Lyſimachus*	1
435 *Antichides*	2
434 *Charis*	3
433 *Apſendes*	4
	lxxxvii.
432 *Pythodorus*	1
431 *Euthydemus*	2
430 *Apollodorus*	3
429 *Epamion*	4
	lxxxviii.
428 *Diotimus*	1
427 *Euclides*	2
426 *Scytodorus qui & Euthydemus*	3
425 *Stratocles,*	4
	lxxxix.
424 *Iſarchus*	1
423 *Aminias*	2
422 *Alcæus*	3
421 *Arieto qui & Ariſtion*	4
	xc.
	420
420 *Ariſtophilus qui & Aſtyphilus*	1
	419

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
419	*Archias*	2
418	*Antiphon*	3
417	*Euphemus*	4
		xci.
416	*Aristomnestus*	1
415	*Chabrias*	2
414	*Pysander*	3
413	*Cleocritus*	4
		xcii.
412	*Callias*	1
411	*Theopompus*	2
410	*Glaucippus*	3
409	*Diocles*	4
		xciii.
408	*Euctemon*	1
407	*Antigenes*	2
406	*Callias*	3
405	*Alexias*	4
		xciv.
404	*Pythodorus*	1
403	*Euclides*	2
402	*Micio*	3
401	*Zenetetus qui & Epenetus*	4
		xcv.
400	*Laches*	1
299	*Aristocrates*	2
398	*Itycles*	3
397	*Lysiades*	4
		xcvi.
396	*Phormio*	1
395	*Diophantus*	2
394	*Eubulides*	3
393	*Arches qui & Demostratus*	4
		xcvii.
392	*Philocles*	1
391	*Nicoteles*	2
390	*Demostratus*	3
389	*Antipater*	4
		xcviii.
388	*Pyrrhio qui & Pyrgbion*	1
387	*Theodotus*	2
386	*Mystichides*	3

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
385	*Dexiteus*	4
		xcix.
384	*Diotrephes*	1
383	*Phenostratus*	2
382	*Menander qui & Evander*	3
381	*Demophilas*	4
		c.
380	*Pytheas*	1
379	*Nicon*	2
378	*Nausinicus*	3
377	*Callias*	4
		ci.
376	*Chariander*	1
375	*Hippodamus*	2
374	*Socratides*	3
373	*Astius* five *Asteus*	4
		cii.
372	*Aristhenes* five *Alcisthenes*	1
371	*Phrasiclides*	2
370	*Dysnicetus*	3
369	*Lysistratus*	4
		ciii.
368	*Nausiegenes*	1
367	*Polyzelus*	2
366	*Cephisodorus*	3
365	*Chion*	4
		civ.
364	*Timocrates*	1
363	*Chariclides*	2
362	*Miolio* five *Molon*	3
361	*Nicophemus*	4
		cv.
360	*Callimedes*	1
359	*Eucharistus*	2
358	*Cephisodorus*	3
357	*Agathocles*	4
		cvi.
356	*Elpines* seu *Elpinius*	1
355	*Callistratus*	2
354	*Diotimus*	3
353	*Eudemus*	4
		cvii.
352	*Aristomedes*	1
		351

A. a. Ch.	*Olymp.*
351 *Theſſalus*	2
350 *Apollodorus*	3
349 *Callimachus*	4
	cviii.
348 *Theophilus*	1
347 *Themiſtocles*	2
346 *Archius*	3
345 *Eubulus*	4
	cix.
344 *Lyciſcus*	1
343 *Pythoderus*	2
342 *Soſigenes*	3
341 *Nicomachus*	4
	cx.
340 *Theophraſtus*	1
339 *Lyſimachides*	2
338 *Charondas* ſeu *Charonides*	3
337 *Phrynicus*	4
	cxi.
336 *Pythodorus*	1
335 *Euenetus*	2
334 *Cteſicles*	3
333 *Nicocrates*	4
	cxii.
332 *Nicerates*	1
331 *Ariſtophanes*	2
330 *Ariſtophon*	3
329 *Cephiſophon*	4
	cxiii.
328 *Euthycritus*	1
327 *Hegemon*	2
326 *Chremes*	3
325 *Anticles*	4
	cxiv.
324 *Hegeſias*	1
323 *Cephiſodorus*	2
322 *Philocles*	3
321 *Archippus* ſive *Apollodorus*	4
	cxv.
320 *Naæchmus*	1
319 *Apollodorus*	2
318 *Archippus*	3
317 *Demogenes*	4
	cxvi.

A. a. Ch.	*Olymp.*
316 *Democlides*	1
315 *Praxibulus*	2
314 *Nicodorus*	3
313 *Cheophraſtus*	4
	cxvii.
312 *Ptolemo*	1
311 *Simonides*	2
310 *Hieromnemon*	3
309 *Demetrius Phalereus*	4
	cxviii.
308 *Charinus* ſive *Cœrinus*	1
307 *Anaxicrates*	2
306 *Coræbus* ſive *Corybus*	3
305 *Xenippus* ſive *Euxenippus*	4
	cxix.
304 *Pherecles*	1
303 *Leoſtratus*	2
302 *Nicocles*	3
301 *Calliarchus*	4
	cxx.
300 *Hegamachus*	1
299 *Euctemon*	2
298 *Mneſidemus*	3
297 *Antiphates*	4
	cxxi.
296 *Nicias*	1
295 *Nicoſtratus*	2
294 *Olympiodorus*	3
293 *Philippus*	4
	cxxii.
290 *Philippus*	3
	cxxv.
279 *Gorgias*	2
278 *Anaxicrates*	3
277 *Democles*	4
	cxxvii.
271 *Pytharatus*	2
	cxxix.
264 *Diognetes*	1
	clx.
140 *Antitheus*	1
	clxxx.
63 *Herodes*	2

As we are obliged to gather the history of *Athens* at the entrance of this period from such passages in far later historians, as have a retrospective view thereto, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several which remain, we know nothing more, than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such persons were archons; because antiently the *Athenian* story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in *Athens*, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and tho' they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindred them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the antient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, *viz.* that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no written laws, but every magistrate acted according to the principles of natural equity [d].

The more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the less easily were they governed. Merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt* very probably gave them first to understand the expediency of written laws, which might serve to rule the magistrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the *Athenians* would not be at rest without them; the same spirit, which had compelled former alterations in government, made it necessary now, that laws should be compiled, and therefore the nobility pitched upon *Draco* to undertake this arduous employment (B).

Draco

[d] Suidas in Δράκων.

(B) When it is said, that *Draco* first gave laws to the *Athenians*, it must be understood in an extensive sense, for otherwise it is certain, that *Ceres* was the first who taught the *Athenians* to lead a social life, and to become subject to the wisest amongst them, that their wisdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed,

Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last, year of the thirty ninth *olympiad*, when it is supposed he published his laws. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together relating to him and his institutions, which is certainly the reason that the collectors of *Greek* history have written so superficially about them. We cannot pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endued with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down for the government of *Athens* [e]. He esteemed the taking away of life so high a crime, that, to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained, that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. So that for instance, a statue, which had fallen upon and killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica* [f]. Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but so it was, that he punished all things with death, even indolence; and the taking of an apple was as severely punished as sacrilege, for which he himself assigned this reason; *Small faults seem to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences I can find no higher punishment* [g]. Year of the Flood 2376. Before Christ, 623.

[e] A. GELLIUS. Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græcos. CLEM. Strom. l. i. [f] PAUSAN. Attic. [g] PLUTARCH. in vita Solon.

believed, that *Ceres* gave these laws by her favourite *Triptolemus*, and we are farther told what those laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; *Honour your parents*; *Worship the gods*; *Hurt not animals* (5). These precepts were retained likewise by *Draco*, and made the very foundation of his institutions, yet notwithstanding all this, he was, in the sense we usually take the word, the legislator of the *Athenians*, since he first restrained the magistrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) *Porphyr. de abstinentia.*

The care of executing theſe laws, he intruſted chiefly with the *Ephetæ*, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many reſpects, whence he is by ſome ſaid to have inſtituted it, but that is a miſtake. He did indeed make it ſuperior to the *Areopagus*, to which it was before inferior, and *Solon*, reſtoring the precedency of the laſt-mentioned court, has been by a like miſtake reported to be the inſtitutor thereof [h]. *Draco* was far in years when he gave laws to *Athens*; ſome have been of opinion, that he borrowed moſt of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*, but this can hardly be proved [i]; certain it is, that his inſtitutions were not ſtiled *Nomoi*, but *Theſmoi*, i. e. not *laws*, but *ſanctions*, as if they proceeded from more than human wiſdom [k]; but this did not hinder their falling into diſlike with the *Athenians*, even in his life-time; and as their diſlike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from *Athens*, from whence he went to the iſland of *Ægina*, where he was received with the higheſt reſpect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the *Athenians*. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to ſhew their regard for him, threw, as the cuſtom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of theſe being very great, they ſtifled the old man, who was too weak to diſengage himſelf from that load their inconſiderate kindneſs caſt over him [l]. *Ariſtotle* tells us, that *Herodicus* was wont to ſay, *That his inſtitutions ſeemed rather to have come from a dragon than a man*, alluding to his name [m], and *Demades* rendered himſelf famous by obſerving, *that* Draco's *laws were not written with* ink, *but* blood [n]. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the *Athenian* people, made that legiſlator have recourſe to ſo harſh a method; for that he was not of altogether ſo ſavage a temper, as he is generally repreſented, may be probably conjectured from thoſe fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by time, and from the knowledge we have of his being ſtrongly inclined to poetry, a ſtudy ſeldom agreeable to cruel minds [o] (C).

Nothing

[h] Potter's Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 102. [i] Joseph. contr. Apion. [k] Ælian. hiſt. var. l. viii c. 10. [l] Hesych. de Illuſt. Philoſ. [m] Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Solon. [o] Vid. Note C.

(C) *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks very ſlightly of *Draco*'s laws. He ſays, they had

NOTHING conſiderable happened at *Athens* from the time of *Draco*'s archonſhip, till that republic engaged herſelf in a war with the *Mityleneans* about the city of *Sigeium*, which was ſeated near the mouth of the river *Scamander*; the *Athenian* army was commanded by *Phrynon*, a perſon equally remarkable for the comelineſs of his form and the generoſity of his mind. The *Mityleneans* were commanded in chief by *Pittacus*, one of the famous ſages of *Greece*; as theſe commanders looked on the honour of their ſeveral countries to be engaged in this buſineſs, they exerted their utmoſt abilities with equal ſucceſs. At laſt theſe chiefs met in ſingle combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended on his valour only, but *Pittacus* made uſe of craft; for concealing behind his ſhield a net, he therewith ſuddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and eaſily ſlew him; but this not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, interpoſed, and both parties having ſubmitted the diſpute to his arbitration, he decreed, that *Sigeium* ſhould belong to the *Athenians*. This happened in the third year of the forty third *olympiad* [p] (D).

Year after the Flood, 2393. Year before Chriſt 606.

ABOUT

[p] POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 25. PLUTARCH. de Malign. HERODOT.

had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (6), which expreſſion, as I apprehend, hath given occaſion to the cenſures of many other authors. With reſpect to *Draco*'s laws, what fragments ſtill remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or againſt him. *Porphyry* hath preſerved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlaſting law in *Attica*, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors and in private only, with good words, firſtfruits, and annual libations (7). This ſeems to have been a commentary on *Triptolemus*'s laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worſhipped. *Heſychius* (8) mentions a law, whereby a perſon, eaſing himſelf in the temple of *Apollo*, was adjudged to ſuffer death. It is highly likely, that, amidſt the diſturbances which made laws neceſſary, *Draco* ſaw, or at leaſt thought he ſaw, a neceſſity of puniſhing very ſeverely, ſince the licentiouſneſs of the people was grown to ſuch a pitch, that nothing but harſh meaſures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant ſeverity of his *Theſmoi* or *Sanctions*, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees they grew into diſſuetude, ſo that the commonwealth ſtood more in need of new laws, than ever ſhe ſtood in need of *Draco*'s.

(D) The war between the *Mityleneans* and the *Athenians* about

(6) *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. (7) *De Abſtinent.* (8) *Ap. Ant. Thyſ. Coll. leg. Ath. & Rom.*

Year after the Flood, 2400. Year before Christ 599.

About seven years after this war was ended, *Athens* was torn by civil dissentions; *Cylon*, a man of a most antient family, son-in-law to *Theagenes* tyrant of *Megara*, whose affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whose great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a design of seizing the supreme power; this he communicated to such as he thought were fit to be trusted with so important a secret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to consult the oracle of *Apollo*, when would be the fittest time for them to put this design in execution. The oracle answered, *When the citizens were employed in celebrating the highest feast to* Jupiter. *Cylon* and his associates waited therefore for the forty fifth *olympiad*, and when many of the citizens were gone to the *olympic* games, the conspirators made themselves masters of the citadel. *Megacles*, who was at that time archon, with his eight associates and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately besieged them therein, and *Cylon* and his party found themselves so exceedingly distressed, especially for provisions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their escape, but the meaner sort were left to shift for themselves [q]. In this extremity they fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and took sanctuary therein; *Megacles* persuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themselves upon their country; when they assented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddess, and carried the clew with them, to demonstrate

[q] Herodot. l. v. Thucyd. lib. i.

the city of *Sigeium* hath cost the learned a good deal of trouble. *Herodotus* doth not say any thing of *Pittacus* in the account he gives us of this business; but *Plutarch* alledges this as one instance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the *Athenians* justice (9). But then *Plutarch*, in commending excessively *Pittacus*'s ensnaring *Phrynon*, seems to speak him a little prejudiced on that side, at least as the rules of honour are now settled. *Polyænus* tells this story without making any farther comment thereon, than that *Pittacus* was undoubtedly the first inventer of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the *Romans* in their shews, but with this difference from *Pittacus*'s behaviour, that the *Retiarius* fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas *Phrynon* thought nothing of a net till he found himself intangled in it.

(9) *Plutarch. de malign. Herodot.*

(10) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib.* i. *c.* 28.

that

that they were ſtill under ſanctuary; but unfortunately, as they paſſed the temple of the furies, the line ſnapt of itſelf, and *Megacles* and his officers, conſtruing this into a renunciation by the goddeſs, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as faſt as they could: ſuch as were without the temple were immediately diſpatched; ſuch as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none eſcaped but ſuch as bribed the wives of the officers of juſtice. But this did not put an end to the ſedition; the remains of *Cylon*'s faction created great diſturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by inſinuating, that the violation of *Minerva*'s ſanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the croſſes that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. Theſe diſcourſes had ſuch an effect, that *Megacles* and his officers were ſtiled *execrable*, and held to be perſons under the peculiar diſpleaſure of the gods [r]. What happened in conſequence of this, we ſhall ſhortly ſee: In the mean time let us obſerve, that the oracle of *Apollo* juſtified itſelf, by declaring that *Cylon* and his adherents miſtook the feaſt; that intended by the oracle being the *Diaſia* held in *Athens* to the honour of *Jupiter*, and not the *olympic* games [s] (E).

WHILE

[r] PLUTARCH. in vita Solon. [s] DACIER. in Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

(E There was for a long time after the democracy took place a ſtrong party againſt it, who left no meaſures untried in order if poſſible to reſtore their antient form of government. *Cylon*, as a man of quality, repined at the ſudden change of the magiſtrates, and at the thoughts of aſking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The deſign of ſeizing the citadel, if it had ſucceeded, would in all probability have ended the diſpute in his favour, but the number he drew together, proving far inferior to thoſe who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwiſe than he expected, and to endure a ſiege where he hoped to make a conqueſt (11). In the citadel there were two temples to *Minerva*, that ſeated in the middle was ſtiled *Parthenion*, alluding to her conſtant preſervation of her virginity: It was afterwards burnt by the *Perſians*, but repaired by *Pericles* with ſuch ſkill as well as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and ſhew it to have been one of the fineſt ſtructures in the world (12). As to the proceeding againſt *Cylon*'s confederates, it was againſt the common cuſtom of *Greece*,

(11) *Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis.* (12 *Cecropia. Wheeler's Voyages.*

and

WHILE *Athens* was in this confusion the *Megarensians* attacked *Nisæa*, and, having taken it, afterwards drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the *Megarensians*, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success and afflicted with the mighty loss they had received, the *Athenians* made a law, that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of *Salamis* [t]. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears and frightful appearances, this moved them to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be *expiated*. Upon this *Nicias* was sent to *Crete* to bring from thence *Epimenides* the *Phæstian*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to *Athens* took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the *Areopagus*, and turning them loose there, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. *Epimenides* directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, *viz.* the chapel of *Contumely*, and the chapel of *Impudence*. He is reported to have looked wistfully on the port of *Munychia* for a long time, and afterwards to have said to those who were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the* Athenians *foresee what mischief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth* [u]. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and seventy years after, when *Antipater* constrained the *Athenians* to admit his garrison into that place. During his stay at *Athens* he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who was already taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation. As for *Epimenides*, the *Athenians* were highly satisfied with what he did for them, and, in token of their gratitude, offered him

[t] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. [u] DIOGEN. LAERTIUS. in vita Epimen.

and might very well alarm a nation so prone to superstition as the *Athenians* were; for though they had the quickest wits of all the inhabitants of *Greece*, yet in these respects they were more scrupulous than any other people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, when we come to speak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

preſents of great value and conſiderable honours; but he requeſted only a branch of the ſacred olive, and this being given him, he returned well-ſatisfied to *Crete* * (F).

IT

* PLUTARCH. in vita Solon.

(F) This *Epimenides* was a very extraordinary perſon, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the hiſtory of *Crete*. Here we have nothing to ſay of him farther, than what relates to luſtrating or cleanſing cities: *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that he was the inventer of this art, or rather that he was the firſt that luſtrated houſes or fields, which, if ſpoken of *Greece*, may be true; for *Moſes* had long before taught ſomething of this nature to the *Jews*. This was practiſed on the great day of atonement, which might very well be called the annual luſtration of *Iſrael*. Upon that day the prieſt took for himſelf a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the prieſt offered for himſelf: then he caſt lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of *Jehovah* and was offered; the other *Azazel*, or as we tranſlate it, *the ſcape-goat*; the latter was preſented alſo before the altar of God, and the prieſt, laying his hands upon him, confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of *Iſrael* and all their tranſgreſſions, which *Moſes* calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then ſent away into the wilderneſs, *becauſe he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of ſeparation* (13). The reader will eaſily ſee that we have given this account of the ſcape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is ſaid of *Epimenides*'s method of cleanſing the city of *Athens*, which has a viſible reſemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied theretrom, or from the cuſtom of ſome other eaſtern nation, which originally borrowed it from the *Hebrews*. There were, however, other ceremonies practiſed for the ſame purpoſe. *Tzetzes* in his poetical chronicle has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which luſtrations were made, their cauſes, and effects.

Thus was in antient times luſtration made:
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague, or worſe calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim was prepared,
Which at the holy altar when they'd plac'd,
They caſt upon the pile, cheeſe, cakes, and figs;
Then ſtriking quick ſeven times its genitals
With ſea-leeks, and wild-figs, and other fruits,
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees;
Next towards the wind the ſportive aſhes caſt
Upon the ſea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city laboured, drove away (14).

(13) *Leviticus* xvi. (14) *Tzetzes, Chil. Hiſt.* v. *c.* xxiii.

As

It was about this time that *Solon*, whom we before mentioned, began to ſhew himſelf to his countrymen, and to diſplay thoſe rare qualities which rendered him ſo deſervedly beloved while living, and which have preſerved uninjured, for ſo long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every reſpect formed to make a figure in the *Athenian* commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he deſcended lineally from *Codrus*; his mother was nearly related to the mother of *Piſiſtratus*, and he had a brother whoſe name was *Dropides*, who was archon the year after himſelf[y]. We are told, that he was born at *Salamis*, however, we think, that may be doubted from certain verſes of his, which we ſhall have occaſion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generoſity of his father left *Solon* in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwiſe have ſubſiſted well enough by the aſſiſtance of his friends; but this did not ſuit that greatneſs of ſoul which he inherited, he choſe therefore to travel and to merchandize, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not ſuffer that houſe to receive kindneſſes, whoſe cuſtom it had been to beſtow them. It is plain, both

[y] Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

As to *Epimenides*, *Strabo* reports, that he made a great uſe of verſes and of hymns in his purifications (15); and *Suidas* tells us, that he wrote in verſe many rules and inſtructions for theſe ſorts of rites (16). *Laertius* reports, that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, *not to the* nymphs, *but to* Jupiter. Beſides the prophecy beforementioned relating to the haven *Munychia*, *Epimenides* uttered another during his ſtay at *Athens*: For hearing, that the citizens were alarmed at the progreſs of the *Perſian* power at ſea, he adviſed them to make themſelves eaſy; for that the *Perſians* would not for many years attempt any thing againſt the *Greeks*, and when they did, they would receive greater loſs themſelves than they would be able to bring upon the ſtates they ſought to deſtroy (17). Having related ſuch ſtrange things of this prophet and philoſopher, it will not be amiſs to cloſe this note with obſerving, that the ſacred olive, mentioned above, was the tree produced by *Minerva* when ſhe contended with *Neptune*, and that *Ariſtotle* was a downright infidel with reſpect to the ſtories of *Epimenides*'s foretelling future events; that famous ſage being of opinion, our luſtrator's talents lay quite another way, *viz.* in diſcovering what old crimes had produced preſent puniſhments, and how atonement might be made, and thoſe ills taken away.

(15) *Geogr. lib.* x. (16) *In voce* Επιμ. (17) *In vit Epimenid*

from

from his actions and his writings, that he was a diſintereſted patriot. The ſhameful decree, that none under pain of death ſhould mention the recovery of *Salamis*, grieved him to the heart; he therefore compoſed an elegy, conſiſting of an hundred verſes, to inflame the minds of the people againſt the *Megarenſians*, who had taken from them that iſland. Having digeſted this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market-place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and aſcending the ſtool of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had compoſed to the people who had gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From *Salamis*, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous verſes home.

But the moſt moving ſtrokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verſes:

Rather than *Athens*, would I ow'd my birth,
To *Pholegondrian*, or *Sicinian* earth;
Since men will ſay, wherever I am toſt,
He's of that daſtard race, who *Salamis* have loſt.

It ended thus:

To *Salamis* let us renew our claim,
And, with the iſle reſtor'd, reſtore our fame.

Piſiſtratus, who, as we before obſerved, was his near relation, mixed himſelf with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he by his perſuaſive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which *Solon* had kindled by his verſes, ſo that of a ſudden the ſentiments of the *Athenians* were wholly changed, and they determined to aſſert their right to *Salamis*, and decreed a war accordingly (G). It is not eaſy to ſay who was

(G) The name of *Solon*'s father was *Euphorion*, or, as moſt writers affirm, *Execeſtides*, and we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithſtanding his liberality and the nobility of his deſcent, he was far from being conſiderable in *Athens*. *Ariſtotle* reckons *Solon* himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that *Solon* was never rich, it may be becauſe he was always honeſt: ſomething of this ſort ſeems to be implied in the following verſes, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjuſt grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their ſtore;
For conſtant virtue is a ſolid baſe,
Riches from man to man uncertain paſs (19).

(19) *Plutarch. in vita Solonis.*

was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, ſome ſay *Solon*, and that *Piſiſtratus* accompanied him; others ſay, that *Piſiſtratus* went generai, and that *Solon* aſſiſted him with his advice [z].

There are various accounts of the manner in which *Salamis* was again reduced under the *Athenian* power: The moſt current ſtory is, that *Solon* coming with *Piſiſtratus* to *Colias*, and finding the women buſy there in celebrating according to the cuſtom the feaſt of *Ceres*, ſent a confident of his to *Salamis*, who, pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants, that if they had a mind to ſeize the faireſt of the *Athenian* ladies, they might do it by paſſing over to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians*, giving eaſy credit to what this man ſaid, preſently fitted out a ſhip, which *Solon* perceiving from the oppoſite ſhore, immediately diſmiſſed the women, and having dreſſed a ſufficient number of beardleſs youths in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, he ſent

[z] Plut. Diog. Laert. Pausan. &c.

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in thoſe days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and publiſhed a great many poems; certain it is, that all he did in this way deſerves the higheſt commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his ſubjects uſeful and ſublime; and therefore *Plato* had juſt reaſon to ſay, that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the hiſtory he brought out of *Egypt*, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither *Homer*, *Heſiod*, nor any other antient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himſelf, he had a juſt and high idea of the power of verſe, which he thought capable of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in proſe with peculiar neatneſs of expreſſion and perſpicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a moſt pleaſant and agreeable temper. He loved ſociety, and made it his buſineſs to promote the welfare thereof, he conſidered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue and their proneneſs to evil in his view, adapting his laws ſo as to ſtrengthen and ſupport the one, and to check and keep under the other; hence his inſtitutions are as remarkable for their ſweetneſs and practicability, as thoſe of *Lycurgus* are for harſhneſs and forcing human nature. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion as to the character of *Solon*, ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſtaming a right idea of his conduct as a legiſlator.

(20) *In Timæo.*

them

them to the ſea-ſide, to dance and divert themſelves as the women were wont to do. When thoſe who came from *Salamis* drew near the coaſt, and ſaw theſe young people ſkipping up and down, they ſtrove who ſhould leap firſt out of the veſſel, and running one and all to catch theſe damſels their ſhip was ſurpriſed, themſelves murdered, and the *Athenians*, imbarking on board their veſſel, ſailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Polyænus* has inſerted this relation, and *Plutarch* alſo admits, that it was the current account of this buſineſs; he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner: The firſt thing *Solon* did, after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to conſult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, from whom he received this reſponſe;

Let ſacrifice be to thoſe heroes paid,
Who under the *Aſopian* ground are laid,
And dead, are by the ſetting ſun ſurvey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was ſo happy as to interpret it right. He gueſſed, that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were *Periphemus* and *Cychris*, he ſailed therefore by night to *Salamis*, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five hundred *Athenian* volunteers, who, in caſe they ſucceeded, were to have the government of the iſland. Theſe he imbarked in a galley of thirty oars and in a conſiderable number of fiſhing boats, and ſetting ſail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the iſle of *Salamis* which looked towards *Eubœa*. The next morning the whole iſland was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at laſt the *Athenian* galley was deſcried, the *Megarenſians* thereupon manned out a ſtout ſhip, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Solon*'s armed boats, and quickly taken. The *Athenians*, having put to death all the men ſurpriſed in this veſſel, filled it with their choiceſt youth dreſſed in the *Megarenſian* habits, which procured them an eaſy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haſte on ſhore, and attacked thoſe who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the *Athenians* marched by land, and attacked the city on the other ſide with ſuch fury, that it was ſpeedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event they inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, during which an *Athenian* ſhip came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on ſhore, and ran towards the promontory *Sciradium*, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there ſtood a temple to *Mars*, which was ſuppoſed to have been

erected by *Solon* in memory of this victory which put the *Athenians* in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. The reſt of the *Megarenſians* retired to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Solon*. The *Megarenſians* ſo highly reſented the loſs of *Salamis*, that notwithſtanding the treaty they preſently ſent new forces thither, againſt whom the *Athenians* fought, ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill fortune. At laſt it was decreed to leave this diſpute to the *Lacedemonians*, who commiſſioned the five following perſons, viz. *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilaus*, and *Cleomenes*, to hear both parties. *Solon* pleaded on this occaſion the cauſe of his country, and ſome have ſuggeſted, that he practiſed a little fraud to make it go the better; they ſay, that finding the following verſe in *Homer*,

Ajax from *Salamis* twelve frigats brought,

He added thereto,

And ranged his troops where the *Athenians* fought.

From whence he would have inferred, that *Salamis* even at that time belonged to the *Athenians*. But the friends of *Solon* aſſert, that this is an idle ſtory, and that their great orator made uſe of quite another proof; he made it appear, ſay they, that *Philæus* and *Eurysfaces* the ſons of *Ajax* ſettled at *Athens*, and, being received into the number of citizens, gave up that iſland to the *Athenians*, *Philæus* becoming ſo conſiderable a perſon, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the perſons buried in *Salamis* lay with their faces to the weſt agreeable to the cuſtom of the *Athenians*, and directly contrary to that of the *Megarenſians*, who turned the faces of their dead towards the eaſt; and that moreover only one perſon was laid in a grave, which likewiſe correſponded with the practice of the *Athenians*, and differed from the *Megarenſian* cuſtom, which was to bury three or four in one grave [a]. It would be needleſs to trouble the reader with any farther circumſtances of this debate; let it ſuffice then to ſay, that we are informed by *Ælian*, *Solon* carried his cauſe not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of ſtrong arguments, urged in plain and perſpicuous terms [b].

On the return of *Solon* to *Athens* he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occaſion of admiring his wiſdom. It happened, that the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a town ſeated in the bay of *Corinth*, after having by repeated incurſions waſted the territory of *Delphi*, beſieged the city itſelf from a greedy deſire of making themſelves maſ-

[a] Plut. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. [b] Var. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 19.

ters

ters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of *Apollo*. Advice of this being ſent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the ſtates-general of *Greece*, *Solon* adviſed, that this matter ſhould be univerſally reſented, and that all the *Greek* ſtates ſhould immediately join, in ſaving the *Delphic* oracle and puniſhing the impiety of the *Cirrheans*, with which the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war againſt that people. *Solon* was not, however, appointed general of this expedition, as *Hermippus* from another author relates, nor did he command the *Athenian* troops. *Clyſthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, commanded in chief, and *Alcmæon* was general of the *Athenian* quota; *Solon* went, however, as counſellor or aſſiſtant to *Clyſthenes*, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a proſperous iſſue. For when the *Greek* army had beſieged *Cirrha* ſome time, without any great ſign of ſucceſs, *Apollo* was conſulted, who anſwered,

In vain you hope to take the place before
The ſea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed ſhore.

THIS reſponſe ſtruck the army with ſurprize, from whence *Solon* extricated them, by adviſing *Clyſthenes* to conſecrate ſolemnly the whole territories of *Cirrha* to the *Delphic Apollo*, whence it would follow, that the ſea muſt waſh the ſacred coaſt[c]. *Pauſanias* tells us, that he made uſe of another ſtratagem, which was this, he cauſed the channel of the river *Pliſtus* to be turned, which ran through the city of *Cirrha*, hoping thereby to have diſtreſſed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his ſcheme did not thoroughly ſucceed; which as ſoon as he perceived, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of hellebore roots to be ſliced and thrown into the *Pliſtus*, and when the waters were thoroughly impregnated with the juice of theſe roots, he cauſed the river to be turned back into its old channel. The *Cirrheans*, overjoyed at the ſight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux enſued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was preſently taken. Some authors have attributed this to *Clyſthenes*, but that was becauſe he commanded in chief, and *Solon* was no more than his counſellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were ſeverely puniſhed, and *Cirrha* became thenceforward the arſenal of *Delphi*[d].

WHEN *Solon* returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order, the remnant of *Cylon*'s faction

[c] PLUT. in vita Solon. [d] PAUSAN. in Phocicis. POLYÆN. Strat. lib. iii. c. 7. SUIDAS in voce Σολων.

began

began to gather ſtrength, and to excite mighty diſturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their ſource from the anger of the gods, occaſioned by the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. It happened, that the loſs of *Salamis* a ſecond time coincided with this clamour; and now, as many writers report, *Epimenides* came and luſtrated the city, which is indeed highly probable, if there were but ſufficient authority to fix his arrival at *Athens* ſo low as this ſedition muſt have happened. But to return to the proper ſubject of our hiſtory: *Solon* interpoſed on this occaſion, and perſuaded thoſe who were ſtiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had conſented, three hundred perſons were choſen to judge them, one *Myron* of the *Phlyenſian* ward taking upon him to proſecute; which he did with ſuch effect, that the three hundred condemned ſuch of *Megacles*'s faction as were living to perpetual baniſhment, and cauſed the bones of ſuch as were dead to be taken up and caſt without the limits of their country; thus this ſedition was appeaſed, and *Athens* became once more at reſt [c].

The turbulent diſpoſition of the inhabitants of *Attica* would not ſuffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their conſtitution, though they could not agree how it ſhould be mended. Theſe diſputes divided the *Athenians* into three parties, the *Diacrii*, *Pediæi*, and *Paralii*; the firſt of theſe were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared poſitively for perfect democracy; the ſecond, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, ſuppoſing, that the government would then be for the moſt part in their hands; the third party living on the coaſt were men of moderate principles, and in conſequence thereof deſired a mixt government. In the midſt of theſe debates there ſprang up a new cauſe of trouble, the rich, taking advantage of the laws, oppreſſed and enſlaved the poorer ſort in ſuch a manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as *Plutarch* tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the ſixth part of their produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, ſo that ſome were made ſlaves at home, and many ſold abroad; nay, to ſuch a pitch was this miſchief grown, that many ſold their children to pay their creditors, and others in

[c] Plutarch. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in vita Soloniſ.

deſpair

deſpair quitted *Attica* and went elſewhere. Such, however, as had more ſpirits than the reſt were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born; theſe began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough, that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free ſuch as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this deſperate ſituation the citizens in general caſt their eyes upon *Solon*. Thoſe who were in greateſt fear of what might happen from preſent troubles were for exalting him to ſovereignty; nay, the moſt prudent *Athenians*, when they conſidered how difficult a thing it would be to reform ſo diſordered a commonwealth by law and reaſon, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the oracle of *Apollo* adviſed the ſame thing in the following reſponſe directed to *Solon*:

Aſſume the helm, the ſhip with prudence guide,
And thouſands will aſſiſt to ſtem the tide.

WHAT rendered *Solon* ſo popular was a ſaying of his, which all liked and few underſtood; it was this, *Equality breeds no ſtrife*; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and eſtate. Thoſe therefore who agreed in nothing elſe, were unanimous in their reſpect towards him; the rich were contented to ſubmit to his deciſions, becauſe he was himſelf a man of fortune, and the poor dreaded nothing from one ſo mild in temper, and ſo remarkably honeſt. The private friends of *Solon* encouraged him to lay hold of ſo fair an opportunity, and to aſſume the regal dignity, adding that it was a ſhame ſo wiſe a man ſhould be frighted with a name, and reject a legal ſovereignty, becauſe it reſembled tyranny. This great man withſtood alike the deſires of the many, and the perſuaſions of the few: He aſſured the former, that he would never become maſter of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a ſpot ſoever tyranny might ſeem, it had this misfortune, that it had no paſſage out; and when his intimates laughed at this reſolution of his, and quoted the example of *Tyrandas* tyrant of *Eubœa*, and *Pittacus* at that time prince of *Mitylene*, he contented himſelf with writing thus to *Phocus*, who it ſeems preſſed him moſt, to ſhew that he was ſteady in his reſolution:

That I have *Athens* ſpar'd, preſerv'd my fame,
Nor ſoil'd my glory with a tyrant's name;
That, when I might have kill'd, I choſe to ſave,
I bluſh not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than moſt men have.

In

It was upon this occasion that *Solon* shewed a spirit of patriotism, which perhaps never had its equal: He condescended so far as to make use of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatness of soul dissembled with, and cheated both parties, that he might save all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wish, and might have done his country good too; he refused this as far as it might have benefitted himself, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonstrated, that neither fear nor indolence had any share in his resolution [f].

He was chosen archon without having recourse to lots, and, when he was chosen, he disappointed the hopes of both parties; wherever he found things tolerably well under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reason and necessity of those changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, *That those laws will be best observed, which power and justice equally support.* He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he esteemed right: And therefore he answered a person who asked him, *whether he had given the* Athenians *the best laws in his power*; *I have established the best they could receive.* Knowing well, that it was an impossible thing to please all, he made it his utmost care not mightily to displease any; whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

Solon *composes the dissention of the* Athenians.

As to the main occasion of the sedition, *viz.* the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which he stiled *Sisachthia*, i. e. a *discharge*; but what this was authors are not agreed on, some say, that he released all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making of any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm, that the poor were eased, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and encreasing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth seventy three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable, that the *Sisachthia* was a total discharge or remission, otherwise *Solon* would hardly have boasted in his verses, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortgages which

[f] Plutarch. ubi supra. Diogen. Laert. ubi supra.

 were

were every where frequent; for the *Athenians* had a cuſtom of hanging up billets to ſhew, that houſes were engaged for ſuch or ſuch a ſum of money; that he had freed from apprehenſion ſuch as were driven to deſpair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they had forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage ſuch as were ſlaves in their native ſoil. In the midſt of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almoſt overturned all his ſchemes. *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, his intimate friends, having been conſulted by him on an oration he had prepared, to engage the people to conſent to the diſcharge of debts, on a promiſe that he would attempt nothing as to lands; theſe men, betraying the truſt he repoſed in them, borrowed great ſums of money and purchaſed eſtates before the edict came out; this was at firſt thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aſperſion was preſently wiped off, when it appeared, that *Solon* himſelf was a ſufferer, as ſome ſay, five talents, others ſeven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at intereſt, and which in conſequence of his own law he loſt: his friends, however, could never recover their credit, but were for ever ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreacopidæ*, i. e. *Debt-ſinkers* [g].

THE *Athenians* were as little pleaſed with *Solon*'s management as with their former condition, the rich and the poor were equally diſſatisfied; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, becauſe he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongſt them. It is from *Solon* himſelf that we have this account, and we have it in his uſual manner, that is, in verſe,

I was your darling heretofore, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a ſal'ry with his place.

IN a ſhort time, however, they had wit enough to diſcover that they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at leaſt a more public, if not a more general, token of their repentance, than they had ſhewn of their diſpleaſure; for they inſtituted a ſolemn ſacrifice in teſtimony of their acquieſcing under his inſtitution, and called it *Siſachthia*, at the ſame time they unanimouſly elected *Solon* legiſlator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their conſtitution as he thought proper [h].

[g] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [h] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra, &c.

The first thing this great man did, after his country had conferred upon him so extraordinary an office, was, to cancel the laws of *Draco*, excepting only those relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, since there is nothing more dishonourable, and at the same time more dangerous, to a state than latent laws, *i. e.* such as are disused, and yet in being, which was the case of *Draco's*; their severity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he suffer his institutions to bear the same name, as we have already shewn. It was the desire of *Solon* to act in all respects moderately, he therefore resolved to place the dernier resort, as we phrase it, or supreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five hundred *Medimni* or measures of fruit, these he stiled *Pentacosiomedimni*, these paid a talent to the public treasury. The second class consisted of such as were able to keep a horse, or were worth three hundred measures, they were stiled *Hippodatelountes*, i. e. *bound to find a horse*; the third class was made up of such as were worth two hundred measures, they were stiled *Zengita*, which implies a middle rank, because they stood between the knights and the lowest order of the people, who were stiled *Thetes*; these were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general assembly of the people, which was thought at first a matter of little consequence, so that the nobility gave themselves no pain about it, though in after-times it was found of the highest consequence, as *Solon* foresaw it would be; the reason of this was this: *Solon* purposely drew up his laws in obscure terms, and allowing in all cases an appeal to the people, doubts often arose, appeals were consequently frequent, and hence, though the common sort could not attain to magistracy, yet they had a mighty power in the state. *Solon* himself was so well satisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in these words, which shew at once what a regard he had for their antient constitution, and for the people in general.

The commons I sufficient weight allow'd,
Honour from none I took, on none bestow'd;
In power or wealth, those who the rest outshin'd,
Within just bounds I by my laws confin'd;
Thus I preserved, what did to each belong;
That neither high, nor low, might suffer wrong.

Herein consisted the antient democracy of *Athens*; but because that kind of government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, *Solon*, in order to secure it, established

two

two checks, or; if we may be allowed to make uſe of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to ſecure it. The firſt of theſe was the court of *Areopagus*, which, though ſettled long before, had loſt much of its power by *Draco*'s preferring the *Ephetæ*. In antient times, and till *Solon* became legiſlator, it conſiſted of ſuch perſons as were moſt conſpicuous in the ſtate for their wealth, power, and probity; but *Solon* made it a rule, that ſuch only ſhould have a ſeat therein as had ſerved the office of archon; this had the effect he deſigned, it raiſed the reputation of the *Areopagites* very high and rendered their decrees ſo wonderfully venerable, that none conteſted or repined at them through a long courſe of ages. The ſecond ſtay of the *Athenian* commonwealth was the ſenate, which *Solon* made to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. Theſe had the prior cogniſance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propoſed to the general aſſembly till digeſted by them; ſo that, as far as he was able, he provided againſt a thirſt of arbitrary power in the rich, and a deſire of licentious freedom in the commons; the *Areopagus* being a check upon the former, as the ſenate was a curb on the latter [i].

The general frame of the republic thus ſettled, he gave the *Athenians* next a body of laws, of which we have ſtill ſome remaining; theſe were ſo much eſteemed, that the *Romans* ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens* to tranſcribe them for the uſe of their ſtate. As theſe tranſcribed laws became the baſis of the *Roman Juriſprudence*, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout *Europe* under the name of the civil law, we may with reaſon affirm, that many of *Solon*'s conſtitutions are yet in force. Such as are aſcribed to him by antient authors we ſhall give a conciſe account of in this place.

The laws of Solon.

WE will begin with one of the moſt extraordinary ſtatutes enacted by this law-giver, and which has given politicians the moſt trouble to underſtand; we are obliged to *A. Gellius* for preſerving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If through diſcord and diſſenſion any ſedition or inſurrection "rend the people into two parties, ſo that with exaſperated "minds they take arms and fight againſt each other; he who "at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a caſe, ſhall not engage himſelf "on one ſide or other, but ſhall endeavour to retire and ſepa-"rate himſelf from the evils fallen on his country, let ſuch "a one, loſing houſes, country, and eſtate, be ſent out an "exile" [k]. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of this law, by ſome ſlip of

[i] POLLUX. lib. viii. cap. 10. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. POTTER's Archæologia. MEURSIUS. in SOLON, &c. [k] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12.

his memory, makes the penalty capital [l]. *Plutarch* explains the reason of it [m], as does the author first cited, who highly commends it and says, that though at first sight it may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it; for the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the case in other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reasons be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin, of the state [n].

THE Rules which *Solon* gave for bestowing of heiresses, have been very harshly censured; we will put them together, that the reader may see the general intent of the legislator. The next of kin to an heiress may require her in marriage, and she may likewise require him; if he refuses let him pay five hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who possesseth such an inheritrix by law, as her lord and master, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her husband's neareſt kindred, and let him who has married an heiress be obliged to visit her thrice a month at least. The intent of these injunctions was, that neither a rich heiress might carry the estate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her husband's neareſt relation, it might possibly be made *in terrorem*, to prevent persons who knew themselves to be impotent from marrying rich heiresses, whereby such a one defrauded him, to whom by this law the woman was to have recourse, of his due [o].

HE enacted, that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns and some slight household goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that *Solon* desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied, that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet; the earthen vessel, which was called *Phrogeteon*, signified, that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family [p].

[l] Ad Attic. lib. x. E. 1. [m] ubi supra. [n] A. GELLIUS ubi [o] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xii. TERENT. Hecyr. Act. 1. Scen. ii. [p] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. POLLUX, lib. i. cap. 2. 15. ISIDOR. Epist. lib. iii. E. 243.

HE

HE ordained, that none ſhould revile the dead, even tho' provoked by the children of the deceaſed. This law procured him great applauſe, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none ſhould revile any living perſon at ſacred ſolemnities, in the courts of juſtice, or at public ſpectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the perſon reviled, and two more to the public treaſury. He likewiſe made a law againſt ſlander. This great man knew very well, that a general law againſt anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himſelf with providing, that the paſſions of private men ſhould not diſhonour religious ceremonies, the juſtice of the ſtate, or public diverſions, and that no paſſion ſhould excuſe calumny [q].

BEFORE *Solon*'s time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and eſtates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but *Solon*, having abrogated this cuſtom, enacted, that ſuch as had no children might leave their eſtates to whom they pleaſed, preferring friendſhip to family, and the ties of affection to conſanguinity; but then he added this proviſo to his law, that the maker of ſuch a will ſhould be in the full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, not wrought upon by ſickneſs, potions, bondage, or the blandiſhments of a wife; wherein he ſhewed his great wiſdom by making no diſtinction between actual conſtraints and thoſe impoſed by art, both having the ſame power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewiſe ordained, that adopted perſons ſhould make no will, but as ſoon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the eſtates to the relations of the perſons who adopted them [r].

WITH reſpect to women and their expences, he made the following laws; when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any proviſion above the value of an obolus, her pannier or baſket was not to be above a cubit in bigneſs, nor was ſhe allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbad them likewiſe to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of ſuch as they had no relation to: he allowed not, that an ox ſhould be ſacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments ſhould be buried with them, and he forbad women to approach the monu-

[q] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTH. in orat. Leptin. [r] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTH. ubi ſupra.

ments

ments of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; theſe laws were particularly tranſcribed by the *Romans* [r].

The liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at *Athens* drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, *Solon* foreſaw, that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtrious; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law, that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted thereof thrice, he ſuffered *Atimia*, i. e. *Infamy*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree, that a law of this kind was in uſe in *Egypt*. It is probable therefore, that *Solon*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them; a practice for which the *Greeks* were famous, though at the ſame time they ſtiled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed [t].

The huſband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery, was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer: whoever raviſhed a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pander, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of 20 drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man: he enacted, that no adultereſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf, and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain [u].

To the victor at the *Iſthmian* games, *Solon* adjudged the reward of five hundred drachmæ. To the victor in the *Olympic*, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs, by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families [x].

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a ſhe-one, the former be-

[r] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. [t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vitruvius, præfat. lib. vi. Herodot. lib. vii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lysias, Orat. de cæd. Erat. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

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ing the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. *Attica* was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

WATER being extremely ſcarce at *Athens* and in its neighbourhood, he ordained, that where there was a public well, all who lived within a *Hippicon*, i. e. *four furlongs* of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived farther off were bound to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever ſunk a well was to take care, that it was as far diſtant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five foot diſtant from his neighbour's, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine; a hive of bees was to be thirty feet diſtant; all theſe tended to the ſame end, *viz.* to prevent one man from treſpaſſing on the property of another [y].

HE enacted, that whoever refuſed to maintain his parents, or had waſted his paternal eſtate, ſhould be *atimos*, i. e. *infamous*. It ſeems *Solon* did not conceive, that a man could be privately bad and publicly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents ſhould preſerve it to the ſtate, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had ſpent his own [z].

SUCH as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbad to make orations, believing, that men without ſhame were not to be truſted to ſpeak to the people: *Demoſthenes* highly commended this law, and exhorted the *Athenians* to take care that it was put in execution, as the ſureſt means to preſerve the peace and honour of the republic [a].

HE forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; ſome ſay, that he forbad likewiſe a guardian to marry his ſon to the mother of his ward [b]. All theſe were beyond queſtion made to hinder colluſion, and to bar as far as poſſible the ſcandalous practice of cheating minors.

HE enjoined gravers to keep no impreſſions of the ſeal-rings they ſold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed, that he ſhould loſe both his; as to theft, *Demoſthenes* gives us *Solon*'s law in theſe words; "If any man "ſteal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven offi- "cers; if he ſteal any thing by night, it ſhall be lawful for "any to kill him, or in purſuit to wound him, and to carry

[y] PLUTARCH. ubi. ſupra. CAIUS de Legib. lib. iv. [z] LIBAN. Declam. xviii. DION. HALYC. lib. ii. [a] ÆSCHIN. in Timarch. DEMOSTH. in Androt. [b] DIOGEN. LABRT. ubi ſupra.

"him

" him to the eleven officers. Whoſoever is convicted of " ſuch offences as are liable to chains, ſhall not be capable of " giving bail for his theft, but his puniſhment ſhall be death; " and if any one ſteal out of the *Lyceum*, or the *Academy*, or " *Cynoſarges*, a garment, or a ſmall veſſel of wine, or any " other thing of little value, or ſome veſſel out of the gymnaſia " or havens, he ſhall be puniſhed with death; but if any " man ſhall be convicted privately of theft, it ſhall be law- " ful for him to pay a double value, and it ſhall be alſo at " the pleaſure of the convictor, beſides payment of money, " to put him in chains five days and as many nights, ſo as all " men may ſee him bound " [c].

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be puniſhed with death, *Solon* wiſely conceiving, that a magiſtrate guilty of ſuch an offence muſt be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in caſe a man ſurpriſed his wife in adultery and lived with her afterwads, he ſhould be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in caſe of diſobedience to diſinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned ſuch as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or ſhewed any other flagrant ſign of cowardice, to be expelled the ſanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worſhip. He appointed it for a ſtatute, that a citizen of *Athens* ſhould be tried no where but at *Athens*, and that the eldeſt citizens ſhould firſt make orations, but with the greateſt modeſty, and without any endeavours to ſtir the paſſions of the people; afterwards he ordered, that all ſhould ſpeak according to their ſeniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wiſe they might be eſteemed, either to become magiſtrates, or to make orations to the people [d].

It was a maxim eſtabliſhed by this wiſe legiſlator, that the common people ſhould be puniſhed ſlowly, but magiſtrates and perſons in authority ſuddenly, aſſigning for it this reaſon, that the former might be puniſhed at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which was in his time exceſſive, *Demoſthenes* recites his directions in theſe words; " Let the dead bodies be " laid out within the houſe, according as the deceaſed gave or- " der, and the day following before ſun-riſe carried forth; " whilſt the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go be-

[c] Demosth. in Timocr. [d] Demosth. ubi ſupra. Æschin. in Chryſip.

fore,

"fore, the women follow: it ſhall not be lawful for any "woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow "the body to the grave under threeſcore years of age, except "ſuch as are within the degree of couſins" [e]. *Cicero* reports, that with reſpect to ſepulchres, he enacted, no man ſhould demoliſh them or bring any new thing into them, and that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as demoliſhed any monument erected to the memory of the dead [f]. From theſe laws of his inſtituting it appears, that his philoſophy did not lead him to treſpaſs on thoſe notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he ſought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the ſame time permitted all reaſonable honours to be paid to the memory of ſuch as were defunct.

WE will conclude our account of *Solon*'s laws with two or three which had more regard to the ſociety, than to the intereſt of private perſons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any *Athenian* might have his action againſt him [g]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided againſt the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquieſce, yet a perſon of equal rank with the aggreſſor, might, either out of a principle of juſtice or of rivalſhip, commence a proſecution on that account. *Solon* inſtituted feaſts in the common halls under the title of *public Meals*, but he forbad, that the ſame perſon ſhould be entertained often, and ordered ſuch to be fined as did not come in their turns, aſcribing the former offence to greedineſs, the latter to a contempt of the public [h]. He forbad any ſtrangers to be naturalized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to *Athens*, had brought their whole families to ſettle there, ſo as to have no intereſt in another place [i]: he provided for the children of ſuch as were ſlain in the ſervice of the ſtate, by directing, that they ſhould be brought up and inſtructed at the public expence till they were twenty years old [k]. He made but few laws relating to religion, and againſt parricides he made none, aſſigning for it this reaſon, *that he ſcarce believed any* Athenian *would be ſo wicked* [l].

HE ſhewed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for conſidering that the courſe of the moon did not agree with the riſing and ſetting of the ſun,

[e] Orat in Macart. [f] De Legib. lib. ii. [g] PLUT. ubi ſupra.
[h] Id. ibid. [i] MEURS. in Solon. [k] ARISTIDES in Panathen.
[l] MAXIM. TYR. Diſſ. xxxix. CICER. Orat. pro Roſc.

but that ſometimes ſhe overtook and paſſed him in the ſame day, he ordered ſuch a day to be called the laſt and the firſt, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which ſucceeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called *Noumenia*, i. e. *the new moon*, and for theſe alterations he is reckoned by *Plutarch* to have been the firſt who underſtood a verſe in *Homer*, wherein mention is made of a day *wherein one month ended, and the next began* (H).

He

(H) It is a point worthy of obſervation, that the antient heroes gained their reputation as much from the ſtrength of their wits as of their arms, and that though ſome excelled in valour, others in wiſdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. *Hercules*, ſo famed for his labours, inſtructed the *Greeks* in aſtronomy, which he learned from *Atlas*, and is thence ſaid by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his ſhoulders. *Numa*, as he gave laws to *Rome*, reformed the *Roman* kalendar, and in ſucceeding times, *Julius Cæſar*, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away thoſe errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this ſcience of aſtronomy, but as a conſummate maſter therein. Such alſo was *Solon* for the times in which he lived; for though ſome have pretended to aſcribe the honour of introducing aſtronomy into *Greece* to *Oenopidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the firſt principles of this art came certainly into *Greece* with its firſt planters and were from time to time cultivated by ſuch as either came out of *Egypt* or the eaſt, and ſettled in *Greece*, or had at leaſt travelled into thoſe countries. *Thales* the *Mileſian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, were the two great maſters who brought the undigeſted notions of the heavenly ſyſtem, which hitherto had amuſed the *Greeks*, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to *Homer*, in whoſe poems we meet with the firſt ſeeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find, that he deſcribes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the ſeaſons. The returns of ſeed-time and harveſt, the conſtant revolutions of labour and reſt in conſequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, ſerved well enough to mark the ſucceſſion of events, and therefore it was an act of judgement in this great poet to make uſe of theſe characters in his account of a battle (21), as he elſewhere introduces *Achilles* meaſuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious diviſion of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of *Homer*; the contrary appears from ſeveral paſſages in

(21) *Iliad.* λ. *v.* 84. (22) *Iliad.* Φ. *v.* 3.

his

HE procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and cauſed them to be conſerved in different tables. Such as related

his poems, and particularly from this very line which *Solon* is ſaid to have been the firſt who penetrated its true ſenſe:

Τῷ μεν φθίνοντος μηνὸς τῇ δ' ἱσταμενοιο,

When one month ended and the next began (23).

Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month conſiſt of thirty days, and the year conſequently of three hundred and ſixty days; but finding, that this year did not anſwer the motion of the ſun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, becauſe it happened at the beginning of the third year, ſome have miſtaken for a triennial period. It is eaſy to perceive, that this method of *Thales* muſt in a ſhort time have introduced great confuſion, there being a redundancy of almoſt ten days in a year (24). *Solon* diſcovered this, and not only diſcovered it, but diſcovered its cauſe, or at leaſt its principal cauſe, which was *Thales*'s maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which *Solon* found to be falſe, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account ſets what has been ſaid above in a clear light, and ſhews with what juſtice *Solon* was applauded for his ſkill as an aſtronomer; let us ſee with what dexterity he applied that ſkill as a legiſlator: he did not alter the number of months which *Thales* had fixed, but directed, that each of them ſhould be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving, that this would leave things ſtill in confuſion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the ſolar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a ſecond two years he ordered, that a month of twenty-three days ſhould be intercalated; now if we take all theſe ſums together we ſhall find, that the number of days in *Solon*'s cycle of four years was one thouſand four hundred ſixty one, the fourth part of which is three hundred ſixty five and a quarter, the true ſolar year, as it was then accounted. *Solon* likewiſe engaged the *Athenians* to divide their months into three parts, ſtiled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of theſe conſiſted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the laſt of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In ſpeaking of the two firſt parts they reckoned according to the uſual order of numbers, *viz.* the firſt day of the moon beginning, the ſecond day of the middling moon, but with reſpect to the laſt part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, inſtead of ſaying the firſt day of the ending moon, they ſaid the tenth day of the ending moon, and inſtead of the ſecond the ninth day, and ſo on to the laſt. This is a circumſtance that muſt be carefully noted; for without being aware of it,

(23) *Odyſſ.* ξ. ν. 161. (24) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.*

it

related to private actions in parallelograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axones*, placed first in the citadel and then in the *Prytanæum*, that his people might see them when they pleased, and some remains there were of them even in *Plutarch*'s time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices were contained in triangular tables of stone called *Cyrbes* [m]; the *Athenian* magistrates were sworn to observe both; in time, these monuments of his wisdom became so famous, that all public acts were from them named *Axones* and *Cyrbes*, as we are informed by *Harpocration* and *Suidas* [n].

After his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them, which importunities made him so uneasy, that to avoid them he resolved to travel. For he considered, that not to answer these people would argue pride, and that the answering them would beget great inconveniencies: with this view he bought a ship, and, pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them [o].

It will not be amiss to interrupt the *Athenian* history here, in order to insert our promised account of the republic, a thing so necessary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the sake of perspicuity we shall not tie ourselves to the form settled by *Solon*, but give a concise history of the *Athenian* government, as it subsisted in succeeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to insert notes for the explaining those terms which may once for all be rendered familiar, by introducing such an account of the *Athenian* commonwealth in this place.

[m] Plut. ubi supra. Pollux, viii. 10. [n] In vocibus Ἄξονες & Κύρβεις. [o] Plutarch. ubi sup.

it is impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors. As for instance in *Aristophanes*'s comedy of the clouds, a man speaking of the manner in which interest became due, reckons the days thus; *five, four, three, two, and the most abominable of all days that of the old and new moon*. Thus much as to *Solon*'s knowledge in astronomy, we shall in its proper place give a farther account of the *Attic* year (25).

(25) *Censorin. de Die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's life of Solon cum mult. al.*

In

IN the firſt place it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the city of *Athens*. In the moſt early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of *Cecropia* from its founder *Cecrops*, whom the *Athenians* in after-times affirmed to have been the firſt builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence *Polis*, i. e. *The city*. In the reign of *Ericthonius* it loſt the name of *Cecropia*, and acquired that of *Athens*, on what account is not certain; the moſt probable is, that it was ſo named in reſpect to the goddeſs *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, who was always eſteemed its protectreſs [p]. This old city was ſeated on the top of a rock in the midſt of a large and pleaſant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increaſed, became full of buildings, which induced the diſtinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, i. e. *of the upper*, and *lower city*; the extent of this citadel was ſixty ſtadia, it was ſurrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as ſome ſay, with a ſtrong paliſade; in ſucceeding times it was incompaſſed with a ſtrong wall in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the reſt ſmall. The inſide of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himſelf from the treatiſe written expreſsly on this ſubject by a learned perſon already mentioned [q] (I).

The

[p] ARISTID. Panathen. STEPHAN. voce Ἀθῆναι. [q] PLUTARCH. in PERICL. PAUSAN. Atticis. HARPOCRAT. ARISTID. ubi ſupra.

(I) This learned perſon is the celebrated *John Meurſius*, to whom the learned world ſtands indebted for the moſt laboured pieces which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a *Dutchman*, but he ſtudied the civil law at *Orleans*, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his paſſion, towards *Greek* learning. Amongſt other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of *Cecropia*, or, *the citadel of Athens*, and its antiquities in one book; this treatiſe conſiſts of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious diſplay of its author's learning; almoſt every paſſage in the *Greek* authors, relating to the ſubject, is there to be found in the proper words of the author, with a very exact *Latin* tranſlation, which was added, as the author tells us, in the ſecond edition, at the deſire of ſeveral ingenious perſons in *Spain* and *Italy*, who had requeſted it by letter. Upon which *Meurſius* makes this reflection, that, as things ſtood, it was indeed reaſonable and neceſſary, ſince there were not many who affected the *Greek* learning, and of thoſe the greater part rather loved than underſtood it. The inquiſitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digeſted in this

The moſt remarkable of theſe were, The magnificent temple of *Minerva*, ſtiled *Parthenion*, becauſe that goddeſs was *a virgin*; the *Perſians* deſtroyed it, but it was rebuilt with ſtill greater ſplendor by the famous *Pericles*, all of the fineſt marble, with ſuch ſkill and ſtrength, that, in ſpite of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the firſt antiquity in the world, and ſtands as a witneſs to the truth of what antient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of *Athens* in her flouriſhing ſtate. The temple of *Neptune* and of *Minerva*, for it was divided into two parts, one ſacred to the god, in which was the ſalt fountain ſaid to have ſprung upon the ſtroke of his trident; the other to the goddeſs protectreſs of *Athens*, wherein was the ſacred olive which ſhe produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of *Ericthonius*, both which edifices are ſtill remaining. At the back of *Minerva*'s temple was the public treaſury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treaſurers, who, having miſapplied the revenues of the ſtate, took this ſhort method of making up their accounts [r].

The lower city comprehended all the buildings furrounding the citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by *Pericles*, but that on the ſouth by *Themiſtocles*; but by degrees the turrets, which were at firſt erected on theſe walls, were turned into dwelling-houſes for the accommodation of the *Athenians*, whoſe large city was now become too ſmall for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not neceſſary to trouble the reader. Among the principal edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of *Theſeus* erected by *Conon*, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exerciſes. It was alſo a ſanctuary for diſtreſſed perſons, ſlaves or free: It remains intire to this day, and is uſed as a church, being dedicated to St. *George*. The *Olympian* temple, erected in honour of *Jupiter*, the honour of *Athens* and of all *Greece*;

[r] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels.

this laboured hiſtory, or if he is not inclined to takeſomuch pains, he may peruſe a very ſuccinct abridgment of *Meurſius*'s book in Dr. *Potter*'s excellent antiquities of *Greece*, to whom we are in a great meaſure beholden for this part of our hiſtory of *Athens* (26).

(26) *Vide Gronov. Theſ. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.*

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the foundation of it was laid by *Piſiſtratus*, it was carried on but ſlowly in ſucceeding times, ſeven hundred years elapſing before it was finiſhed, which happened under the reign of *Adrian*, who was particularly kind to *Athens*; this was the firſt building in which the *Athenians* beheld pillars. The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a moſt noble ſtructure, ſupported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horſes carved by *Praxiteles*; it is yet remaining, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of this famous city. In ſeveral parts of it were *Stoai* or porticoes, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a ſect of philoſophers were denominated ſtoics, becauſe their maſter *Zeno* taught in theſe porticoes [r]. There were at *Athens* two places called *Ceramicus* from *Ceramus* the ſon of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all ſorts, the other in the ſuburbs, in which was the academy and other edifices. The *Gymnaſia* of *Athens* were many, but the moſt remarkable were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynoſarges*. The *Lyceum* ſtood on the banks of *Iliſſus*, ſome ſay it was built by *Piſiſtratus*, others by *Pericles*, others by *Lycurgus*. Here *Ariſtotle* taught philoſophy, inſtructing ſuch as came to hear him as they walked, whence his diſciples are generally thought to derive the name of *Peripatetics* [s]. The *Ceramicus* without the city was at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is ſome diſpute; ſome affirm, that it was ſo called from *Academus* an antient hero, who, when *Helen* was ſtolen by *Theſeus*, diſcovered the place where ſhe lay hid to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, for which reaſon the *Lacedemonians*, when they invaded *Attica*, always ſpared this place [t]. *Dicæarchus* writes, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had two *Arcadians* in their army, the one named *Echedemus*, the other *Marathus*, from the former of theſe he ſays this place took its name, and that the borough of *Marathon* was ſo called from the other [x]. It was a marſhy unwholeſome place, till *Cimon* was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleaſant and delightful, being adorned with ſhady walks, where *Plato* read his lectures, and from thence his ſcholars were ſtiled *Academics* [y]. The *Cynoſarges* was a place in the ſuburbs, not far from the *Lyceum*; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnaſium erected there, appointed for the ſpecial

[r] ATHENÆUS. Deip. l viii. [s] SUIDAS, & al. [t] PLUT. in vit. Theſ. [x] Poem. apud. Gronov. Theſ. Græc. Vol. IV. [y] HORAT. Ep. lib. ii. E. ii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſei.

uſe

uſe of ſuch as were *Athenians* only by one ſide; in after-times *Themiſtocles* derived to himſelf ill-will, by carrying many of the nobility to exerciſe with him here, becauſe being but of the half-blood he could exerciſe no where elſe; in this gymnaſium *Antiſthenes* inſtituted a ſect of philoſophers, who from the name of this diſtrict, as many think, were ſtiled *Cynics*[z]. The havens of *Athens* were three, firſt the *Piræus*, about 35 or 40 ſtadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city; it had three docks, *Cantharos*, *Aphrodiſium*, and *Zea*, the firſt was ſo called from an antient hero, the ſecond from the goddeſs *Venus*, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticoes, which joining together formed one great one called from thence *Macra Stoa*, or *the long portico*; there were likewiſe two great markets or *Fora*, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The ſecond port was *Munychia*, a promontory not far diſtant from *Piræus*, a place very ſtrong by nature, and afterwards rendered far ſtronger by art. It was of this that *Epimenides* ſaid, if the *Athenians* foreſaw what miſchief it would one day produce to them, they wouldeat it away with their teeth. The third was *Phalerum*, diſtant from the city according to *Thucydides* 35 ſtadia[a], but according to *Pauſanias* only 20[b]. This was the moſt antient harbour of *Athens*, as *Pyræus* was the moſt capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K).

The

[z] Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt. Dioc. Laert. in vit. Antiſthen. [a] Bell. Pelop. lib. ii. [b] In Arcad.

(K) If *Athens* eclipſed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, ſhe was no leſs conſpicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic teſtimonies, the accounts given us by antient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers; we had once an intention of comparing theſe, but conſidering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the courſe of the hiſtory, we have choſen to refer the deſcription of *Athens*, as it now ſtands, till we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of the *Morea*. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that *Ariſtides*, an author who wrote expreſsly on this ſubject, affirms, that *Athens* in her glory was a day's journey in compaſs; thoſe who have thought this account too general inform us, that it was one hundred ſeventy eight ſtadia in circumference, that is, ſomething more than twenty two *Roman* miles. After it fell from its antient ſplendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* deſtroyed it without mercy, made its ſtreets overflow with blood, and taught its moſt ſuperb buildings

THE people of *Athens* were *freemen*, *ſojourners*, or *ſlaves*; the citizens, called in *Greek Politai*, were never very numerous, but what may ſeem ſtrange were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty thouſand [c]. It was *Solon* who decreed, that none ſhould be accounted free, but ſuch as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. After his time it fell into diſſuetude, till revived by *Pericles*, and again at his inſtance repealed. After the expulſion of the thirty tyrants *Solon*'s law was reſtored. A perſon born of a ſtranger was ſtiled *Nothos*, *a baſtard*, whereas the ſon of a free woman was called *Gneſios*, i. e. *legitimate*. There was in the *Cynoſarges* a court of judicature, to which cauſes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmoſt care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title thereto [d]. The citizens, for at preſent we will not meddle with the ſtrangers and ſlaves, were divided by *Cecrops* into four tribes, the firſt called *Cecropes* from *Cecrops*, the ſecond *Autochthon*, from a king of that name, the third *Actai* from *Acteus* another king of *Athens*, or rather from *Acte* which ſignifies *a ſhore*, the 4th *Paraloi*; theſe names were altered by *Cranaus*, and again by *Ericthonius*. In the reign of *Erettheus* they were again changed, the ſoldiers were cal-

[c] PLUT. in vit. Periclis. ATHENÆUS. Deipnoſ. lib. vi. [d] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. POLLUX, lib iii.

buildings to ſubmit to the flames. It provoked *Julius Cæſar* by an obſtinate reſiſtance, but when it ſubmitted at laſt, he contented himſelf with ſaying, *That he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead*, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They ſided with *Brutus* againſt the *Triumvirate*, and with *Anthony*, who called himſelf *a Lover of Athens*, againſt *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, or at leaſt his ſon *Germanicus*, favoured them, but it was to *Adrian*, who had been archon of their city, that the *Athenians* owed the revival of their antient luſtre. The ſucceeding emperors took a pleaſure in adorning it, but the *Goths*, in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, deſtroyed it as they did the other cities of *Greece*. *Theodoſius* the ſecond out of reſpect to his empreſs cauſed it to be re-edified. This may ſerve to make the deſcription in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that muſt be referred to the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, of which it will be the proper ſubject; the curious reader may, however, if he pleaſes, conſult the very learned *Meurſius*, in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) *Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. apud. Gronov. Theſaur. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.*

led *Oplitai*, the craftſmen *Ergatai*, the farmers *Georgoi*, the graziers and ſhepherds *Aigicorai*; in this ſtate they were when *Solon* ſettled the commonwealth, and appointed the ſenate to be compoſed of four hundred, one hundred out of each tribe [e]. *Clyſthenes* encreaſed the number of the tribes to ten, and made the ſenate conſiſt of five-hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe; in ſucceeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was ſubdivided into its *Demoi* or *wards*, and with reſpect to theſe it was that *Solon* inſtituted the public feaſts beforementioned, at which ſometimes the whole tribe aſſembled, ſometimes ſeveral wards, and ſometimes only the inhabitants of one ward. The ſecond ſort of inhabitants we mentioned were called *Metoicoi*, i. e. *ſojourners*; theſe were perſons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admitted free denizens; as for ſuch as did not conſtantly reſide in *Athens*, they were ſtiled *Xenoi*, i. e. *ſtrangers*. The ſojourners were obliged to chooſe out of the citizens protectors who were ſtiled *Patrons*; they paid ſeveral ſervices to the ſtate, and beſides theſe an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and ſix for every woman; but ſuch as had ſons, and paid for them, were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were ſeized by the tax-maſters and actually ſold for ſlaves, which, as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, was the fate of *Xenocrates* the philoſopher [f]; the ſojourners in *Attica* were under the ſame law as thoſe in *Athens*; as to ſervants, they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this ſtate had no vote in the aſſembly; as to ſlaves they were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and as ſuch were uſed as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which is indeed amazing, *Solon* prohibited them to love boys as if that had been honourable: they were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves and from worſhipping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were uſed like dogs. They ſtigmatized them at their pleaſure, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead and elſewhere; however, *Theſeus*'s temple was allowed them as a ſanctuary, where if they were exceedingly ill-uſed they might fly, and thereby oblige their maſters to let them be turned over; in this and many other reſpects the *Athenian* ſlaves were in a much better condition than thoſe throughout the reſt of *Greece*; they were permitted to get eſtates for themſelves, giving a ſmall

[e] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. POLLUX, lib. viii. c. 9. [f] In vit. XENOCR.

premium

premium to their maſters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ranſom; they likewiſe obtained the ſame favour from the kindneſs of their maſters, or for having rendered military ſervices to the ſtate; when they were made free they were obliged to chooſe patrons, and had likewiſe the privilege of chooſing a curator, who, in caſe their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them [g]. Having thus ſpoken of the people in general, let us return to the conſideration of the *Athenian* citizens in their political capacity (L).

THE

[g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. ARISTOPH. in Avibus. &c. POLLUX, lib. vii. PLAUTUS, &c.

(L) In *Cecrops*'s time the citizens were, as we have ſaid above, twenty thouſand; under the adminiſtration of *Pericles*, when the *Athenian* power was at its greateſt height, they were not ſo many (28). When *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* preſided over them there was an exact account taken of the ſeveral ſorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by *Athenæus*, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſojourners or foreigners,, and four-hundred thouſand ſlaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for without it it would be a difficult matter to account for the ſmallneſs of the *Athenian* armies. At the time of *Cecrops*'s poll the whole number of his ſubjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when *Athens* roſe in power and glory, ſhe ſet a high value upon this dignity. *Menon*, who ſent them a ſupply of two hundred horſe, was refuſed the freedom of *Athens* when he deſired it (30). *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia*, who had done them great ſervices, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus ſtiff in reſpect to perſons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of diſtinguiſhed merit. *Hippocrates* the phiſician was readily admitted a citizen of *Athens*, and the ſame favour was granted to all the inhabitants of *Platæa*, for their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in the *Perſian* war. It was only the general aſſembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unleſs ratified in a ſecond aſſembly, wherein ſix thouſand citizens were preſent. And as this honour was generally ſued for by perſons of eminent diſtinction, the people gave their votes privately by putting little ſtones into veſſels, that no ſort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all theſe ceremonies, it appeared, that the perſon on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of

(28 *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.* (29) *Deipnoſ. lib.* vi. (30) *Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p.* 44.

The general assembly of the people, which *Solon*, as we have shewn before, made the dernier resort, was called *Ecclesia*, and consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were *atimoi* or *infamous*. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place, in the *Pnyx* a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of *Bacchus*; as to the latter, the magistrates who appointed the extraordinary meeting, appointed also the place where it should be held. If any sudden tempest rose, or an earthquake happened, or any sign notoriously inauspicious appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people

Areopagus; nor are instances of this sort wanting in the *Athenian* story (31). As to the foreigners or sojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any shining action, they had a sort of half-freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters, were on the same foot with free denizens; this they stiled *Ateleia* (32). Such *Athenians* as through poverty, became servants, were stiled *Pelatæ*; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independency, they were restored to their votes, and their servitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to slaves, they on their coming to a new place had a handsome entertainment given them, and sweetmeats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service, which, if they fell into good hands, was sometimes easy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.

(31) *Demosth. Orat. in Neæram.* (32) *Suidas. Harpocration. Hesychius.* (33) *Pollux. lib.* iii. *c.* 8.

from

from apprehending unhappy consequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary course of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the assembly was held, which was done by sprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and that heaven would bestow a happy issue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration against any who should in that assembly propound what might be disadvantageous to the state; these ceremonies over, they proceeded to business. There were several magistrates who had the overseeing and regulating of these assemblies; these were first the *Epistate*, or *president of the assembly*, who was chosen by lot out of the *Proedri*; his office was to give the signal for the peoples voting; next to him were the *Prytanes*, i. e. *a committee of the senate*, who of course were present on this occasion; by their order a *programma*, or *scheme* of the business to be proposed at the assembly, was previously set up in some public place, that every man might know what business to apply his thoughts to. The *Proedri* were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the *Prytanes* did not belong; they had the right of proposing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the assembly; there sat with them assessors, who were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the first step to business was the cryer's reading the decree of the senate whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in these words; *Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?* When the old men had done speaking, the cryer made proclamation again, that any *Athenian* might then offer his sentiments whom the law allowed so to do, that is, all such as were above thirty years old and were not infamous. If any other rose up to speak, the *Prytanes* interposed, and bid him be silent, and if he did not obey them, the *Lictors* pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the president permitted the people to vote, which they did by casting first beans, but in aftertimes pebbles, into certain vessels; these were counted, and then it was declared, that the decree of the senate was either rejected or approved, after which the *Prytanes* dismissed the assembly [h].

HAVING spoken of the people, their privileges, and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which, as we

[h] Vide SIGON. & URSO. EMMIUS. Rep. Athen.

have

have already ſhewn, was inſtituted by *Solon* to prevent the dangerous conſequences of leaving the ſupreme power in the people; at the time of his inſtitution it was to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, it was increaſed to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten, and when they came to twelve, it was alſo ſwelled to ſix hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the cloſe of the year, the preſident of each tribe gave in a liſt of ſuch perſons belonging thereto, as were fit for and deſired to appear for this dignity; theſe names were engraven on tablets of braſs, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones, put into a veſſel, then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and ſuch as were drawn by the white beans were received into the ſenate [i]. After the ſenate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preſide in the ſenate: Theſe were the *Prytanes* before mentioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one veſſel, and nine black beans and a white one into another veſſel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean anſwered preſided firſt, and the reſt according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they preſided was thirty five days, and was called *Prytania*, the *Attic* year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors ſay, that the firſt four *Prytania* contained thirty ſix days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation conſiſted of 354 days; but others affirm, that theſe four days did not belong to any of the *Prytania*, but were ſpent in the election of magiſtrates, and that during this ſpace the *Athenians* were without magiſtrates [k]. The *Prytanes* while the ſenate conſiſted of five hundred were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confuſion therefore, ten of theſe preſided a week, during which ſpace they were called *Proedri*, and out of theſe an *Epiſtate* or *preſident* was choſen, whoſe office laſted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reaſon of this was, that he had in his cuſtody the public ſeal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer [l]. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh between the *Epiſtates* and *Proedri* laſt mentioned, and thoſe ſpoken of in the former paragraph,

[i] Steph. Byzant. de Urb. [k] Pollux, l. viii. c. 9. Harpocrat. [l] Pollux, ubi ſupra.

becauſe

becauſe though their titles were the ſame, their offices were perfectly diſtinct. The ſenate aſſembled by direction of the *Prytanes* once every day, excepting feſtivals, and ſometimes oftener, in the ſenate-houſe, which was thence called *Prytanium*. When a member of the ſenate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they came next might be prepared to ſpeak to it; at the ſubſequent aſſembly the *Epiſtate* opened the matter, after which every ſenator that pleaſed delivered his ſentiments, then any of the *Prytanes* drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became *Pſephiſma*, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwiſe it was of no force longer than the ſenate who decreed it ſubſiſted. The power of the ſenate was very great, for they took the accounts of magiſtrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the proviſion made for poor citizens out of the public treaſure; they had the ſuperintendency of public priſons, and a power of puniſhing ſuch as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewiſe of the fleet, and beſides all theſe they had many other branches of authority, which it is not neceſſary for us to mention. Before they took their ſeats they were conſtrained to undergo a very ſtrict examination, wherein the whole courſe of their lives was inquired into; and if the leaſt ſlur on their reputation appeared they were ſet aſide. When this examination was over they took an oath, whereby they bound themſelves to promote in all their councils the public good, to adviſe nothing contrary to the laws, and to execute their functions exactly. The higheſt fine the ſenate could impoſe was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender deſerved a heavier mulct, they then tranſmitted the cauſe to the *Theſmothetæ*, who puniſhed them as they thought fit. The ſenators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the leſs to do, they always puniſhed ſuch of their number as they found offended, by expulſion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled ſenator was notwithſtanding eligible to any other office, the moſt trivial omiſſion being ſufficient to procure a diſmiſſion from the ſenatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes choſe their ſenators they alſo choſe a certain number of ſubſidiaries, out of which when a ſenator was expelled another was ſubſtituted in his

his place [m]. Each ſenator was allowed a *Drachm* every day, for it was a conſtant rule with the *Athenians* that the public ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore ſuch of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it had three *Oboli* for going to the aſſembly. If during their adminiſtration any ſhips of war were built the ſenators had crowns decreed them; but if not they were forbid to ſue for them. The ſenate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the *Athenian* ſtate, we will now ſpeak of the other.

The court of *Areopagus* was ſo called, becauſe it aſſembled on a hill not far from the citadel called *Areos Pagos*, i. e. *Mars*'s *hill*. Some ſay, that *Mars* was the firſt criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who inſtituted this court; ſome aſcribe it to *Cecrops*, others to *Cranaus*, and many to *Solon*, among whom though *Plutarch* and *Cicero* are reckoned, yet it is certain that they were miſtaken, for *Ariſtotle* affirms directly the contrary; nay, *Plutarch* himſelf cites a law of *Solon*'s, wherein the ſentences of the *Areopagus* are mentioned as things of an old date [n]. The ſource of this error ſeems to be *Solon*'s reſtoring the power of this court, and making it ſuperior to the *Ephetæ*, whom *Draco* had made ſuperior to it. It is very difficult to aſcertain the number of which this court conſiſted, becauſe authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though ſome ſay only ſuch of the *Theſmothetæ*, as had given an account of their adminiſtration before the *Logiſtæ*, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this ſenate; this was *Solon*'s inſtitution, and was ſtrictly obſerved for a long courſe of years, whence it became the moſt ſacred and venerable tribunal in *Greece*. A ſenator in this court was an officer for life, unleſs he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was ſitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was ſeen to be ſitting in a tavern or public-houſe, it was ſufficient to bar his admiſſion. *Demoſthenes* affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been queſtioned [o]. They had cognizance of all capital cauſes, and with them the intent to murder was puniſhed as ſeverely as if it took effect; till *Pericles* leſſened their power they were a check upon the people; they

[m] Æschin. in Timarch. Aristoph. Avibus. Pollux, ubi ſupra. Demost. Timocrat. [n] Meurs. in Areop.
[o] Ariſtocrat.

could

could, if they thought fit, cancel the ſentence of an aſſembly, where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewiſe reſcued innocent perſons in danger from the raſh ſentences of the people; they had the cuſtody of the laws, the management of the public fund, the direction of youth, for which reaſon they were preſent at marriages and ſacrifices, to ſee that all things were tranſacted with decency and ſobriety; they had the power of puniſhing idleneſs; and, in conſequence of this, they ſent for any body they pleaſed, and examined him what he ſpent, and how he came by it, ſo that it was impracticable for a man to live diſſolutely in *Athens* on ill got wealth, ſince on the firſt appearance of profuſion ſuch a perſon would have been convened before the *Areopagites*. Matters of religion, blaſphemy againſt the gods, contempt of myſteries, all ſorts of impiety, the conſecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worſhip, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato*, therefore, having learned in *Egypt* that there was but one god, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being queſtioned by the *Areopagites* [p]; and St. *Paul* was on this account arraigned before them as a ſetter-forth of ſtrange gods, when he preached *Jeſus* and *Anaſtaſis*, i. e. *the reſurrection* [q]. As to ſtate affairs, the court of *Areopagus* rarely meddled in them, unleſs in times of public calamity, when the citizens fled to them as to their laſt refuge. They met three times every month, *viz.* on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if any ſudden occaſion required their aſſembling they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is obſervable, that this court always ſat in the open air; ſecondly, that they decided all cauſes in the dark, that ſeeing neither plaintiff nor defendant their paſſions might be uninfluenced. Cauſes of murder were introduced by the *Baſileus* or ſecond archon, who in right of his office had a ſeat amongſt them; but before he took it he was obliged to lay aſide his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the *Areopagus*, we ſhall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occaſion to inſert it in a note. All the great men of *Athens* paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal till *Pericles* roſe, who, becauſe he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took ſuch a pique to them, that he left no means uneſſayed to diminiſh their authority and ſink their credit, which by the help of *Ephialtes* he in a

[p] JUSTIN. MARTYR. [q] Acts, xvii. 18, 19.

great measure effected, causing most of the business which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, not without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and, in consequence thereof, the ruin of this state[k].

We come now, having spoken of the *Athenian* people, the senate, and court of *Areopagus*, to the magistrates. The chief of these were the *Archons* or *Archontes*; they were, as we observed, nine in number, and were chosen by lot; but after they were chosen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the senate-house called *Anacrisis*, the other in the *Forum* called *Docimasia*; in these they were asked who were their ancestors, whether by three descents they were *Athenian* citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to *Apollo Patrius*, or *Jupiter Herceus*, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served the appointed times in the wars, had the estate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; these questions some think were put to every other magistrate: these demands being satisfactorily answered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in these words; *I will be punctual in the observance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this respect, I will for every such default consecrate a statue of gold as big as myself, to the Delphian Apollo*[l]. These ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, some parts of which they executed separately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of punishing with death such malefactors as deserved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, and had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of inquiring into the conduct of other magistrates. As the reward of their labour in the service of the public, they were free from all taxes whatsoever, and if any was so hardy as to strike or affront them, he was punished with infamy[m]. The first of them was sometimes stiled *Eponymos*, because the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all causes between men and their wives, all matters relating to posthumous children, dowries, legacies, and testaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide such disputes as arose among neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feasts and the regulation of stage-plays were also within his province, and he had

[k] Plut. in vit. Periclis. Meursius. Areop. lib. viii. cap. 9. [l] Pollux. [m] Demosth. in Midian.

had a particular court of judicature wherein he heard cauſes; If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he ſuffered death [n]. The ſecond archon, who was ſtiled *Baſileus* or *king*, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controverſies among prieſts, took information on impiety, blaſphemy, and ſuch like crimes; he preſided in all the great feaſts, and aſſiſted in all the public ſacrifices for the proſperity of the republic. It was required, that his wife ſhould be a citizen of *Athens* and a virgin, and ſhe too was ſtiled by the *Athenians Baſiliſſa*. Accuſations of murder were firſt lodged in his court, and then he introduced them into the court of *Areopagus* [o]. The *Polemarchos* or third archon had all ſojourners and ſtrangers within his juriſdiction; he was bound alſo to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Mars*, and another to *Diana*, and to take care, that the children of ſuch as loſt their lives in the ſervice of the ſtate ſhould duly receive themaintenance ſettled on them by law. As it often happened, that theſe three magiſtrates, by reaſon of their youth, were not ſo well ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their reſpective offices, they choſe each of them two grave and diſtinct perſons who underwent the like examinations with themſelves, to ſit with them as aſſeſſors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their poſts [p]. The other ſix archons were ſtiled *Theſmothetæ*; they had one common tribunal where they heard cauſes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, ſettled the court-days in the ſeveral judicatures of *Athens*, took care that no laws ſhould be paſſed contrary to the intereſt of the public, and proſecuted ſuch as endeavoured to perſuade the people to give their conſent to any ſuch laws; they were likewiſe obliged every year to examine the whole *Corpus Juris*, in order to diſcover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of ſtatutes about the ſame thing, or whether there were any ſo doubtful as to render it impoſſible to know their true ſenſe, which if there were, then the *Theſmothetæ* drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the ſtate of the caſe; this was hung up in a public place, and the next aſſembly of the people voted which of the laws ſhould be preſerved, and which repealed or altered [q]. Inferior to the archons there were many public magiſtrates; 'twill be neceſſary to mention ſome of them,

[n] POLLUX, ubi ſupra. [o] DEMOST. in Neær. & in Lacrit.
[p] POLLUX. ubi ſupra. [q] ÆSCHIN. in Cteſiph.

because they will frequently occur in the course of this history. In the first place they had *Nomophylaces*, who were also stiled *the eleven*, because they were so many in number, one chosen out of each tribe, and a clerk or secretary who made up *the eleventh*. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to seize robbers and other capital offenders, and if they confessed to put them to death. Dr. *Potter* thinks they resembled our sheriffs [r]. The *Phylarchi* were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes; but in time this became a military title. The *Philobasileus* was an officer in each tribe who did the same things within his jurisdiction, as the *Basileus* did with respect to the state. The *Demarchi* were the principal magistrates in wards, the *Lexarchi* were six in number, and were bound to take care, that the people came duly to assemblies; in their custody was the public register of citizens names; they had under them *Toxotæ* who were lictors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their sort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of *Aristophanes*; they were generally *Scythians*, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded [s]. The *Nomathetæ* were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and inspect into the laws. There were two sorts of orators in the service of the state, some were appointed to defend an old law when a motion was made to repeal it; these had their fee from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these there were ten settled orators called *Retores*, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their stated fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus; "Let no "one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied "them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who "hath refused to serve in the army, who hath thrown away "his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd women, notoriously effeminate, or has run out his patrimony. If any "man who has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an "oration, let him be brought to trial upon the spot [t]. Let "an orator have children lawfully begotten, and an estate "within *Attica* [u]; if in his oration he talks impertinently, "makes idle repetitions, affects an unbecoming railery, di-

[r] Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. [s] Aristophan. ejusq; Schol. Acharn. & Thesmoph. [t] Æschin. in Timarch. [u] Dinarch. in Demosthen.

"gresses

"greſſes from the point in queſtion, or after the aſſembly "is over abuſes the preſident, let the *Proedri* fine him fifty "drachmæ; and if that is not thought enough, let him be "brought before the next aſſembly and fined again" [x]. We ſhall conclude this draft of the *Athenian* government with an account of their courts of juſtice, which, excluſive of the *Areopagus*, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and ſix of civil cauſes. Theſe ten courts were numbered with the ten firſt letters of the alphabet, and were thence ſtiled *Alpha*, *Beta*, *Gamma*, &c. When an *Athenian* was at leiſure to hear cauſes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he preſented to the *Theſmothetæ*, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who preſented him a ſceptre, and gave him admiſſion. When the cauſes were over, every judge went and delivered his ſcepter to the *Prytanes*, and received a ſtated fee for every cauſe that was tried. But as this was intended only to compenſate their loſs of time, ſo that there might be no appearance of covetouſneſs, a man was forbid to ſit in two courts on the ſame day [y]. The firſt criminal court, after the *Areopagus*, was that of the *Ephetæ*, of the inſtitution of which the reader has already had an account; it conſiſted of fifty one members, all upwards of fifty one years old; *Draco* gave it a very extenſive juriſdiction, but *Solon* took away from them the power of judging in any other cauſes than thoſe of manſlaughter, accidental killing, and lying in wait to deſtroy; the *Baſileus* entered all cauſes in this court [z]. The ſecond criminal court was called *Delphinium*, becauſe it was held in the temple of *Apollo Delphinius*, it had cognizance of ſuch murders as were confeſſed by the criminal, but at the ſame time juſtified under ſome pretence or other [a]. The *Prytaneum* was the third criminal court, it held plea of ſuch caſes where death enſued from inanimate things; cauſes were heard here with the ſame ſolemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occaſioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of *Athens*. This judicature was as antient as the reign of *Erectheus*, and the firſt thing tried therein was an ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter*'s prieſts killed an ox which had eaten ſome of the conſecrated cakes, and who, as ſoon as he had committed the fact, ſecured himſelf by flight [b]. The laſt criminal court was ſtiled

[x] ÆSCHIN. ubi ſupra. [y] ATHEN. Deipnoſ. lib. vi. [z] POLLUX, lib. viii. c. 10.. [a] POLLUX, ubi ſupra. [b] ÆLIAN. Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 3. POLLUX, ubi ſupra.

Phreatum,

Phreatum, it ſat in a place not far from the ſea-ſhore, and ſuch perſons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings of this court were ſo ſevere, that they did not permit the criminal to come on ſhore, but obliged him to plead his cauſe in his veſſel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and ſeas [c]. Of the judicatures for hearing civil cauſes, the firſt was the *Parabaſton*, ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe in it no matter could be heard, if the cauſe of action was above one drachm [d]. The *Cainon* or new court was the ſecond tribunal [e]. The third was ſtiled the court of *Lycus*, becauſe it aſſembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whoſe ſtatue, which was repreſented with the face of a wolf, was ſet up in all the courts of juſtice [f]. The *Trigonon* was ſo called, becauſe it was triangular in its form [g]. The court *Metidius* derived its appellation from the architect who built it [h]. The ſixth and laſt court was called *Heliæa*, it was by far the greateſt, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges ſitting in the open air expoſed to the ſun. All the *Athenians*, as we obſerved before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to ſit in theſe courts as judges. But before they took their ſeats were ſworn by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the king*, that they would decide all things righteouſly, and according to law where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules of natural equity where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who ſat in the court laſt mentioned, is reported by *Demoſthenes* in theſe words; "I will give ſen-
" tence according to the laws and the decrees of the people
" of *Athens*, and the council of five hundred; I will not
" conſent to place the ſupreme power in the hands of a ſingle
" perſon, or a few; nor permit any man to diſſolve the
" commonwealth, or ſo much as to give his vote, or make
" an oration in defence of ſuch a revolution. I will not
" endeavour to diſcharge private debts, nor to make a divi-
" ſion of lands or houſes: I will not reſtore perſons ſent into
" baniſhment, nor pardon thoſe that are condemned to die,
" nor expel any man out of the city contrary to the laws and
" decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor per-
" mit any other perſon to do it: I will not elect any perſon
" into any public employ, and particularly I will not create

[c] SIGONIUS de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. c. 3. [d] PAUSAN. Atticis. [e] ARISTOPH. Veſp. [f] POLLUX, SUIDAS, ARISTOPH. ubi ſupra. [g] SIGON. ubi ſupra. ARISTOPH. ubi ſupra. [h] POLLUX, HARPOCR.

" any

" any man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, ambaſſador, public he-
" rald, or ſynedras, nor conſent, that he ſhall be admitted
" into any of thoſe offices, which are elected by lots upon
" the ſame day with the archons, who has undergone any
" former office and not given in his accounts ; nor that any
" perſon ſhall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the
" ſame office in one year : I will not receive gifts myſelf,
" nor ſhall any other for me, nor will I permit any other
" perſon to do the like by any means, whether direct or in-
" direct, to pervert juſtice in the court of *Heliæa* : I am
" not under thirty years of age : I will hear both the plain-
" tiff and defendant without partiality, and give ſentence in
" all the cauſes brought before me : I ſwear by *Jupiter*,
" *Neptune*, and *Ceres* ; if I violate this oath or any part of it,
" may I periſh with my whole family ; but if I religiouſly
" obſerve it, may we live and proſper". The *Helæaſtic* court conſiſted at leaſt of fifty, but its uſual number was five hundred, judges ; when cauſes of very great conſequence were to be tried a thouſand ſat therein, and now and then the judges were increaſed to fifteen hundred, and even to two thouſand ; there were many inferior courts in *Athens* for the deciſion of trivial cauſes, but of theſe there is no neceſſity of ſpeaking, ſince we deſign no more than a ſuccinct view of the *Athenian* republic, as it was ſettled by, and in conſequence of, *Solon*'s laws.

WE left that great lawgiver at his departure from *Athens* to viſit foreign climates for the ſake of acquiring wiſdom. He went firſt to *Egypt*, where he converſed with *Pſenophis* the *Heliopolitan* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt learned prieſts of that age and country, from theſe he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things unheard-of by the *Greeks*, and particularly the ſituation and condition of the *Atlantic* iſle, of which he wrote an account in verſe, which *Plato* continued. From *Egypt* he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof ; this prince reigned in a little city called *Apeia*, i. e. *high*, built by *Demophoon* the ſon of *Theſeus* on an eminence near the river *Clarius*, but in a ſoil craggy and barren. *Solon*, obſerving, that there was a very pleaſant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. *Solon* himſelf aſſiſted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his ſcheme ſucceeded ſo well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to ſettle themſelves therein, whence the king, whoſe capital it was, changed its name out of grati-

tude,

tude, and called it *Solos*. He is thought to have visited about this time *Thales* the *Milesian*, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance: *Plutarch* hath recorded a very singular passage which happened at this time; *Solon* inquiring of *Thales*, why, considering the happy situation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, *Thales* for the present made him no answer. A few days after he introduced a stranger properly instructed, who said, that he came ten days ago from *Athens*; *Solon* immediately asked him what news he brought from thence: "I know of nothing extraordinary "(replied he), except that the whole city celebrated the fu- "neral of a young man, the son of a citizen most eminent "for his virtues, who, it seems, went abroad upon his tra- "vels". *Miserable man*, cried *Solon*: *But did you not hear his name? I did*, returned the stranger, *but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice*; *Was it* Solon? (said our philosopher) *It was*, answered the stranger. Upon this our legislator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himself. But *Thales* interposing with a smile, addressed him thus: "These, "O *Solon*, are the things which make me afraid of marriage "and children, since these are capable of affecting even so "wise a man as you; be not, however, concerned, for this "is all a fiction"[1]. Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, *Solon* being desired by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing, he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep*. At *Delphi* he had an interview with the rest of the sophists, and the year following at *Corinth* by *Periander*'s invitation; some think, that at this time also he went to *Crete* and visited *Epimenides*, he likewise conferred with *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, as has been before related in the history of that prince [k] (M).

While

[1] Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis. Herodot. lib. i. [k] See Vol. V. p. 414.

(M) As to the interview between *Solon* and *Crœsus*, there were in *Plutarch*'s time many who thought it a fiction; and this great writer himself, though he thought it necessary to insert it in *Solon*'s life, owns, that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to solve the difficulties in chronology which attended it. The very learned M. *Dacier* has the following note upon that passage; "*So-* "*lon*, they say, was archon the third year of the forty sixth *olym-* "*piad*, and *Crœsus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the second year of the

WHILE *Solon* was abroad *Athens* fell all into confusion again. The three factions before mentioned began to be more troublesome than ever; *Lycurgus* put himself at the head of the country people; *Megacles* the son of *Alcmæon* was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of *Solon* were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, though how to change for the better none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim *Solon* returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and

" the 58th, which makes it impossible for *Solon* to be living at " that time, that is to say, 47 years after his archonship. This " they prove more strongly, by making it appear, that *Solon* died " when *Hegestratus* was archon, in the second year of the 51st o- " lympiad. Now *Crœsus* was not king till the first year of the " 56th olympiad, which was twenty two years after the death of " *Solon*. How then are we to make this voyage of *Solon* into *Lydia* " fall in with the reign of *Crœsus?* Especially, if according to *Plutarch*, " this voyage was performed even before the tyranny of *Pisistra-* " *tus*. This is so full of difficulties and contrarieties, that it is im- " possible to reconcile them, unless we agree with *Plutarch*, that " the antient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwith- " standing the great labour and pains several persons have been at " to regulate them (28)". Mr. *Stanley* (following *Laertius*) and many others have thought, that the placing this interview, not before, but after *Pisistratus* made himself master of *Athens*, would set this business quite right, and accordingly Sir *Isaac Newton* places this conference in the year after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty, or rather in the same year, and makes this the year before the death of *Solon* (29). But to return from so perplexed a subject to the mention of a point or two not taken notice of in the account before given of this conference in our history of *Lydia*: *Plutarch* says, that *Æsop* the fabulist was at the court of *Crœsus* at the same time with *Solon*, and that he was extremely concerned when he saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving *Solon* the following short piece of advice, *Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can.* To which our *Athenian* answered, *No, rather let them be as seldom or as profitable as you can* (30). The love of liberty was so strong in *Solon*, that he could not gainsay, so much as in a compliment.

(28) *In vit. Solonis. Plutarch. ubi supra.*

(29) *Short chronicle, p.* 40.

(30)

reſpect, beſeeching him to reſume his authority, and to compoſe the diſorders of the ſtate. But this, however, he declined on account of his age, which, as he ſaid, rendered him unable to ſpeak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he ſent for the chiefs of each party, and ſpoke to them in the mildeſt and moſt pathetic terms, beſeeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private intereſt [l].

Piſiſtratus among all the principal perſons of *Athens*, ſeemed to be moſt affected with *Solon*'s diſcourſes. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great ſimilitude in their diſpoſitions. *Piſiſtratus* was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was bleſſed with a fair eſtate, ſo he was generous without profuſion, and beneficent without oſtentation. He had always two or three ſlaves near him with bags of ſilver coin; when he ſaw any man look ſickly, or heard that any were dead inſolvent, he comforted the one with a proper ſum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cauſe, and if it was poverty, he furniſhed them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or ſeemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman. he would not ſo much as ſuffer his ſervants to ſhut his garden or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleaſed. His looks were eaſy and ſedate, his language ſmooth and modeſt; he ſeemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the conſtitution. *Solon* penetrated all theſe appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to ſhew him the iniquity of his diſſimulation, and would often tell him, *Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the beſt citizen in* Athens; and when he found this made no impreſſion upon him, *Solon* ſaid the ſame thing to others, that men might beware of his deſigns, and not ſuffer his virtues to be fatal to his country [m].

About this time *Theſpis*, who is generally eſteemed the inventer of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at *Athens*, with which the people were mightily charmed. *Solon*, who piqued himſelf upon learning, even in his old age, went to ſee this new divertiſement, and after the performance was over, addreſſed himſelf to *Theſpis* in theſe words, "*I wonder you are not aſhamed of telling lies before ſo great an audience*": *Theſpis* replied, *That there could be no harm in*

[l] Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i. [m] Dacier. Not. in vit. Solon. Plut. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii.

giving

giving a ſpecious form to falſhood, ſo that it were in jeſt; *Ah*, *cried* Solon, ſtriking the ground violently with his ſtaff, *if once we are pleaſed with your falſhoods in jeſt, we ſhall ſoon have them creep into our more ſerious affairs* [n].

THE miſchief, which *Solon* apprehended his kinſman *Piſiſtratus* would bring upon the ſtate, was not long before it came to paſs; that great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, reſolved to ſeize the preſent opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to uſe or to keep. With this view having wounded himſelf and (as *Herodotus* ſays) the mules that drew his chariot [o], he laſhed into the market-place as if purſued by his enemies, and ſhewing his bleeding body, beſought the people to protect him from thoſe whom his kindneſs to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they teſtifying loudly their concern, *Solon*, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and ſaid, *Son of* Hippocrates, *you do not act* Homer's Ulyſſes *well, ſince you deceive your fellow citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himſelf, practiſed only on the enemies of his country.* A general aſſembly was preſently convened, wherein *Ariſton* moved, that *Piſiſtratus* might have a guard of fifty perſons armed with clubs. *Solon* oppoſed it; he told the citizens, that if misfortunes befel them, they muſt not charge the gods with them, but themſelves, for that evils were not accidental, but puniſhments; that crafty perſons knew how to dreſs lies in the veſtments of truth, and that before they made innovations they ſhould well conſider the conſequences. After him *Piſiſtratus* ſpoke, and the people receiving all he ſaid with loud applauſe, *Solon* contened himſelf with ſaying,

Piſiſtratus *aſſumes the ſovereignty.* Year of the Flood, 2439. Year before Chriſt 560.

"You doat upon his words and ſoothing ſpeech."

The meaner ſort of people adhering unanimouſly to the propoſition of *Ariſton*, and the richeſt *Athenians* remaining ſilent when they ſaw how things would go, *Solon* took his leave, ſaying, that he was *wiſer* than ſome, and *ſtouter* than others; *wiſer* than thoſe who did not penetrate *Piſiſtratus*'s deſign, and *ſtouter* than thoſe who did not oppoſe it. When he was gone the aſſembly proceeded to vote *Piſiſtratus* a guard, but what number is not eaſy ſettled; it ſhould ſeem from *Plutarch*'s account that he had but fifty [p]. *Herodotus* does not mention any number at all [q]. *Polyænus* makes them three hundred [r], but *Solon* himſelf in his letter to *Epimenides* ſays expreſsly there were four hundred [s]; however it was, he made uſe of his

[n] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [o] HERODOT. lib. i. [p] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [q] lib. i. [r] Stratag. lib. i. c. 21. [s] Vide Epiſt. Solon. ad Epimen. poſt.

guard to ſeize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to *Herodotus* [t] and *Plutarch* [u], aſſumed the ſovereignty. But *Polyænus* hath given us a very ſingular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the *Athenians* to defend themſelves, even againſt the ſmall number of men under his command. He ſummoned an aſſembly to be held at the *Anacium*, and directed, that the people ſhould come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, *Piſiſtratus* harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he ſaid, he pretended, that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and adviſed them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and *Piſiſtratus* then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they liſtened with deep attention, *Piſiſtratus*'s guard conveyed away their arms, ſo that when he had done ſpeaking, the *Athenians* ſaw themſelves naked and all power of reſiſtance taken from them [x]. All hiſtorians agree, that amidſt the confuſion which followed this tranſaction there was an aſſembly held, wherein *Solon* made a ſpeech, inveighing againſt the meanneſs of his countrymens ſpirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he ſet down his own arms, and contented himſelf with ſaying, *To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for my country and my laws*. *Plutarch* ſays, that he refuſed to leave his country, and that on *Piſiſtratus*'s ſending to know what it was that inſpired him with boldneſs enough to treat him in ſuch a manner, he anſwered *My old age* [y]. But other authors ſay, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominion of *Athens*. About this time it is moſt likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in *Crete* [z].

Solon to *Epimenides*:

"NEITHER are my laws likely to benefit the *Athenians* "long, nor have you done the city much good by your luſ- "tration. For ſacred rites and wiſe lawgivers cannot alone "benefit cities, ſince it is of great conſequence, of what "diſpoſition thoſe are who influence the common people; ſa- "cred and civil laws, if ſuch men execute them well, are "profitable, but if not, are of little uſe. My laws are now "in a very indifferent condition, thoſe in whom the govern-

[t] ubi ſupra. [u] ubi ſupra. [x] Stratag. lib i. c. 21. ſect. ii.
[y] ubi ſupra. [z] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vita Solon.

"ment

" ment was lodged, making no oppoſition to *Piſiſtratus*'s
" deſigns, abandoned the ſtate; this, when I foretold, I
" could not be believed, the *Athenians* crediting rather his
" flatteries than my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my
" arms before the magazine, and ſaid, that I was wiſer than
" thoſe who did not ſee *Piſiſtratus* aimed at tyranny, and
" ſtouter than thoſe who were afraid to reſiſt him. For this
" they looked upon *Solon* as a madman; however, I heſita-
" ted not to make this proteſtation before I departed; Be-
" hold, O *my country*, *Solon* ready to vindicate thee in word
" and deed; they again cried out that I was mad. Thus,
" finding myſelf alone in oppoſing *Piſiſtratus*, I left them;
" let them ſtill, if they pleaſe, guard with their arms this
" their tyrant, for you muſt know, my friend, that the man
" very artfully poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty; he com-
" plied at the firſt with the democracy, afterwards wounding
" himſelf, he came into the *Elioea*, exclaiming, that he was
" thus wounded by his enemies, deſiring, that they would
" grant him a guard of four hundred men, which they, re-
" gardleſs of all I could ſay, complied with; after this he
" diſſolved the popular government. In vain I laboured to
" beſtow freedom on the meaner ſort of people, ſince
" now the people of all ſorts are become *Piſiſtratus*'s ſer-
" vants".

Piſiſtratus, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſupreme power in *Athens*, did not overturn the laws eſtabliſhed by *Solon*; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and loſt nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable[a]. With reſpect even to *Solon* himſelf, he preſerved for him the higheſt veneration, and was ſo much diſturbed at his leaving his country, that he wrote to him the following letter to engage him to return [b].

Piſiſtratus to *Solon*:

" I am not the only perſon among the *Greeks* who have
" acted in this manner, nor am I without right to the king-
" dom I poſſeſs, being the deſcendant of *Codrus*. That
" which the *Athenians* ſwore to preſerve to *Codrus* and his
" heirs and yet took away, I have recovered. I offend nei-
" ther againſt God nor man. I take care to ſee thoſe laws
" you framed for the *Athenians* ſtrictly put in execution, and
" ſuffer none to do wrong, I claim no other privileges, though

[a] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. ARIST. POLIT. lib. v. c. 12.
[b] DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi ſupra.

" a

" a tyrant, than the honour and dignity, and accept no more
" than what was thought, due to the antient kings. The
" *Athenians* indeed pay the tenths of their estates, not to me,
" but for the defraying the expences of the public sacrifices,
" the other charges of the commonwealth, and that we may
" have wherewithal to carry on a war if we should be enga-
" ged in one. I do not at all blame you for discovering my
" intention; you did it out of regard to your country, rather
" than out of hatred to me; you were ignorant of the form
" of government I meant to establish: had you known it,
" you would perhaps have born it, and not have gone into
" banishment; however, return, and believe me without an
" oath, *Solon* shall never suffer hurt from *Pisistratus*; my
" very enemies have nothing to charge me with of that kind.
" If you will be of the number of my friends, you shall be
" the first, for I never observed any thing of fraud or falshood
" in you; if you are resolved to continue otherwise, live at
" *Athens* as you will, only for our sake do not deprive your-
" self of your country ".

Solon to *Pisistratus*.

" I Believe I shall not suffer any harm by you, for be-
" fore you were a tyrant I was your friend, and at pre-
" sent am no more your enemy than any other *Athenian* who
" dislikes tyranny. Whether it be better they be governed by
" a single person or by a democracy, let both parties deter-
" mine. I pronounce you the best of tyrants; but to return to
" *Athens*, I think not fitting, lest I incur censure, who set-
" tled an equality in the *Athenian* common wealth, and would
" not accept of the tyranny; by returning, I should seem to
" comply with thy actions ".

Solon kept strictly to his word, and returned no more to *Athens*, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his decease was not agreed even in the days of *Plutarch* [c], who says, that *Heraclides Ponticus* affirmed, that *Solon* lived a long time after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignity, whereas *Phanias* the *Ephesian* reported, that he did not live after it quite two years; *Ælian* agrees pretty well with this computation [d], for he says he died a little after, being decrepid with age; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he reached the age of fourscore [e], but *Lucian*, however, will have it, that

[c] In vita Solonis, prope fin.
[e] ubi supra.
[d] Hist. var. lib. viii. c. 16.

that he lived a hundred and upwards [f]; where he died is another very disputable point; some say it was in *Cyprus* [g], others not [h]; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he directed that his bones should be burnt, and their ashes carried to *Salamis* and scattered over the island [i]. *Plutarch* treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the same time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly *Aristotle* [k]. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the highest honours, and erected for him in the forum and at *Salamis* a statue in brass with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he was wont to speak; which he certainly deserved for the mighty services rendered by him to his country (N) [l]. But to return to *Pisistratus*:

AT

[f] In Longævis. [g] DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra. VALER. MAX. lib. v. c. 3. [h] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. [i] ubi supra. [k] ubi supra. [l] ÆSCH. in Timarch.

(N) We have already said so much of the genius of *Solon*, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we shall therefore take notice only of some remarkable passages which are related concerning his death, give a succinct account of his writings, and of the praises bestowed upon him by the most eminent among the antient *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. The very last day of his life some friends of his sitting in the chamber fell into a discourse, to which he listened with great attention; being asked the reason, he answered, *I do this, that when I have learned whatsoever it is you dispute about, I may die* (31). A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother singing an ode of *Sappho*, he was so well pleased with it, that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reason of this being also demanded, *It is*, returned he, *that I may learn while I am departing out of this life* (32). As to his writings we stand indebted to *Laertius* for the following account: his laws; orations to the people; poems; the *Atlantic* history, which was his last work and left unfinished; again attempted by his kinsman *Plato*, and by him also left unfinished; occasional epistles; amongst these there is the following one, preserved by *Laertius*, addressed to the tyrant of *Corinth*, who was esteemed one of the seven sages of *Greece*; it is very short, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

Solon to *Periander*.

"You send me word there are many who plot against you; if
"you should put them all to death, it would advantage you nothing;
"some one there may be of those whom you suspect not who plots

(31) *Valer. Maxim. lib.* viii. *c.* 7. (32) *Stob. Serm.* xxix.

"against

At the very beginning of his adminiſtration, *Megacles* and his family retired out of the territories of *Athens*, but they did this with a view only to preſerve themſelves from being cut off to render his principality the ſurer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correſpondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his aſſociates entered into a treaty with *Lycurgus* and his party, and having brought them into a ſcheme for overturning *Piſiſtratus*, they proſecuted this with ſuch effect, that he found himſelf obliged to retire, and ſeek, as they had done, ſhelter in a foreign clime; and the *Athenians*, notwithſtanding all the inſtances of love they had ſhewn him, were ſo far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publicly ſold. However, though this reſolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no body but *Callias* who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehenſion, no doubt, that one time or other he would be reſtored [m].

As *Megacles* and his party had negotiated with *Lycurgus* the ruin of *Piſiſtratus*, ſo ſome time afterwards, finding, that *Lycurgus* and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with *Piſiſtratus*, and to offer him, in caſe he would marry the daughter of *Megacles*, to reinſtate

[m] Plut. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i.

" againſt you, either fearing himſelf, or diſdaining you, or deſirous
" to ingratiate himſelf with the city, though you have done him
" no injury. It is beſt, if you would be free from jealouſy, to ac-
" quit yourſelf of the cauſe; but if you will continue in tyran-
" ny, take care to provide a greater ſtrength of ſtrangers than is
" in your own city; ſo ſhall you need to fear no man, nor put any
" to death (33)".

Plato in various places, commends the wiſdom, learning, and genius of *Solon* (34), ſo alſo does *Ariſtides* (35). *Dion Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of him with the greateſt reſpect (36), as an orator and legiſlator, as a warrior and a patriot; *Demoſthenes* has in few words celebrated his praiſes (37); *Cicero* affirms, that before the times of *Solon* and *Piſiſtratus* eloquence was unknown (38); *Seneca* mentions *Solon* with great reſpect (39), and *Valerius Maximus*, as he records many things relating to him, ſo he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, antient and modern writers agree, that without flattery, *Solon* might be ſtiled brave, wiſe, and honeſt; how ſhall we commend him more?

(33) *Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon.* (34) *In Amator. de Repub. &c.*
(35) *Orat. Paraſth.* (36) *Orat.* xxi. (37) *In Amator.*
(38) *De Orat.* (39) *Epiſt.* xc.

him

him in his principality, to which *Piſiſtratus* readily aſſented. It is eaſy to conceive, that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with ſucceſs. *Piſiſtratus* and *Megacles* reſolved to reſt all upon an expedient which *Herodotus* ſtiles a ridiculous project; but, ridiculous as it appeared, it ſucceeded. They found out a woman, whoſe name was *Phya* the daughter of *Socrates*, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was it ſeems of prodigious ſtature, and otherwiſe very handſome; her they dreſſed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having diſpoſed all things ſo as to make her appear with all poſſible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, ſending heralds before, with orders to ſpeak to the people in theſe terms, "Give a kind reception, O "*Athenians*, to *Piſiſtratus*, who is ſo much honoured by "*Minerva* above all other men, that ſhe herſelf condeſcends "to bring him back to the citadel." When the heralds had publiſhed this in ſeveral places, the report was univerſally ſpread, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Piſiſtratus*; and in the city the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddeſs, addreſſed her with prayers, and readily received *Piſiſtratus*. When he had recovered the ſovereignty, he married, as he had promiſed, the daughter of *Megacles*, and out of gratitude to *Phya* gave her in marriage to his ſon *Hipparchus* [n].

IT was not long *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been ſo oddly reſtored; we have already obſerved, that he kept his word to *Megacles* in marrying his daughter, and it ſeems *Piſiſtratus* conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But conſidering that he had children by a former wife, and that *Megacles*'s family were held by the *Athenians* to be execrable, he never converſed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time ſhe concealed; but at length mentioning it to her mother, the family ſo highly reſented his proceeding, that *Megacles* inſtantly began to negotiate with the malecontents, which *Piſiſtratus* perceiving, and ſeeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted *Attica* voluntarily, and retired to *Eretria*. There, as ſoon as he found himſelf in ſafety, he conſulted with his ſons what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in the preſent ſituation of their affairs. *Hippias* propoſed the reducing *Athens* by force, which was agreed to, and immediately *Piſiſtratus* applied to ſeveral of the *Grecian* cities to furniſh him with men and money for

[n] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 21. VALER. MAX. lib. i. c. 2.

the carrying this deſign of his into execution. Several yielded him their aſſiſtance as they were deſired, but the *Thebans* exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of *Argives* were quickly levied by the help of theſe ſubſidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindneſs of *Lygdamis*, a *Naxian*, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a conſiderable number of men, and advanced alſo a large ſum of money. In the eleventh year of their baniſhment, ſays *Herodotus*, *Piſiſtratus*, with his family and the army he had drawn together, marched from *Eretria* and entered *Attica*. The firſt place they poſſeſſed themſelves of was *Marathon*, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of *Athenians*, who loved the government of *Piſiſtratus* better than a democracy. It ſeems the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous ſteps, though they knew that *Piſiſtratus* was raiſing men and borrowing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards *Athens*, they aſſembled all their forces to defend themſelves and to repel the invader. In the mean time, *Piſiſtratus* advancing with his army from *Marathon*, arrived at the temple of the *Palenian Minerva*; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, *Amphilytus*, a prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine impulſe went to him, and pronounced this oracle in *Hexameter* verſe:

The net is ſpread, and dexterouſly thrown,
By the clear moon-light ſhall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered theſe words, *Piſiſtratus* comprehending the oracle, and ſaying he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time the *Athenians* having drawn their forces out of the city and taken their dinner, betook themſelves afterwards to dice or ſleep. So that the army of *Piſiſtratus*, falling upon them by ſurprize, ſoon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, *Piſiſtratus* contrived an artful ſtratagem in order to diſperſe them ſo intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his ſons to ride before with ſpeed, and in his name to inform all thoſe they ſhould overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation [o]. Thus *Piſiſtratus* became a third time poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of *Athens*, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method di-

[o] Herod. lib. i. c. 61.

rectly

rectly contrary to that which *Theseus* had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of *Attica* retire from the country, and live together in the city, *Pisistratus* obliged them to addict themselves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees [p]. He likewise commanded, that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery [q]. The *Athenians* being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things right in themselves were commanded by persons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greatest misery: on this account it was, that *Pisistratus*'s laws against idleness were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in support of those of *Solon*. He received as prince of *Athens* the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the antient revenues were, *viz.* to the service of the state, seemed to the *Athenians* an intolerable grievance. It happened once, that *Pisistratus* being in the country, perceived an old man busy in creeping over the rocks and picking something. *Pisistratus* asked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. *Troubles and a few plants of wild sage*, replied the old man, *and of these* Pisistratus *must have the tenth*: to which *Pisistratus* made him no reply, but on his return to the city discharged him from paying this duty [r]. He endeavoured by all means possible to eradicate the fierceness of the *Athenians*, but to little purpose; for as he was averse to severity, so it was a difficult thing for them to learn submission. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife and insulted her grossly; the next day, however, when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. *Pisistratus* heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, *I would advise you gentlemen*, said he, *to behave for the future more modestly*; *but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday* [s]. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the

[p] DION. CHRYSOST. Orat. vii. MAXIM. TYR. Dissert. xiii.
[q] SUIDAS in voce Κατοικοι. [r] ZENOBIUS. Cent. iv. Prov. 76. [s] PLUTARCH. Apophthegm.

temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; and when the *Athenians*, to shew their aversion to him, went and eased themselves there, he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence should suffer death [t]. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, mentioned before in our description of the city of *Athens*. He was the first who built a library for public use, and directed, that *Homer*'s poems should be digested into regular order as we have them at present. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and conversed familiarly with *Crotoniates* the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts* [u]. As to his military virtues, we have already shewn what a share he had in the reduction of *Salamis*; he is also reported by *Herodotus* to have conquered the island of *Naxus*, which he put into the hands of *Lygdamis*; he also conquered the city *Sigeium*, and purified the island of *Delos*; so that on the whole, it seems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince [x]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of *Areopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man and submitted himself to judgment [y]. At another time having some way offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, and they retiring to the castle of *Phylæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back; when they asked him what he meant, Either, said he, to engage you to go back with me to *Athens*, or to stay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided [z]. From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty to his death there intervened thirty three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from *Aristotle*, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, *Herodotus* tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only [a]. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, *viz.* *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined. *Thucydides* more than once affirms that it was *Hippias*, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross er-

[t] And. Schot. Append. Vatic. Prov. Cent. i. p. 82. [u] Suidas. Vitruvius. Præt. lib. vii. A. Gellius. Noct. Attic. lib. vi. c. 17. [x] Herodot. lib. i. [y] Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 12. [z] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [a] Polit. l. v. c. 12. Herodot. lib. i.

ror [b],

ror [b]. *Polyænus* says the same thing [c], yet *Plato* is as positive that *Hipparchus* was the eldest [d]. *Ælian* follows him, and *Heraclides Ponticus* seems to be of the same opinion. *Thucydides* supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned *Meursius* are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better asserted (O).

THE

[b] Bell Pelop lib. i. & lib. vi. [c] Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14. [d] In Hipparch.

(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of *Pisistratus*; and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the *Athenians* during this space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in antient authors relating to the *Pisistratidæ* should be somewhere preserved and explained. As to the descent of *Pisistratus* himself, we see from his own letter to *Solon* that he was of the house of *Codrus*, the last king of *Athens*. Antient authors assure us, that he was of the same family with *Nestor* (40), so that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than *Pisistratus*. His father's name was *Hippocrates*, as we are more than once told by *Herodotus*; and as the antients were very circumspect in noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, so as to the nativity of *Pisistratus* something very extraordinary is recorded. *Hippocrates*, being at the celebration of the *Olympic* games, caused a victim which he had slain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian*, being present when this prodigy happened, immediately addressed himself to the *Athenian*, advising him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son, to abdicate him; but *Hippocrates* did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of *Pisistratus*, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely, that *Hippocrates* apprehended why the *Lacedæmonian* gave him this advice, since he called his son after the name of the son of *Nestor*, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother, we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following passage, which shews that she lived to be pretty far in years. When her son was possessed of the principality of *Athens*, she fell in love with a young man, with whom she conversed secretly, and with

(40) *Herodot. lib.* v. *c.* 65. *Eustath. ad Iliad. γ'.* (41) *Herodot. lib.* i. *Diog. Laertius in vita Chilonis.*

great

The brothers *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* ſhared, as moſt think, the ſupreme authority between them; ſome ſay, that the

great caution; however, *Piſiſtratus* had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they roſe from table, *What think you, my friend, ſaid* Piſiſtratus, *of your treatment to day? That it was moſt excellent, Sir,* anſwered he, *Why then, replied* Piſiſtratus, *you may be aſſured, that you ſhall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you pleaſe my mother* (42). As to his affability and generoſity, we have ſpoken ſufficiently already; but it may not be amiſs to note, that the wiſeſt, both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of *Piſiſtratus*, which they agree was the chief inſtrument he uſed in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another teſtimony ſtill ſtronger than the former, *viz.* from the mighty apprehenſions the *Athenians* were in, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himſelf a prince, becauſe in his countenance and manner of ſpeaking he was ſaid to reſemble *Piſiſtratus* (44). *Cicero*, writing to *Atticus* concerning *Cæſar*'s conqueſt of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain, whether the victor would prove a *Phalaris* or a *Piſiſtratus* (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worſt of tyrannies and the beſt. It may therefore be affirmed of *Piſiſtratus*, that of all the ſovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greateſt juſtice, ſince both *Solon* and *Cicero* teſtify as much, and ſince it was thought the higheſt compliment that could be paid *Cæſar*, that he governed like another *Piſiſtratus*. We have ſeen many inſtances of his humanity; there is yet another which ought not to be ſuppreſſed. *Thraſibulus* or *Thraſimedes* was in love with *Piſiſtratus*'s daughter, and it ſeems was not hated by her. When therefore ſhe was going in a public proceſſion to ſacrifice, the young man imprudently kiſſed her, with which *Piſiſtratus*'s family was ſo much diſguſted, that they entreated him to puniſh ſeverely this inſolent offender; to which *Piſiſtratus* mildly anſwered, *If we are ſevere to thoſe who love us, what ſhall we do to thoſe that hate us? Thraſimedes*, either encouraged by this, or diſtracted by his paſſion, drew in ſome young men of his acquaintance to aſſiſt him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as ſhe came to the ſhore to offer ſacrifice to the ſea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the ſail they could for *Ægina*. *Hippias*, being at that time employed in ſcowring the ſeas of pirates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark and recovered his ſiſter. When the delinquents were brought before *Piſiſtratus* and threatened with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their

(42) *Plutarch. Apophtheg.* (43) *Dion. Chryſ. Orat* xxii. *Cicer. de Orat. lib.* iii. *c.* 34. *Iſocrat. in Panathen.* (44) *Plutarch. in vita Periclis.* (45) *Lib.* vii. *epiſt.* 20.

offence.

the former only had the title, and others, that *Piſiſtratus* bequeathed his authority, not only to theſe two, but alſo to

offence. *Piſiſtratus*, when he had a while conſidered them, told *Thraſimedes*, that he beſtowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the *Athenians* on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his intereſt (46). Amongſt the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of *Homer* is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore neceſſary to inform our readers how this was performed, the rather becauſe it is contained in an extract from a *Greek* book, the whole of which is hitherto unpubliſhed; and this very extract not eaſily met with. Our author ſays, that *Piſiſtratus*, conſidering the various ways by which *Homer*'s poems had been corrupted, and fearing leſt in the end they ſhould be totally loſt, he cauſed public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that all who were poſſeſſed of any genuine works of *Homer*, ſhould bring them to him, promiſing to give them ſo much a line, which he punctually performed, even where ſeveral perſons brought the ſame verſes; becauſe to the firſt the money was due, and the latter he ſaid deſerved it for their good will; he cauſed the whole to be reviſed by the moſt experienced critics, amongſt whom *Zenodotus* and *Ariſtarchus* were the chief (47). He is ſaid to have had three wives, two before he arrived at the ſovereignty, and the third the daughter of *Megacles*, whom, as we have ſhewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the firſt he had *Hipparchus*, whom *Juſtin* calls *Diocles*, and *Hippias*, but her name is not known; the ſecond was called *Timonaſſa*, an *Argive* by birth, by whom he had *Jophon* and *Theſſalus*; when he was about to marry this woman, his ſons came to him and aſked him, If any miſbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? *No*, anſwered he, *I approve your conduct ſo much, that I would have more children like you* (48). Yet he refuſed to have children by his laſt wife, becauſe her family, though noble, was ſtained with an indelible mark of infamy among the *Athenians*. The name of his daughter is not known. Beſides theſe children by his wives, he had a baſtard ſon, by an *Argive* woman, whoſe name was *Hegiſtratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeium*, whither his ſon *Hippias* retired when expelled by the *Athenians* (49). As to the dates when the ſeveral memorable tranſactions above recited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them; we ſhall therefore poſtpone what we have to ſay of them, till we come to the death of *Hippias*, and then conſider the whole matter together.

(46) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib.* v. *c.* 14. (47) *Diomed. in Comment. Dionyſ. Thrac. de arte Gram. apud Meurſ. in Præfat. Gronov. Theſ. Græc. Vol. IV.* (48) *Plutarch. de vita Caton.* (49) *Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi ſupra.*

his

his third ſon *Theſſalus*[g]; clear it is, that *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a perſon of great ſweetneſs of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and alſo himſelf a very learned man. He directed, that the rhapſodiſts, a ſort of bards by profeſſion, ſhould at the great feaſt ſtiled *Panathenæa* ſing all the poems of *Homer*, that the *Athenians* might be generally inſtructed both in the ſciences and in the moral conduct of life. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindneſs, and kept him always near his perſon, and ſent a galley on purpoſe to bring the celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens*[h]. *Onomacritus* was another of his favourites, but he having been caught in the fact of interpolating the oracles of *Muſæus*, *Hipparchus* not only diſmiſſed him his court, but baniſhed him *Athens*[i]. So aſſiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he cauſed in city and country, but eſpecially in the latter, ſtatues of *Mercury* to be ſet up, and certain wiſe counſels in *Elegiac* verſe to be inſcribed on both ſides of them. Sometimes there was only a ſhort ſaying, ſuch as, *This is the precept of* Hipparchus, *be thou ſtrictly juſt*, or *deceive not thy friend*. On account therefore of theſe ſhining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the *Piſiſtratidæ* ſeemed to be thoroughly and quietly eſtabliſhed[k]. But when it was leaſt expected, a conſpiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which ſucceeded in reſpect to *Hipparchus*, and narrowly miſſed with regard to *Hippias*. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumſtances; as to the moſt material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are theſe: There were two young men in *Athens*, *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, the former was exquiſitely beautiful in his perſon, and on that account, according to the infamous cuſtom of the *Greeks*, violently beloved of the other; this *Harmodius* was alſo beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him; *Ariſtogiton* grievouſly reſented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their reſentment; *Hipparchus* finding that *Harmodius* endeavoured to avoid him, publicly affronted him, by not permitting his ſiſter to carry the offering of *Minerva*, as if ſhe was a perſon unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to ſhew any public ſigns of reſentment, conſulted privately with their friends, among whom

[g] ATHENÆUS Deipnoſ. lib. xiii. THUCYD. ubi ſupra. HERAC. PONT. Fragm. [h] PLATO, ubi ſupra. [i] HERODOT. lib. vii. [k] PLATO, ubi ſupra.

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it was resolved, at the approaching festival of the *Panathenæa*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to restore *Athens* to liberty; the conspirators believing that the people would be unanimous in support of a design so manifestly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this design into execution, and the conspiracy appeared, as it had been agreed on, near the person of *Hipparchus*, they perceived at a distance one of their own number talking very familiarly with *Hippias*; this amazed them, they were afraid that he had discovered to him the conspirators, taking courage therefore from the supposed desperate state of their affairs, they instantly fell on *Hipparchus*, and with a multitude of wounds dispatched him. The people, however, did not second them in this exploit, but suffered *Harmodius* to be killed upon the spot by *Hipparchus*'s guard, and having seized *Aristogiton* themselves, delivered him up[n]. *Herodotus*, who was very curious in picking up strange stories, relates a very odd one in relation to this transaction; *Hipparchus*, he tells us, in the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handsome youth standing by him, who repeated distinctly these obscure lines:

Lion unmov'd, sustain the greatest ill;
For punishment attends injustice still.

AT break of day he acquainted such as had skill in dreams with what he had seen; what their interpretation was, *Herodotus* does not inform us, he adds, that at length *Hipparchus*, despising this omen; went to celebrate the feast, and was there slain in the manner we have related[o]. *Hippias* behaved on this occasion with great prudence; he dissembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preserve himself and family: He approached the great crowd of people with his guards, and having picked out such as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conspirators, he dismissed the rest[p]. As for the *Athenians* in general, though they seemed to have a high esteem for the *Pisistratidæ*, and had been governed by them with great gentleness for the space of a long series of years, and had not made any general insurrection in order to favour the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths to a height scarce to be accounted

[n] THUCYD. lib vi. PLATO, ubi supra. ÆLIAN. var. hist. lib. xi. 8. [o] HERODOT. lib. v. [p] THUCYDID. lib. vi.

for; they caused their praises to be sung at the *Panathenæa*[q]; they forbad any citizen to call his slave by either of their names[r]; they erected brazen statues for them in the forum, which statues, as *Pliny* informs us, were the work of *Praxiteles*[s]; these statues *Xerxes* afterwards carried into *Asia*, from whence they were sent back to *Athens*, either by *Alexander*[t], *Antiochus*[u], or *Seleucus*[x]; for authors do not agree which. They likewise granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the descendants of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we shall see elsewhere[y] (P).

The supreme power being now in the hands of *Hippias*, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity unknown to his family before, and which was the worse born, because himself had been so mild a prince. The first effects of this change in his temper fell upon those concerned in the late conspiracy, he ordered *Aristogiton* to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him

[q] Dion. Chrys. Orat. xi. Philost. in vit. Apoll. lib. vii. c. 2. [r] Liban. Declam. xxix. [s] H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. [t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. [u] Pausan. in Atticis. [x] Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 10. [y] Demost. Orat. in Leptin.

(P) The history of *Hipparchus*'s murder is variously reported. *Thucydides* says expressly, that *Harmodius*, who was in the flower of his age, was beloved by *Aristogiton* a citizen of the middle rank, and ascribes the murder of *Hipparchus* to his rival's hatred (50). *Aristotle* calls *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* lovers (51), and so does *Maximus Tyrius* (52). *Justin* differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After *Pisistratus*'s death, *Diocles*, one of his sons, says he, having ravished a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (53). He had this probably from *Trogus Pompeius*, whose work he abridged; but where he had it is not known. *Aristogiton* is said by some authors to have been an humble dependant on *Harmodius*, and his mistress *Leæna* no better than a singing-woman who used to attend at feasts (54). On the whole therefore, whatever honours the *Athenians* thought fit to decree these men, their conspiracy seems rather the effects of passion, than any desire to do their country good; or at best, the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it suited the *Athenians*, who were violent enemies to the government of a single person, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.

(50) *Thucyd. lib.* vi. (51) *Rhetor. lib.* ii. (52) *Maxim. Tyr dissert.* (53) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 9. (54) *Plin. lib.* vii. *cap.* 23.

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the names of thoſe who were privy to this tranſaction. This man, as ſoon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named ſome of *Hippias*'s beſt friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the ſame fate, and when *Hippias* aſked him if there were not ſtill ſome others, he replied ſmiling, *I know of none now, but yourſelf, that deſerves to ſuffer death*[z]. But it was not *Ariſtogiton* only who triumphed over the cruelty of *Hippias*; a woman he kept, whoſe name was *Leæna*, behaved with no leſs intrepidity than he. *Hippias* having directed her to be tortured in order to extort diſcoveries, ſhe bore it patiently as long as ſhe was able, but when ſhe found ſhe could endure it no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue, and ſpit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man ſhe loved. The *Athenians*, conceiving it indecent to ſet up the ſtatue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themſelves with erecting that of a lioneſs without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven theſe words, *Her tongue herſelf bit off*[a]. This conſpiracy being, as *Hippias* conceived, thoroughly quaſhed, he took all the meaſures, which human policy could ſuggeſt, to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he increaſed his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the *Athenians* to bring in their ſilver coin at a certain price, and coined new. Theſe violent methods ſoon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preſerved it ſo long. *Hippias* held the ſovereignty only three years after the demiſe of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled[b] (Q).

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[z] POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 22. [a] PLUT. de Garr.
[b] HERODOT. lib. v. c. 45.

(Q) It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that in ſpeaking of the government of the *Piſiſtratidæ* we have aſſerted, that they did not greatly violate the laws or conſtitution of their country. In order to explain this, we muſt deſcend a little into the particulars of *Piſiſtratus*'s policy. He pretended, as we ſee in his letter to *Solon*, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth, but ſuffered them to continue veſted with the ſame power they had before, taking care, however, that the archon ſhould be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on; ſo that he at once preſerved that ſuperiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which

The Pisistratidæ expelled Athens, and the democracy restored.

WE have already obſerved, that *Megacles*, who was of the family of *Alcmæon*, left his country, when *Piſiſtratus* was a ſecond time reſtored, but he and thoſe who were with him carried away a great ſum of money; the *Alcmæonidæ*, for ſo the family of *Megacles* from their great anceſtor *Alcmæon* were ſtiled, ſettled at *Lipſydrium* in *Pæonia*, and there gave refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few; for *Piſiſtratus*, as ſome ſay, or as others report, *Hippias*, baniſhed all that depended on that family, and ſuffered not ſo much as the dead to reſt in their graves, on the old ſuperſtitious account, it may be, of their being thought *execrable* c. This family reſiding, as we have ſaid, at *Lipſydrum*, buſied themſelves intirely in contriving means for expelling the *Piſiſtratidæ*, and at laſt deviſed a method which proved not unſucceſsful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons* or ſtates-general of *Greece* to rebuild the temple of *Delphi*; as they were poſſeſſed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontiſpiece with *Parian* marble inſtead of common ſtone, to the uſe of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public ſervice of *Greece*, they ſerved themſelves too a lit-

c SUIDAS.

was ſo pleaſing to them. That all the family of *Piſiſtratus* had in their turns a ſhare in the adminiſtration, might be made appear from various teſtimonies; at preſent we will inſiſt only on one. *Piſiſtratus*, the ſon of *Hippias*, and grandſon of the great *Piſiſtratus*, as we learn from *Thucydides* (55) placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; the inſcription on the former the *Athenians* demoliſhed, but that on the latter they ſuffered to remain, which ran thus: *This monument, during the time of his magiſtracy,* Piſiſtratus *the ſon of* Hippias *placed in the temple of the* Pythian Apollo. It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, becauſe the year in which he was archon could not be ſettled, however, the authority before produced may be aſſuredly relied on. The exceſſes committed by *Hippias*, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildneſs of the adminiſtration preceding it; for few things that he did would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with obſerving, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* affected, like *Piſiſtratus*, to leave the popular magiſtrates and the ſenate in the nominal poſſeſſion of their authority, though at the ſame time he held the ſupreme power himſelf.

(55) *Thucyd. lib.* vi.

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tle; for they corrupted the *Pythia*, i. e. ſhe who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedemonians* who came to conſult the oracle, either on behalf of the ſtate or on their private account, to deliver *Athens*. This had the effect they expected, for the *Lacedemonians*, finding this admonition inceſſantly inculcated, ſent *Anchimolius*, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into *Attica* to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithſtanding the *Piſiſtratidæ* were at that time their good friends and allies [d]. *Hippias*, however, receiving advice of theſe proceedings, ſent to the *Theſſalians*, who were his confederates, to demand their aſſiſtance, who readily ſent him a thouſand horſe under the command of *Cineas* one of their princes. A ſhort time after, *Anchimolius* with his fleet arrived on the *Athenian* coaſt, and immediately after the army landed and incamped. The *Piſiſtratidæ* did not, however, abandon *Athens*, but *Hippias*, having cleared the adjacent country in ſuch a manner that the *Theſſalian* horſe might act with eaſe, attacked the *Lacedemonians* ſuddenly, routed them with a great ſlaughter, ſlew their general *Anchimolius*, and obliged the ſhattered remains of his army to betake themſelves to their ſhips. The body of the *Spartan* general was honourably interred near the temple of *Hercules* in the *Cynoſarges*. The *Lacedemonians*, incenſed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to ſend another army into *Attica*, which accordingly they did under their king *Cleomenes*, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the *Athenian* territories defeated the *Theſſalian* horſe, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made uſe of this opportunity to beſiege *Hippias*, who had retired within the *Pelaſgic* wall; this ſiege, however, could not have produced any great matter, *Hippias* and his forces being well provided with all things within, *Cleomenes* and his army deſtitute of all things without; but an accident changed the ſcene, and conſtrained *Hippias* to abandon *Athens*. The *Piſiſtratidæ* were ſo careful of their children, that to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to ſend them out of *Attica*; which meaſure of theirs, though intended for the preſervation of their offſpring, proved the ruin of themſelves, their children falling into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Piſiſtratidæ*, retaining ſtill the ſame affection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of *Attica* in order to redeem them [e]. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any

[d] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [e] ARISTOPH. Lyſiſtr. PAUSAN. in LACON.

danger

danger of wanting a place of refuge: The princes of *Theſſaly* invited them into their country, the king of *Macedon* offered them a city and territory if they would retire into his dominions [f]. But *Hippias* and his family choſe rather to go to the city of *Sigeium*, which *Piſiſtratus* had conquered and left behind him to his poſterity, *Herodotus* ſays to *Hegiſtratus* his natural ſon. From this time forwards the *Athenians* purſued this family with implacable hatred, retaining ſuch a ſenſe of their uſurpation, that, leſt other eminent perſons ſhould imitate them, and through their intereſt in the people aſſume the ſovereignty, they were moſt ready to baniſh even the moſt worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be ſafe, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſhew in the ſucceeding pages of this hiſtory.

The *Athenians* did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, as they expected, after the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidæ*. The people were quickly divided into two factions, at the head of the one was *Clyſthenes*, the moſt eminent of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and at the head of the other *Iſagoras* the ſon of *Tirſander*, a man of great quality and in high eſteem with the nobility of *Athens*. *Clyſthenes*, who was a perſon of great parts, as we may gueſs from his having a principal hand in corrupting the *Pythia*, which was the prime cauſe of *Hippias*'s expulſion, applied himſelf chiefly to the people, and, in order thoroughly to engage them in his intereſt, ſought by all methods poſſible to encreaſe their power. With this view he altered many things in *Solon*'s ſcheme of government; for whereas till this time the *Athenian* tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten, and encreaſed the ſenate from four hundred to five. *Iſagoras*, penetrating his deſign, and readily conceiving that by this courſe he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately reſolved to ſeek aid from the *Lacedæmonians*. This ſeemed to him the more eaſy, becauſe in their laſt expedition he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Cleomenes* their king; he likewiſe deviſed a very proper expedient for the expulſion of his rival, *viz.* the ſo often mentioned ſtory of the putting to death *Cylon*'s aſſociates after their taking ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*; but, as we have heretofore obſerved, the *Alcmæonidæ* were of the ſame family with *Megacles*, who was principally concerned in that tranſaction: the *Lacedæmonians* readily came into *Iſagoras*'s propoſition, and *Cleomenes* ſuddenly diſpatched a herald to *Athens*, with a declaration of war in caſe the *Alcmæonidæ* were not immediately baniſhed. The *Athenians*, either dreading

[f] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

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the *Lacedemonian* power, or being tired already of *Clyſthenes*, made no great difficulty of the thing; but to avoid a war baniſhed their benefactors. The worſt of it was; that this did not anſwer their end, for *Cleomenes*, at the head of a *Spartan* army, ſoon after entered *Attica*. On his arrival at *Athens* he drove ſeven hundred families into baniſhment, excluſive of thoſe whom the *Athenians* had before baniſhed with *Clyſthenes*; after this he would have diſſolved the ſenate, and have veſted the government in three hundred of the principal perſons of *Iſagoras*'s faction; this was puſhing the matter too far; the *Athenians* therefore, perceiving that either they muſt ſubmit to ſlavery or reſiſt the *Lacedemonian*, immediately took up arms, and conſtrained *Cleomenes* and his troops to retire, together with *Iſagoras* and his friends, into the citadel, where they beſieged them for two days. On the third the king of *Lacedæmon*, being now convinced that force would do nothing with the *Athenians*, ſurrendered upon theſe terms, that all who were in the citadel ſhould have leave to retire out of *Attica* unmoleſted. The *Athenians*, however, fell upon ſuch as were ſeparated from the army, and put them to death without mercy; amongſt theſe was *Timeſitheus* the brother of *Cleomenes*, ſo that the *Athenians* no longer kept any meaſures with the *Lacedemonians*, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things ſought to ſubvert that democracy, of which they were ſo fond, and to conſtitute an ariſtocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the *Spartans*, who, wherever they had authority, ſet up that form of rule. One reaſon of which among others was this, that they could better depend on the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates than ſuch as were governed by the people, who very ſeldom know their true intereſt, and are frequently prevailed on to change their counſels. But to return to the current of our hiſtory.

Cleomenes and his *Spartans* had no ſooner quitted the *Athenian* territories, than the people of that country recalled *Clyſthenes* and all the families they had ſent into exile, that they might be the better able to ſupport a war which they foreſaw they ſhould be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, *Cleomenes* raiſed forces throughout all *Peloponneſus*, though without declaring poſitively his intention, which was to make *Iſagoras*, who was ſtill with him, tyrant of *Athens*. When all things were ready, the *Lacedemonian* king engaged the *Bœotians* on one ſide, and the *Chalcidians* on the other, to attack the *Athenians*, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of *Eleuſis*. The *Athenians*, knowing that it was impoſſible for them to ſet on foot armies ſufficient to look all their enemies in the face, reſolved to leave

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their territories to the mercy of the *Bœotians* and *Chalcidians*, and with all the forces they could draw together to march againſt *Cleomenes*. This reſolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution; but before the armies were ready to engage, the *Corinthians*, who were among the forces of *Cleomenes*, began to doubt the juſtice of their cauſe, and, thinking it ſafeſt not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. *Damaratus* the ſon of *Ariſton*, the other king of *Sparta* and collegue of *Cleomenes*, was alſo againſt this expedition; and his oppoſition was the more remarkable, becauſe till then he had never differed with his collegue. The confederates obſerving, that neither the *Lacedemonian* princes could agree amongſt themſelves, or prevail upon the *Corinthians* to remain with the army, began to diſtaſte this buſineſs, and, dropping off by degrees, put the *Athenians* out of fear.

When the *Spartans* and their allies were withdrawn, the people of *Athens* determined to revenge themſelves upon the *Chalcidians*, againſt whom the army marched immediately; but finding the *Bœotians* had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces between them and the *Euripus*, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Bœotians* were intirely routed, a great number of them ſlain, and ſeven hundred taken priſoners. This victory opened a free paſſage into *Eubœa*, whither the *Athenians* paſſed over the ſame day, and falling upon the *Chalcidians*, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vaſt number of priſoners, whom with the *Bœotians* they carried back with them to *Athens*, leaving in *Eubœa* four thouſand men. All the priſoners taken in this battle the *Athenians* put in irons, though they afterwards ſet them at liberty on receiving two *Minæ* for each man by way of ranſom. The fetters, however, they hung up in the citadel, and having conſecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ranſom, they purchaſed therewith a chariot with four horſes a-breaſt, which they ſet up in the portico of the citadel with this inſcription:

Warm with juſt rage, when the *Athenian* youth
O'ercame *Bœotian* and *Chalcidian* bands;
Their foes in fetters bound, to *Pallas* then
Theſe as the tenth of all their ſpoils, they plac'd.

This happy ſucceſs of the *Athenian* arms falling out in a ſhort time after the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, *Herodotus* makes the following obſervation thereupon; "thus the affairs of "the *Athenians* flouriſhed, yet they are not the only example "of this kind. For all places abound in inſtances of the "proſperity that attends an equal diſtribution of power. Un-

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" der their tyrants indeed they were not inferior in war to " any of their neighbours: But they had no ſooner freed " themſelves from that ſervitude, than they far ſurpaſſed all " the reſt, and became the principal nation of *Greece*; which " manifeſtly ſhews, that as long as they were oppreſſed they " acted remiſsly, and would not exert their courage to the " utmoſt, becauſe they knew their victories could only re- " dound to the advantage of their maſters; whereas, after " they had recovered their liberty, every man contended who " ſhould do beſt, becauſe they fought for themſelves. And " ſuch was the ſtate of the *Athenian* affairs" [g]. That *Herodotus* had reaſon to introduce this reflection here, appears from the ſubſequent conduct of the people of *Athens*, who, no longer paſſive under any affronts, took up arms frequently againſt her inſulting neighbours, and forced them to be both quiet and ſubmiſſive.

The war with the Æginatians.

THE *Bœotians*, ſtung with the indignities offered to their countrymen, when made priſoners by the *Athenians*, reſolved to revenge themſelves; and, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, before they began the war, ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*. Having received its anſwer, and having ſpent a conſiderable time in conſulting on its meaning, they at laſt reſolved to engage the inhabitants of *Ægina* to invade *Attica* at the ſame time, which it was eaſy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coaſt. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the *Athenians*, and being elate on account of their great wealth, readily embraced the propoſal; and, while the people of *Athens* bent all their attention towards the *Bœotian* war, landed a conſiderable army on the oppoſite ſide, and waſted all the ſea-coaſts. The *Athenians* immediately took fire at this, but ſending to and fro to *Delphi* before they equipped a fleet againſt *Ægina*, they had ſuddenly a new affair upon their hands.

Cleomenes, when he returned to *Sparta*, after his unſucceſsful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he ſaid he had found in the citadel of *Athens*, while he was beſieged therein; the purport of theſe oracles was, that *Athens* would in time rival *Sparta*. On the back of this came out the diſcovery of *Clyſthenes*'s confederacy with the prieſteſs of *Apollo*, whereby the *Lacedemonians* had been engaged to drive the *Piſiſtratidæ* out of *Athens*, or, in other words, to ſacrifice their faſt friends to ſuch as by their intereſts were bound to be their enemies. The *Spartans*, repenting ſorely of the folly they had committed, ſent for *Hippias* from *Sigeium*, in order to reſtore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their ſummons;

[g] HERODOT. lib. v.

and, though it coſt him a long voyage by ſea, came in perſon to *Lacedæmon*, where the kings of *Sparta*, and the deputies of the ſtates in alliance with them, were in deep conſultation. *Soſicles* the *Corinthian* made a long harangue againſt the propoſition for reſtoring *Hippias*, which had ſuch an influence on the deputies from the reſt of the confederates, that the *Lacedemonians* found it impoſſible to engage them in this deſign, and were therefore conſtrained to abandon it themſelves, ſo that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Sigeium*, without relinquiſhing, however, his hopes of one day reducing *Athens*.

The Ionian *war.*

Ariſtagoras the *Mileſian* having ſet on foot a revolt in *Ionia*, and having failed in his attempt to engage the *Lacedemonians* to abet it, came to *Athens*, and, as *Herodotus* obſerves, found it eaſier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to perſuade the *Lacedemonian* king. In conſequence of his fine ſpeeches, they decreed, that twenty ſhips ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Ionians* under the command of *Melanthius*, an *Athenian* nobleman univerſally eſteemed; by the aſſiſtance of which fleet the *Ionians* did many great exploits, and amongſt the reſt ſacked *Sardis*; of which when the *Perſian* king had advice, he declared himſelf the ſworn enemy of *Athens*, and ſolemnly beſought God, that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the ſource of thoſe wars which followed afterwards between the *Perſians* and the *Greeks*, and which were ſo fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the *Ionians* were unſucceſsful, and the *Perſians* reduced them again under their yoke.

When the *Ionian* war was ended, the *Perſian* king ſent to demand *Earth* and *Water*, as tokens of ſubmiſſion, from the *Greeks*, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at ſea, moſt of the iſlanders yielded, and amongſt the reſt the inhabitants of *Ægina*. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads, that this nation had ſubmitted themſelves to the great king, that they might be at liberty to act againſt the *Athenians*, under colour of their being ſubject to the *Perſian* crown. On this account *they*, that is the *Athenians*, ſent ambaſſadors to *Sparta* to accuſe the inhabitants of *Ægina* of treachery towards the *Greeks*. The *Spartans* upon this complaint ſent their king *Cleomenes* to *Ægina*, who on his arrival attempted to ſeize the perſons principally concerned in making their ſubmiſſion to the *Perſians*. But when he attempted this, *Crius* the ſon of *Polycritus* interpoſed, and told him, he ſhould not carry away any of his countrymen, becauſe he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commiſſion from the *Lacedemonians*. This exceedingly irritated *Cleomenes*, who notwithſtanding

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was conſtrained to return without effecting what he deſigned, his collegue *Damaratus* having accuſed him at home. But having after he came back procured his collegue to be depoſed, and his own kinſman *Leotychides* to be crowned in his ſtead, he brought the laſt mentioned prince with him into the iſland of *Ægina*, and having ſeized ten of the principal perſons of that iſland, and amongſt them *Crius* before mentioned, he brought them away priſoners, and delivered them up to the *Athenians*. Not long after having in his phrenzy killed himſelf, all his tyrannical acts were diſapproved by the *Spartans*, who, on the inhabitants of *Ægina*'s accuſing *Leotychides* for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who, however, deſired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to *Athens* in order to ſolicit thereleaſe of *Crius* and his aſſociates. When they arrived there the *Spartan* king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to ſhew, that the hoſtages were only depoſited by him and his collegue in *Athens* that they might be ſafe, and that, now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the *Athenians* did not, or would not, underſtand, ſo that the war between them and the people of *Ægina* was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The latter being informed, that the *Athenian* galley, which went annually to *Delphi*, lay at anchor at *Sunium*, they reſolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many perſons of diſtinction aboard it. The *Athenians*, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one *Nicodromus*, a perſon of great intereſt in *Ægina*; he had been formerly baniſhed his country by thoſe who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them reſolved to betray it to the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* for this purpoſe fitted out a conſiderable fleet, but not thinking it ſufficient for their purpoſe, *Ægina* being then miſtreſs of thoſe ſeas, they had recourſe to the *Corinthians* for their aſſiſtance; this ſtate, being the faſt friend and ally of *Athens*, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ſhips; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the *Athenians* obtained what they wanted; and yet the *Corinthians* did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ſhips in conſideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty fruſtrated the *Athenian* hopes, for *Nicodromus*, depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed ſeized on the old town and declared for the *Athenians*; but he and his party, not being able alone to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, were obliged to ſecure themſelves by flight, which they did the very day before the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* fleet appeared before *Ægina*. This

defection of *Nicodromus*, however, proved very beneficial to the *Athenians*; for they having assigned to him and his associates land on the shore opposite to *Ægina*, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the issue was of this war, *Herodotus* does not inform us: It is generally conceived, that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the *Athenians* and for *Greece* in general; for it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little understood. When the first news came, that the *Persian* had in view the conquest of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina*, as well as the rest of the *Grecian* states, compromised their differences, that they might be the better able to resist the power of the great king, who threatened at least the liberties of the *Greeks* in general, in revenge for the *Athenians* assisting the *Ionians* when they sought to recover their freedom *.

Hippias endeavours to be restored to the principality of Athens.

We have already taken notice of the displeasure which *Darius* had taken against the *Athenians* on account of the sacking of *Sardis*; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of *Hippias* in order to obtain by force the principality of *Athens*, from whence, as we have before related, thro' the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from *Lacedæmon* to *Asia*, went to *Artaphernes*, governor of the adjacent provinces for the *Persian* king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promising, that himself would be obedient to *Darius*, and greatly further all his designs, in case he could be restored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at *Athens*. The *Athenians* were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propositions he had made to *Artaphernes*, they therefore sent ambassadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to *Hippias*'s proposals, but to suffer the people of *Athens* to remain free and quiet as they were. But *Artaphernes*, conceiving that it would be more for his master's interest to have a prince governing *Athens*, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, answered the *Athenians* haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive *Hippias* and obey him; but this was so distasteful to that generous people, that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of *Darius* all the assistance they could, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut him out so much work near home, that he might have no opportunity

* Herodot. ubi supra.

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to attempt any thing either againſt them or *Greece*: At laſt, however, *Darius* commiſſioned *Mardonius* to revenge him of the inſults which he conceived had been put upon him by the *Greeks*; but *Mardonius* and his troops, through a ſtorm at ſea and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* the ſon of *Artaphernes* were commiſſioned to do what he was to have done [h].

The Perſian *war.*

THE misfortune which the *Perſians* had had in ſuffering ſhipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of *Athos*, made ſuch an impreſſion on the commanders laſt mentioned, that they reſolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of *Cilicia*, and paſſing over from thence through the *Cyclades* to *Eubœa* in order to deſtroy *Eretria*; and from thence to proceed to *Athens*, they having it in charge from *Darius* to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his diſpoſal. The *Eretrians*, as ſoon as they had advice of the arrival of the *Perſian* fleet among the *Cyclades*, ſent to demand aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*. That ſtate, with a magnanimity ſcarce to be parallelled, ordered the four thouſand men whom they had left in the *Chalcidian* territory to advance to the aid of the *Eretrians*, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither ſteady nor honeſt; one party was for receiving the *Athenian* ſuccours into the city, and holding out to the laſt extremity; a ſecond was for abandoning the city, and retiring to the mountains of *Eubœa*: A third party ſought to betray their country to the *Perſians* for the ſake of private advantage. *Æſchines* the ſon of *Nothon*, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the ſituation things were in, generouſly informed the commanders of the *Athenian* troops, and adviſed them to return home: in conſequence of which advice they immediately retired to *Oropus*, and thereby eſcaped that total deſtruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of *Eretria*. For that city, being betrayed to the *Perſians* by ſome of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants ſold for ſlaves, according to the command of *Darius*.

THE *Athenians*, who, as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themſelves, and perſecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal and earneſtneſs, when they heard that the *Perſians* were ſo near them. They raiſed with the utmoſt expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not

[h] Id. ibid.

draw

draw together above nine thouſand men. Theſe, with a thouſand *Plateans* who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among theſe were *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*, all men of diſtinguiſhed valour and great abilities. But it being generally conceived, that it would be impoſſible for them, with their ſmall forces, to give any interruption to the *Perſians*, they ſent *Phidippides* to *Sparta* to intreat the immediate aſſiſtance of that ſtate. This man, as *Herodotus* informs us, affirmed afterwards to the *Athenians*, that paſſing by mount *Parthenius*, he heard himſelf loudly called by his name, upon which turning about, he beheld the god *Pan*, who, after asking him why the *Athenians* held him in no greater eſteem, aſſured him, that he had deſerved very well of their ſtate, and would continue to do ſo; of which when the people of *Athens* had information, they cauſed a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thence forward with annual ſacrifices, and a lamp continually burning. *Phidippides*, after this ſtrange adventure, arrived on the ſecond day at *Sparta*, where he communicated his buſineſs to the ſenate in the following terms: *Men of* Lacedæmon, *the* Athenians *deſire you to aſſiſt them, and not to ſuffer the moſt antient of all the* Grecian *cities to be enſlaved by the* Barbarians. Eretria *is already deſtroyed, and* Greece *conſequently weakened by the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place.* The *Lacedemonians* readily agreed to what he propoſed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the ſame time declared, that they would not depart in leſs than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition, but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The *Perſians* in the mean time being informed by *Hippias*, that the plains of *Marathon* would be the moſt advantageous place for them to engage in, becauſe it would afford them room to act with their horſe; they following his advice, after the deſtruction of *Eretria*, made all the haſte they poſſibly could thither, of which when the *Athenians* had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to *Marathon* alſo. An act of amazing confidence, conſidering the mighty diſproportion between the *Perſian* and *Athenian* army.

The battle of Marathon. *Year after the flood*, 2509. *Before Chriſt* 490.

The *Athenians*, being encamped at the temple of *Hercules*, were there joined by a thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the little city of *Platæa*, which ſhe now hazarded in the cauſe of *Athens* out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council

(R) The city of *Platæa* was in old times free. *Herodotus* has given us a very full account of the reaſons which induced its inhabitan-

council of war being held here, the generals were very much divided in their opinions; ſome were for fighting, others not; *Miltiades*, obſerving this, and conſidering the great importance of the matter in debate, addreſſed himſelf to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, who was *Polemarch*, and whoſe power was equal to that of all the other generals, in theſe words; "You alone, O *Callimachus*, muſt now determine, either "to ſee the *Athenians* reduced to the condition of ſlaves, "or, by preſerving the liberty of your country, have an e- "ternal monument of your fame, ſurpaſſing the glory of "*Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. For the *Athenians* were ne-

bitants to raiſe their utmoſt force in the cauſe of *Athens*. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words; "The *Plateans* were already under the protection of *Athens*, and "the *Athenians* had gone through many dangers in their defence. "For when the *Plateans* ſaw themſelves oppreſſed by the *Thebans*, "they firſt offered their ſubmiſſion to *Cleomenes* the ſon of *Anax-* "*andrides* and to the *Lacedemonians*. But they rejected the offer "in theſe terms: *We are placed*, ſaid they, *at ſuch a diſtance from* "*you, that in time of neceſſity our ſuccours will prove ineffectual.* "*For your country may be frequently ravaged before we can be inform-* "*ed of your danger. We adviſe you therefore to put your ſelves un-* "*der the protection of the* Athenians, *who are your neighbours, and* "*ſufficiently able to defend you.* This counſel the *Lacedemonians* "gave, not out of any good will to the *Plateans*, but becauſe they "were deſirous to ſee the *Athenians* weakened by a war againſt the "*Bœotians*. However, the *Plateans*, approving their advice, "went to *Athens*, and arriving there, when the *Athenians* were "met to ſacrifice to the twelve gods, they ſat down by the altar in "the poſture of ſuppliants, and made their ſubmiſſion to that "place. Which when the *Thebans* heard, they ſent an army a- "gainſt *Platæa*, and at the ſame time the *Athenians* marched to "aſſiſt the *Plateans*. But as they were ready to engage in battle, "the *Corinthians*, apprehending the conſequences, interpoſed their "good offices to reconcile the contending parties, and, with the "conſent of both ſides, determined the diſpute on this agreement; "*That the* Thebans *ſhould permit all thoſe* Bœotians, *who would no* "*longer be accounted members of* Bœotia, *to do as they thought moſt* "*convenient for themſelves*. After this reconciliation the *Corinthians* "returned home, and as the *Athenians* were retiring likewiſe, the "*Bœotians* fell upon them in their march, but were repulſed with "loſs. Upon which ſucceſs the *Athenians* enlarged the frontiers of "the *Plateans*, and inſtead of that appointed by the *Corinthians*, "fixed the limits of the *Thebans* at *Aſopus* and *Hyſia*. In this man- "ner the *Platæans* came under the protection of the *Athenians*, "and joined their forces at *Marathon* (55)".

(55) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

"ver

"ver in ſo great danger from the time they were firſt a peo-
"ple. If they fall under the power of the *Medes*, one may
"eaſily imagine what uſage they muſt expect from *Hippias*:
"But if they conquer, *Athens* will be the principal city of
"*Greece*. To let you know then by what means theſe things
"may be effected, and from what cauſe the fate of *Athens*
"is now in your hands, I ſhall acquaint you, that we are at
"this inſtant divided in opinion touching a battle; ſome of
"us propoſing to fight, and others adviſing the contrary. If
"we decline a battle, I foreſee ſome great diſſention will ſhake
"the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance
"with the *Medes*. But if we fight before the corruption
"ſlides into the hearts of the *Athenians*, we may hope from
"the equity of the gods to obtain the victory. All theſe
"things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the
"reſolution you ſhall take. For if you would ſupport my
"opinion with the acceſſion of your vote, you will ſee your
"country free, and *Athens* the moſt illuſtrious city of *Greece*:
"But if you join with thoſe who would diſſuade us from a
"battle, you can expect no other conſequences, than ſuch
"as are moſt contrary to theſe hopes". *Callimachus*, whoſe voice was deciſive according to the *Athenian* laws, joined directly with *Miltiades*, and declared for giving battle immediately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but *Ariſtides* giving up his day to *Miltiades*, the reſt did ſo too. That excellent perſon accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but he would not fight till his own proper day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent ſparks of jealouſy and envy, any of the generals ſhould be led not to do their duty. But when the day before-mentioned came, he, without waiting for any farther ſuccours, diſpoſed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his ſtrength in the wings. *Callimachus*, as *Polemarch*, commanded on the right, the *Platæans* were poſted on the left, and the ſacrifices being offered, they began inſtantly to advance with inexpreſſible ardour towards their enemies. The *Perſian* army was ranged in battalia near a mile off, and when they beheld the *Athenians* running towards them, they imputed it to folly and ignorance of military diſcipline, and were convinced of this, when they obſerved that they had neither horſe nor pikemen. However, they ſoon found their error when the charge began: For the *Athenians* and *Plateans* fought with ſuch obſtinate valour on the right and left, that the *Barbarians* were forced to fly on both ſides. The *Perſians* and *Saccæ*, however, perceiving that the *Athenian* centre was weak, charged with ſuch force that they broke through it: This thoſe on the right and left perceiv-

ed, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the *Persian* army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious *Persians*, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as fast as they could, to their fleet, whither the *Athenians* pursued them. When therefore the *Persians* in haste hurried on board the booty they had acquired in *Eretria*, and sought to escape by sea that ill fate which attended them on shore; the *Athenians* in order to hinder this, began to set the ships on fire, and to board such as lay nearest the shore; in which bold attempt, though they had some success, yet the *Persians* at last got under sail, and bore away for *Athens*[i]. It was reported in those times, that the *Alcmæonidæ* encouraged the *Persians* to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal; however it was, the *Persian* fleet endeavoured to double the cape of *Sunium*, with a view to surprize the city of *Athens* before the army could return. But *Miltiades* seeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving *Aristides* with a thousand men to guard the prisoners and the spoil, marched at the head of the other nine thousand with such diligence, that they arrived at the temple of *Hercules* in *Cynosarges*, which was but at a small distance from the city, before the *Barbarians* were in a condition to attack it. Which when the *Persian* admiral had notice of, he sailed from the port of *Phalerum* for *Asia*, and so put an end to a very unfortunate expedition[k].

THE battle of *Marathon* makes deservedly a great figure in history; *Cornelius Nepos* assigns a just reason, because never before had so small a body of forces overcome so vast a host[l]. *Herodotus* tells us, that six thousand three hundred of the *Persians* were slain there, and of the *Athenians* one hundred ninety two[m], which is infinitely more probable than what *Justin* relates of the *Persians* losing two hundred thousand men in the battle and by shipwreck[n]. The same author says, that the *Athenians* took many of the ships, and destroyed many more; *Herodotus* says, there were only seven ships taken. Certain it is, that the *Athenians* behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that several amongst them distinguished themselves in a most extraordinary manner. *Calli-*

[i] HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Miltiad. VALER. MAX. &c. [k] PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist. [l] ubi supra. [m] ubi supra. [n] lib. ii. c. 9.

machus the *Polemarch*, after having done all that a brave and wise officer could do, loſt his life in the field; *Staſileus* the ſon of *Thraſilus*, one of the ten commanders, was alſo killed; *Cynegyrus* the ſon of *Euphorion* laid hold on the prow of one of the *Perſian* ſhips with both his hands, and having them ſtruck off by an ax died of his wounds; this is *Herodotus*'s account. *Juſtin* carries matters much farther; he ſays, that *Cynegyrus*, having done wonders in the fight, purſued the *Perſians* to the ſhore, and laid hold on a ſhip ready to ſail with his right hand, when that was cut off he ſeized it with his left, of which being likewiſe deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his ſpirit being ſuch, that, untamed by long fatigue and the loſs of both his hands, he, with the rage of a wild beaſt, fought at laſt with his teeth. *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks ſo modeſtly of *Cynegyrus*'s bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one *Epizelus* the ſon of *Cephagoras*; he ſays, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a ſudden loſt his ſight without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the reſt of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed that he heard this man declare, that he thought he ſaw a man of uncommon height ſtanding by him in complete armour, holding a ſhield, which was covered by his beard; and that this phantom afterwards, paſſing by him, killed the perſon who was poſted next to him. Whatever we may think of the *Athenian* ſtory, this muſt be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus*'s account of this battle deſerves credit in all probable circumſtances, ſince what he relates he had from the mouths of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes. The number of the *Perſians* is very differently reported; *Juſtin* ſays, that they were ſix hundred thouſand, *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the *Athenians*, that is one hundred thouſand, which is probably not far from the truth [o].

Amongst the many eminent perſons who were preſent in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, who hoped through the power of the *Perſians* to be reſtored to the principality of *Athens*. He it was, who, as we have ſaid before, conducted the *Barbarians* into the plains of *Marathon*, when, as *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded, that he ſhould be reſtored and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was buſy giving direction as to the diſpoſal of the booty taken at *Eretria*,

[o] *In vita Miltiad.*

and

and putting the *Perſian* troops in order on the ſhore, he was ſeized with ſuch a fit of coughing and ſneezing, that moſt of his teeth grew looſe, and one of them fell out of his head upon the ſtrand, for which when thoſe about him had long ſought in vain, *Hippias*, fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be ſubdued by us, and I ſhall have no other part here than that where my tooth lies*. This was his ſecond, and, as it happened, the more juſt conſtruction of his dream [p]. As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are ſilent thereupon. *Juſtin* [q] and ſome other later authors ſay, that he was killed there; if he was, the *Athenians* loſt in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving miſchiefs againſt them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting (S).

Ariſtides

[p] Ubi ſupra. [q] Ubi ſupra.

(S) We have more than once in the text promiſed to ſpeak of the family of *Hippias*; he married *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had alſo another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charinus* (57). Amongſt theſe children was *Piſiſtratus* junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had alſo a daughter whoſe name was *Archidice*, who married the ſon of the tyrant or prince of *Lampſacus*. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inſcription to the following effect: *This earth covers* Archidice *the daughter of* Hippias, *a man in his time famous throughout* Greece, *who though her father, huſband, and brothers were princes, ſuffered not her mind to be elated therewith* (58). *Hippias* viſited her before he went to the *Perſian* court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehenſion that the expedition, in which he was about to embark, might ſome way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was certainly, according to the uſual rules of interpretation, fortunate, and ſo it was accounted to *Julius Cæſar* (59); but it may be that this interpretation was with a reſtriction, that the perſon dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas *Hippias* at the time of this dream was in the *Perſian* hoſt warring againſt his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deſerves any farther account, *viz.* that among the *Perſians* it was held ominous, and a ſign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* ſpeaks of it in theſe terms, *Neſarius Hippias Piſiſtrati filius, qui*

(56) *Thucyd. lib.* vii.
(57) *Clidem. ap. Athen. lib.* xiii.
(58) *Thucyd. ubi ſupra.*
(59) *Suetonius in vita J. Cæſaris*, cap. vii.
(60) *Achem. Oenacrit.* cxxviii.

Ariſtides, who remained on the field of battle while *Miltiades* marched back to *Athens*, diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity; for though there was much gold and ſilver in the *Perſian* camp, and though the tents and ſhips they had taken were full of riches of all ſorts, yet he neither took any thing himſelf, nor omitted to the utmoſt of his power the neceſſary precautions to prevent other peoples meddling therewith. Yet ſome there were, who, in ſpite of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themſelves by private plunder, particularly *Callias the torch-bearer*, *Ariſtides*'s couſin german (T). For this man having

in Marathonia pugna cecidit, arma contra patriam ferens (61). *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it likewiſe (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another ſtory; he ſays, that the *Barbarians* being routed, *Hippias* retired to *Lemnos*, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes, brought on a miſerable and painful death, which he reckons a puniſhment for his having conducted the *Perſian* forces into the plains of *Marathon*. The reader will pardon the length of our hiſtory of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, when he conſiders, that, from the time of *Piſiſtratus* his aſſuming the ſovereignty to the death of *Hippias* at the battle of *Marathon*, there intervened upwards of fourſcore years.

(T) *Torch-bearers*, ſtiled in *Greek Daduchi*, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even into the moſt ſacred myſteries. On this account, *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office (63). We have obſerved in the text from *Plutarch*, that *Callias* was miſtaken for a king, becauſe of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in uſe among the eaſtern nations; the reaſon of this was, that amongſt the antients it was an opinion almoſt univerſally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and prieſt; on this account the *Romans* preſerved the title of *Rex* among their ſacred officers when they expulſed the *Tarquins*, and the *Athenians*, as we have heard, ſtiled their ſecond archon, who preſided in the public ſacrifices, *Baſileus*; ſo that in affairs relating to the gods, both the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, though they hated monarchy, made uſe of kings. The ſame notion prevailed through the eaſt, for we find *Jeroboam* ſtanding by the altar at *Bethel*, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64). And *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, when he had been victorious over the *Philiſtines*, *Arabians*, and *Ammonites*, was lifted up in his heart, and deſired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being prieſt of the moſt High God (65).

(61) *Ad Attic. lib.* ix. *cap.* 10. (62) *Adv. Gentes.*
(63) *In Atticis.* (64) 1 *Kings* xiii. (65) 11 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.

long

long hair and a fillet about his head, one of the *Perſians* took him for a king, and falling down at his feet diſcovered to him a vaſt quantity of gold hid in a well; *Callias* not only ſeized it and applied it to his private uſe, but moſt inhumanly put to death the poor man who ſhewed it him, to prevent his diſcovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemiſhed his own reputation, but tranſmitted infamy to his poſterity, who, notwithſtanding their eminency in the ſtate, were ſtiled by the comic poets *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*[r], an example which merits conſideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in hiſtory. The *Athenians* in token of their reſpect towards thoſe brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inſcriptions containing their names and the names of their tribes and families. At ſome diſtance they erected other monuments for the *Platæans*, *Bœotians*, and ſlaves, who were ſlain here. They likewiſe cauſed this battle to be painted in the *Pœcilian* portico, where the *Platæan* auxiliaries were repreſented, as well as the *Athenian* ſoldiers, and at the head of theſe their ten captains, *Miltiades* holding the firſt place[s], which was all the reward they beſtowed upon them.

IT cannot ſeem ſtrange, that the *Athenians* were highly elate on this victory. In the firſt tranſports of their joy they granted all the *Platæans* the freedom of their city; as for *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*, who had exceedingly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, they were for the preſent treated with all the marks of gratitude and reſpect they could have wiſhed, though in their turns we ſhall ſee them all ſlighted, proſecuted, and condemned. While *Miltiades* was thus high in the peoples favour, he propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, that he ſhould be intruſted with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips well manned and provided, promiſing them, that he would put them in poſſeſſion of great riches, and make the expedition in other reſpects turn to vaſt account. The *Athenians* readily embraced this project, and fitted out ſuch a fleet as he deſired, of which *Miltiades* taking the command ſailed to *Paros*. The reaſon he pretended for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants thereof had aſſiſted the *Perſians* with ſhips in the expedition of *Marathon*, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one *Lyſagoras* a *Parian* had done him ill offices with *Hydarnes* the *Perſian*. As ſoon as he arrived on the iſland, he ſent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hun-

[r] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [s] CORN. NEPOS, in vita Miltiad.

dred

dred talents to be paid him, threatening in case of refusal to besiege the city, and, in case he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his soldiers. The *Parians*, however, were not to be terrified, they refused so much as to deliberate on his proposition, but, on the contrary, provided themselves the best they could for an obstinate defence. *Miltiades* caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one *Timo* a *Parian* woman, who was a priestess, pretended to inform him how he should take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of *Ceres the lawgiver*, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being seized with a sudden horror and resolving to go back, he re-ascended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot slipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or dislocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was constrained to raise the siege, after having lain twenty six days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without effecting any thing to *Athens* [u]. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and *Xanthippus* the father of the famous *Pericles* accused him to the general assembly for deceiving the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* says; of treason, as *Cornelius Nepos* informs us; or rather of peculation, as *Justin* from *Trogus Pompeius* acquaints us, for that is much the most probable opinion, and for this he demanded that they should pass upon him sentence of death. The unhappy *Miltiades* was in no condition to defend himself, nature had already passed that judgment which his enemies sought; his wound perhaps through lowness of spirits had induced a mortification, so that he could not be moved out of his bed. His brother *Tisagoras* spoke for him; he represented to the *Athenians*, that this *Miltiades*, who had failed in his last expedition, had saved *Athens* at *Marathon*, and had conquered for them the island of *Lemnos*; he therefore entreated them to remember his past services, as well as his present error, and to pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deserved capital punishment, but at the same time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition; and because he was unable to pay this great sum, they put him into a goal, says *Cornelius Nepos*, where he died; but *Herodotus* says, that his son *Cimon* paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in prison, him-

[u] Herodot. ubi supra.

self

ſelf being alſo ſent thither on the ſame account, and remaining confined, till *Callias* furniſhed him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife *Elpinice*, who was alſo his ſiſter by the one ſide [x]. Such was the gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* and his family. If the nature of this work would have allowed it, we ſhould have digreſſed in favour of ſo great a man, who, out of his paſſion for his country, quitted ſovereignty to ſerve the *Athenians*; but conſidering that this manner of writing would protract the *Athenian* hiſtory exceedingly, we have contented ourſelves with throwing into a note at the bottom of the page ſuch circumſtances relating to *Miltiades* as are neceſſary to be known (U).

THE

[x] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN ubi ſupra. CORNELIUS NEPOS in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The hiſtory of the family of *Miltiades*, and their becoming princes is related by *Herodotus*; he ſays, that the *Thracian Dolonces*, inhabiting a part of *Cherſoneſus*, and having ſuffered much in a war againſt the *Abſynthians*, ſent to inquire of the oracle at *Delphi* whom they ſhould elect king, to which they received for anſwer, that they ſhould invite him to lead a colony into their country, who ſhould firſt invite them into his houſe, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the *Dolonces* paſſed by the ſacred way, through the territories of the *Phoceans* and the *Bœotians*, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. In that time *Piſiſtratus* had indeed the ſupreme power, but *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cypſelus* was not without authority in *Athens*, being of an illuſtrious family antiently deſcended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards eſtabliſhed among the *Athenians* by *Philæus* the ſon of *Ajax*, the firſt of that blood who ſettled there. This *Miltiades* ſitting before his gates, and ſeeing the *Dolonces* paſſing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, called out to them, and upon their coming to him deſired they would be his gueſts, and accept the entertainment of his houſe. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hoſpitably entertained acquainted him with the oracle, and requeſted him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. *Miltiades* hearkened to their propoſition, and complied with more readineſs, becauſe he grew impatient of the government of *Piſiſtratus*, and deſired an opportunity to withdraw. In theſe ſentiments he went to *Delphi* to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould yield to the requeſt of the *Dolonces*, and received an encouraging anſwer from the *Pythian*. Upon which *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cypſelus*, who had formerly been victorious in the *Olympian* chariot-race, taking with him all ſuch *Athenians* as were willing to join in his expedition, ſet ſail with the *Dolonces*, and arriving in their country was inveſted with the ſovereign power. The firſt thing he did

The contests between Aristides and Themistocles.

THE people of *Athens*, being now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, fell as usual into dissentions among themselves;

did was to build a wall upon the isthmus of *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pontya*, in order to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions; this isthmus is thirty six stades in breadth; and the whole length of *Chersonesus* beginning in that place is four hundred and twenty stades. When *Miltiades* had built this wall on the neck of *Chersonesus*, and by that means excluded the *Absynthians*, he in the next place made war upon the *Lampsacenians*, and falling into an ambuscade was taken alive by the enemy. *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia* being informed of this event, threatened the people of *Lampsacus* with his displeasure, in case they did not release *Miltiades*; which they taking into consideration, and being afraid to disoblige so great a monarch, restored *Miltiades* to freedom. Thus having escaped by the means of *Cræsus*, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to *Stesagoras* the son of *Cimon*, his brother by the same mother. The *Chersonesians* honour him with sacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accustomed manner, having instituted gymnastic and equestrian exercises on that occasion, in which no *Lampsacenian* is permitted to contend for the prize. During the war which still continued against the people of *Lampsacus*, *Stesagoras* likewise died without children; being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who, pretending to be a deserter, was indeed a most cruel enemy. After his death the *Pisistratidæ* sent *Miltiades*, the son of *Cimon*, and brother of *Stesagoras*, to *Chersonesus* with one ship to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father *Cimon*, who was assassinated by their order. Arriving in *Chersonesus*, he kept himself retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Stesagoras*; which the *Chersonesians* hearing, the principal persons of every city assembled together, and coming to his house with intentions to condole with him, were all seized and imprisoned. By this means *Miltiades* made himself master of *Chersonesus*, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married *Hegesipyle* daughter to *Olorus* king of *Thrace*. But he had not been long in possession, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of *Chersonesus*. Nevertheless upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was again restored by the *Dolonces*; and in the third year after this, hearing that the *Phœnicians* were at *Tenedos*, he put all his riches on board five ships and sailed for *Athens*. The reader may possibly think this note very long, But there was a necessity for it, since so eminent an author as *Cornelius Nepos* hath rendered the history of this great

themſelves; they were divided on the old ſubject, whether all things ſhould be in the power of the people, or whether the ſtate ſhould be governed only by the beſt. *Ariſtides*, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and *Themiſtocles* was chief of the other. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the character of each of theſe great men, that the nature of their diſputes and the conſequences of them with reſpect to the ſtate may be the better known. *Ariſtides* was the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, of the tribe of *Antiochis* and ward of *Alopece*. *Themiſtocles* was the ſon of *Neocles* of the tribe of *Leontes*, by his mother's ſide a ſtranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family; *Plutarch* tells us, that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, not only in ſerious matters, but even in their ſports and plays; nor could it well be otherwiſe, for *Ariſtides* is ſaid by him to have been firm and ſteady in his behaviour immoveable in every thing that appeared juſt, and incapable of uſing the leaſt falſhood, flattery, or deceit, even in jeſt; whereas *Themiſtocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of ſpirit, ſubtle, daring, complaiſant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he ſpent even his times of recreation in ſtudy, and was wont to divert himſelf with compoſing orations, in which he either excuſed or accuſed ſome of his companions, whence his ſchoolmaſter pro-

great man unintelligible by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiſcuouſly the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting *Lemnos* into the hands of the *Athenians*, it happened thus: The inhabitants of that iſland, having had long differences with the *Athenians*, and being admoniſhed by the *Delphian* oracle to compromiſe them, they ſent to *Athens* to know upon what terms it might be done; the *Athenians* offered them no other than the abſolute ſurrender of their country, to which the *Lemnian* deputies anſwered, that they would obey when a ſhip from the *Athenian* dominions ſhould come with a north-wind in one day into a haven of *Lemnos*, which becauſe *Attica* was ſituated to the ſouth of *Lemnos*, they conceived impoſſible; but *Miltiades*, being poſſeſſed of the *Cherſoneſus* and ſailing from a port in the *Helleſpont*, arrived in one day at *Lemnos*, driven thither by a ſtrong north-wind, upon which he immediately demanded that the iſland ſhould be given up to him, which partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the *Athenian* territories. As to the impriſonment of his ſon as well as himſelf, and the manner in which his fine was at laſt diſcharged, *Cornelius Nepos* expreſsly aſſerts it, as delivered in our text, whereas the account given of it by *Plutarch* is neither clear nor conſiſtent.

nounced thus of him; *Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary perſon, but will at ſome time or other become either a mighty bleſſing, or an outrageous curſe to thy country.* As they grew up, they differed ſtill the more in their ſentiments and conduct; *Ariſtides* ſtudied the laws of *Lycurgus*, and by the reaſoning of that great man became a favourer of ariſtocracy. *Themiſtocles*, rather out of ſpleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cauſe of the people: and thus childiſh quarrels, ripening into a ſtrong averſion in the breaſts of two private men, created great diſorders in a potent ſtate, and ſhook the very conſtitution of *Athens* [z].

How much ſoever the diſſenſions between *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* might in fact injure the *Athenian* ſtate, and how ready ſoever they might be to oppoſe each other, even in points where they were conſcious that what they oppoſed was right, yet it muſt be owned, that they ſincerely loved their country, and were aſhamed and ſorry for the very things they did. *Ariſtides* was the honeſter man of the two, and therefore the more frank. When *Themiſtocles* had one day propoſed to the aſſembly of the people ſomething much for their advantage, *Ariſtides* made a long oration againſt it, which ſo far miſled the people, that they rejected what *Themiſtocles* had propoſed. *Ariſtides* was, however, ſo much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the aſſembly he could not help ſaying, *The* Athenians *can never be perfectly ſafe, till they have ſent* Themiſtocles *and me to goal* [a]. We have before ſhewn, how not only men of rank in *Athens*, but all *Athenian* citizens, had ſeats in courts of judicature. As theſe rivals differed in every thing, ſo they were oppoſite in their notions of what a man's duty was in ſuch a ſtation. *Ariſtides* conceived, that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and paſſion; whereas it was a common ſaying with *Themiſtocles*, *God forbid, that I ſhould ever ſit on a tribunal, where my friends ſhould not have more favour than ſtrangers.* *Ariſtides*'s conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himſelf ſo much upon acting ſtrictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the ſurname of *juſt*, and was looked upon as the moſt worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themiſtocles*, inſtead of repining, rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an eaſy thing to deſtroy a rival arrived at ſo high a reputation [b]. The *oſtraciſm* was already introduced

[z] Plut. & Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ariſtid. & Them. [a] Plut. ubi ſupra. [b] Plut. in vit. Themist. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ariſt.

into

into the *Athenian* ſtate, though it is not certain by whom, ſome ſay by *Piſiſtratus*, or rather by his ſons; others by *Clyſthenes*; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the *oſtraciſm* till we come to a particular inſtance of it. By this men, eminent to ſuch a degree as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years. *Plutarch* ſays, this exile was not a puniſhment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, uſed as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people for thoſe apprehenſions with which they were ſo often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the *oſtraciſm* was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or ſhell, on which having wrote the name of the perſon he would have baniſhed, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place which was encloſed with rails; then the magiſtrates began to count the number of the ſhells; for if they were leſs than ſix thouſand, the vote did not take place; but if they ſurpaſſed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of ſhells was of courſe exiled for ten years, with free leave, however, to make what uſe he thought fit of his eſtate (X) c.

It

c PLUT. in vit. Ariſt.

(X) The *Oſtraciſm* makes ſo great a figure in all the *Greek* hiſtory, and occurs ſo often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit, that we ſhould give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from *Oſtracon*, which ſignifies *a tile*, becauſe at firſt the names of perſons baniſhed in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen veſſels (66). *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that ſuch as were ejected from their country by the *Oſtraciſm* were allowed to return in five years (67); but in this he is miſtaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whom this puniſhment fell to quit the *Athenian* territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the groſs number of the ſhells, and rendering the *Oſtraciſm* void, if they did not amount to ſix thouſand, was a great point in favour of eminent perſons, ſince in a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it muſt have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon ſuch a deſign. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the author of ſo extraordinary a law as this ſhould not be known; and yet it is

(66) *Suidas. Heſychius. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt.*
(67) *Biblioth lib. xi.*
(68) *Pollux.*
(69) *Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. ad Equit.*

It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Themiſtocles* could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he effected it by cauſing it to be whiſpered about, that *Ariſtides*, having aſſumed the name of *juſt*, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had inſenſibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; *for what* (ſaid the agents of *Themiſtocles*) *conſtitutes a tyrant but giving laws?* On a ſudden, and when it was leaſt expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the *forum*, and demanded the *Oſtraciſm*. One of the clowns from a borough in *Attica*, who could neither write nor read, brought his ſhell to *Ariſtides*, and ſaid, *Write me* Ariſtides *upon this*. *Ariſtides* ſurpriſed aſked him, if he knew any ill of that *Athenian*, or if he had ever done him hurt. *Me hurt!* (ſaid the fellow) *no, I don't ſo much as know him, but I am weary and ſick at heart on hearing him every where called* The juſt. *Ariſtides* therefore took the ſhell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a ſtrong proof of his firmneſs of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magiſtrates ſignified to him that the *Oſtraciſm* fell upon him, he retired modeſtly out of the *forum*, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven and ſaid, *I beſeech the gods, that the* Athenians *may never ſee that day which ſhall force them to remember* Ariſtides [f].

[f] Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in vit. Ariſt. & Themiſt.

certain, that about no hiſtorical point authors differ more. *Ælian* aſcribes it to *Clyſthenes* beforementioned (70); *Diodorus Siculus* ſays it took place under the *Piſiſtratidæ* (71), and many are of that opinion beſides him. For *Plutarch* reports, that *Hipparchus* was baniſhed under their adminiſtration (72). *Heraclides* fixes this general aſſertion to *Hippias*, whom he expreſly declares the author of this ſevere practice (73). *Photius*, in his extracts from *Ptolemy Hephæſtion*, aſcribes it to *Achilles* the ſon of *Lyſon* (74); but *Suidas* and *Euſebius* both ſet it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, *viz* under the reign of *Theſeus*. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no diſpute, that it ended in the baniſhment of *Hyperbolus*. This practice *Ariſtotle* ſeems to aſcribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are aſſured by various authors, that the *Argives*, *Mileſians*, *Megarenſians*, and *Syracuſians* had the ſame law, though under different titles, amongſt them.

(70) *Var Hiſt. lib. xiii. c.* 14. *In vit. Niciæ.* (73) *De Rep. Polit. lib. iii. c.* 13. (71) *Biblioth. lib. xi.* (72) (74) *Biblioth. lib. vi.* (75)

The

THE war againſt the inhabitants of *Ægina* revived after the battle of *Marathon* and was carried on by both parties with great animoſity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of *Nicodromus*'s party, and put many of them to death, with ſuch circumſtances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneaſy. The *Athenians* had revenged the death of their confederates in ſeveral expeditions, but the inhabitants of *Ægina* had in their turn done the ſubjects of *Athens* conſiderable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at ſea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ſhips better, than their neighbours. *Themiſtocles* conſidering this, continually exhorted the *Athenians* to obſerve and weigh it in their minds. He alſo gave them to underſtand, that in his opinion the *Perſian* war was ſo far from being ended that it was but begun, becauſe it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that *Xerxes*, who ſucceeded his father in his empire, would not alſo ſucceed him in his hatred to the *Grecians*, from whom the honour of his empire had ſuffered ſo much. Having often inſiſted on theſe topics, he had at laſt the boldneſs to move, that the money produced by the ſilver mines, which hitherto the *Athenians* had divided amongſt themſelves, ſhould be applied to building ſhips, with which, being thoroughly poſſeſſed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundered gallies were immediately put upon the ſtocks; and this ſudden increaſe of the *Athenian* fleet, with their addicting themſelves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preſerving, not only *Athens*, but all *Greece* in the enjoyment of its liberties, as *Themiſtocles* rightly foreſaw it would [g].

The Greeks prepare to reſiſt the Perſians.

BY this time, that is, about three years after the baniſhment of *Ariſtides*, the *Athenians* found, that *Themiſtocles* had ſpoke the truth, when he affirmed that the *Perſian* war, inſtead of being ended, was but juſt begun; for *Xerxes*, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conqueſt of *Greece*, ſent meſſengers with a *Greek* interpreter to its ſeveral republics to demand *Earth* and *Water*. *Themiſtocles*, deſiring to make the breach ſtill wider between theſe two nations, engaged the *Athenians* to ſeize the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to publiſh the decrees of the king of *Perſia* in the language of the *Greeks*. This act of ſeverity was followed by another; one *Arthmius* of *Zele* a town in *Troas* had ſettled at *Athens*, and had an half freedom granted him;

[g] HERODOT lib. vii. PLUT. in Themiſt.

him; this man, having received large ſums of money from the king of *Perſia*, endeavoured to corrupt ſome of the principal perſons of the city therewith, for which *Themiſtocles* procured him to be baniſhed *Attica* by ſound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Laſtly, with the aſſiſtance of *Chileus* the *Arcadian*, he engaged the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* to lay aſide their quarrels, and to provide for their mutual defence [h].

When it came to be debated who ſhould be appointed the general of the *Athenians*, in caſe the *Perſians* ſhould invade them, one *Epicydes*, a great orator, but a man otherwiſe little capable of the charge, influenced the people ſo much by his ſpeeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. *Themiſtocles*, ſeeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, ſtrained his own circumſtances and bought him off. By engaging him to deſiſt, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then left capaple of contending with him, ſo he was preſently elected [i].

When news came to *Athens*, that the *Perſians* were upon the point of invading *Greece* by the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, and that to this end they were tranſporting their forces by ſea, *Themiſtocles* adviſed his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a diſtance; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himſelf at the head of their army, and having joined the *Lacedemonians* marched towards *Tempe*. But when advice came, that the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* were forced, and not only *Theſſaly* but *Bœotia* had yielded to the *Perſians*, the army returned without effecting any thing [k].

The reſponſes of the Delphian *oracle.*

The *Athenians* in this diſtreſs ſent meſſengers to the *Delphian Apollo*, who, on their arrival having performed the uſual ceremonies, ſat down in the ſanctuary, and there received from *Ariſtonica*, who was at that time prieſteſs, the following oracle.

[h] Æschin. cont. Cteſiph. Plut. in vit. Themiſt. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt. [k] Id. Ibid.

Fly

Fly to the fartheſt regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and ſhun th' impending ill.
Fly from your houſes, and deſert your walls;
For total ruin ſhall ſubvert that place.
An angry *Mars* in *Aſia* born ſhall come,
And all your ſtately piles, and temples burn.
I ſee the ſacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs covered with ſweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate [l].

THE *Athenian* deputies were extremely amazed at this anſwer; they therefore humbled themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, beſeeching a better anſwer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The prieſteſs, feeling herſelf a ſecond time inſpired, delivered at length the following reſponſe:

Pallas in vain has uſed her utmoſt art,
To pacify the wrath of angry *Jove*.
So that my preſent anſwer muſt again
Of almoſt adamantin hardneſs be.
Yet for *Minerva*'s ſake the god will give
A ſafe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of *Cecrop*'s, or *Cithæron*'s ſacred hills
Theſe, theſe alone impregnable ſhall prove,
But never ſtay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horſe and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you ſee them, ſave yourſelves by flight,
The divine *Salamis* ſhall loſe her ſons;
Tho' *Ceres* be brought home, or left abroad [m].

THE *Athenian* deputies having wrote down this anſwer brought it away, and produced it to the general aſſembly at *Athens*, where the people were mightily divided about its true ſenſe and meaning: Many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be underſtood, becauſe, as we obſerved before, it was paliſaded, but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ſhips, and therefore adviſed their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged againſt ſuch as ſupported the latter, that the two laſt lines of the oracle were

[l] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [m] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

directly

directly againſt them, and that they without queſtion portended the deſtruction of the *Athenian* fleet near *Salamis*. *Themiſtocles*, however, declared for truſting in the fleet, and in anſwer to what was urged from the laſt lines of the oracle, alledged, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the deſtruction of the *Athenians*, ſhe would not have called it the divine *Salamis*, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were ſtiled the ſons of women, it could mean no other than the *Perſians* who were ſcandalouſly effeminate. All diſcreet people concurred in their ſentiments, that *Themiſtocles* had moſt judiciouſly interpreted the oracle, and that the *Athenians* could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The *many*, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto; the leaving their country and eſtates bore hard upon them; their forſaking their houſes and employments ſtill harder; their leaving the tombs of their anceſtors and the temples of their gods hardeſt of all. But *Themiſtocles* had a ſet of arguments in ſtore for them, he made the very notions which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over the prieſts who attended in the temple of *Minerva*, he cauſed them to give out that the dragon refuſed to eat; that the offerings ſet before him were found untouched; that at laſt it diſappeared; ſo that without doubt the goddeſs had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. By degrees the populace were ſo intoxicated with theſe pious frauds, that they made no manner of queſtion of the *Perſians* being defeated, and that *Salamis* would be the place. They therefore decreed, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, that all ſuch as were of age to bear arms ſhould embark on board the fleet, and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken for the preſervation of children, women, and ſlaves. One *Cyrſilus* an orator vehemently oppoſed the decree, he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpleſs infants; but the *Athenians*, conceiving that the falling in with his propoſition would betray a mean deſire of preſerving life, tho' at the expence of liberty, ſtoned him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, and the women to ſhew how little they reliſhed ſuch arguments, and how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of *Greece* ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife. And thus *Themiſtocles* not only perſuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their ſafety, but even infuſed into them the ſame ſpirit with which he himſelf acted [n].

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt.

When

WHEN they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourse to the council of *Areopagus*, who, from funds to us unknown, distributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this sum not being sufficient, *Themistocles* with his usual quickness devised an expedient for furnishing the rest of the money. He gave out, that in the present hurry somebody had stolen from the statue of *Minerva* her shield, whereon the head of *Medusa* was engraven, and having authority granted him to search for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the use of the public. The people, in this their great distress, began to lament the loss of *Aristides*, and to express their apprehensions, lest he, to revenge himself of the ingratitude of his country, should go over to the *Persians*. *Themistocles* thereupon proposed a decree, that all who were banished might return again in order to assist the *Greeks* with their counsels and persons; thus he who had been banished by the artifices of *Themistocles* was recalled by his virtue. *Aristides*, on his return, behaved himself with more than ordinary civility to *Themistocles*, and did not suffer any aversion to that general's person to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs ° (Y).

The Athenians *quit their city.*

NOTWITHSTANDING

° Id. ib.

(Y) At the same time that the *Greeks* thought of defending the pass of *Thermopylæ* by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the *Persian* navy through the straights of *Eubœa*, which fleet rendezvoused at *Artemisium*. We have taken no notice of this in the text, because we shall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elsewhere; but inasmuch as the *Athenians* sent a squadron of ships, and on board them *Themistocles*, to this place, we are obliged to take some notice of his conduct here. The *Eubœans*, not being able to prevail with *Eurybiades* to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to *Themistocles*, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed *Eurybiades*. Then *Adiamanthus* the *Corinthian* being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor, *Themistocles* went on board him, and told him in few words, *Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the king of the* Medes *would send you for deserting the allies.* Which he performed by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the *Eubœans* requested, and put 22 talents into his pocket. In the succeeding engagement *Themistocles* and all the *Athenians* behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applause of all *Greece*. At length, when it was thought necessary to retire from *Artemisium*, *Themistocles* caused certain stones to be set up in all the ports, with

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Athenian* fleet was superior to that sent by any of the confederates, nay to all the rest of the fleet taken together, yet such was the power of the *Lacedemonians*, that the command thereof was committed to *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man either unskilful, or wanting fortitude enough for such an undertaking; for he, when danger approached, was for standing away for the gulph of *Corinth* in order to join the land army; which when *Themistocles* vehemently opposed, *Eurybiades* was pleased to say, *Such as rise up before the rest at the olympic games are lashed.* To which the *Athenian* wisely answered, *But they that are left behind are never crowned.* *Eurybiades* at this lifting up his batoon, as if he would have struck him, *Themistocles* cried out, *Ay, strike if you will, but hear me*; upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his staff, and patiently attended to his discourse. One of the *Lacedemonians*, however, who had not so much sense as the admiral, replied to *Themistocles*'s oration, that it did not become such, as had neither house nor home of their own, to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habitations. *Themistocles*, taking fire at this, said, "We have indeed, base fellow, left our houses and our walls, not thinking it fit to become slaves, for the sake of those things that have neither life nor soul, and yet our city is the greatest of all *Greece*, as consisting of two hundred gallies, which are here to defend you, if you please; but if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the *Greeks* will soon perceive, that the *Athenians* can find for themselves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have left". In a word, he took such pains to demonstrate to this assembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madness to think of fighting any-where but where they were, that the wisest of the *Grecian* captains concurred with

inscriptions intreating the *Ionians* either to desert the *Barbarians* and join the *Greeks*, who were fighting for their liberty, or at least to act but faintly in the cause of their master, remembering, that they were originally *Greeks* themselves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the assistance given by the *Greeks* to them. This he did with double intent; first to influence the *Ionians* to act as he desired; secondly to give the *Persian* monarch a jealousy of them, that he might be the less inclined to trust those in whose power it was to do him most service, since the *Ionians* were by far the best seamen in his fleet (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

Hum-

him. The chief of his arguments were these: He shewed them, that if once they retired from *Salamis*, the fleet would never fight at all, because being made up of quotas from different states, the several squadrons would immediately sail back to their own ports, and leave the common cause of *Greece* without defence; that fighting before the isthmus, which was the scheme of the opposite party, would be attended with two dreadful consequences; the one, that *Salamis* and *Ægina*, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other, that with a small fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open sea; that, on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of *Salamis*, the *Persians* would not have near so great an advantage from the number of their ships, because the front of the line would be on both sides nearly equal; that fighting here would effectually save *Peloponnesus*, whereas retiring to the coast thereof would draw the *Persians* thither, and induce all those consequences which those that proposed it sought to shun. As to the wall built cross the isthmus upon which some depended, he shewed, that it was a foolish and ridiculous defence, in case they yielded the superiority of the sea to the *Barbarians*, who would then make their descents on every side of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. These arguments, with the dread *Eurybiades* was in, that, in case he took other measures, the *Athenians* would desert him and sail to *Italy*, as *Themistocles* had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this resolution they remained for some time [p].

THE courage of the *Athenians* on this occasion can never be enough commended, since the chief cause of that fear which spread itself among the rest of the *Greeks* was the miserable destruction of the city of *Athens*. We have already given so full an account of this matter in the *Persian* history, that there is no necessity of repeating it here. We shall content ourselves with noting two or three things, which will illustrate the history now before us. Such of the *Athenians* as had fled to the *Acropolis* or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the sword. The *Persians*, with whom the descendants of *Pisistratus* returned, shewed no mercy to such as obstinately refused to submit themselves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples and setting fire to all the sacred things, which gave such high offence to the *Greeks*, these were not so properly to be ascribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to

[p] HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

their zeal; for we have ſhewn before, that the *Perſians* were *deiſts* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and looked upon temples, images, and altars, as they were the marks of *polytheiſm*, to be ſo many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cauſe that they deſtroyed them without pity, as their reſentment of the injuries done them by the ſtates of *Athens* engaged them to ſhew no mercy to ſuch of its people as fell into their hands.

Debates among the generals of the Greeks.

When *Xerxes* drew down all his land-forces to the ſea-ſide, and at the ſame time cauſed his fleet to approach that of the *Greeks*, the *Peloponneſians*, who were in that navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preſerve *Peloponneſus* from being ravaged. To this end a council of war was ſummoned, for their murmurs ran ſo high, that *Eurybiades* was afraid of their deſerting; in this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither liſten to arguments, nor pay any reſpect to authority. *Themiſtocles* therefore, ſeeing his opinion ſet aſide by the *Peloponneſians*, reſolved to take meaſures for forcing them to ſtay; for, as *Herodotus* informs us, withdrawing privately from the aſſembly, he ſent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a ſmall veſſel, properly inſtructed; the name of this man was *Sicinus*, he was tutor to *Themiſtocles*'s children, and every way capable of being made the inſtrument of great things. When he arrived in the *Perſian* fleet, he was conducted to their council of general officers, to whom he delivered the following meſſage, as from *Themiſtocles*. "The "general of the *Athenians*, who is in the intereſt of the king, "and deſires your affairs may proſper rather than thoſe of "*Greece*, has ſent me privately away with orders to let you "know, that the *Grecians* in great conſternation have determined to betake themſelves to flight, and that you have "now an opportunity of atchieving the moſt glorious of all "enterprizes, unleſs your negligence opens a way to their eſcape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not "oppoſe your forces; but you will ſee thoſe who are your "friends fighting againſt thoſe who are not of your party". This meſſage had its deſired effect; the *Perſians* conceived, not without ſome ſhow of reaſon, that the *Athenians*, finding it to no porpoſe any longer to oppoſe the great king, were reſolved by this piece of intelligence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be reſtored [q]. They therefore made all the preparations neceſſary for ſhutting up the *Grecian* navy, and reckoned that they were already ſo many prizes, and that now they ſhould

[q] Herodot. lib. viii.

regain

regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the loss which they had sustained at *Artemisium*. *Aristides* was the first who perceived what the *Persians* aimed at; he immediately went to *Themistocles*, and when they were alone he addressed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, who in the mean time is supported by *Herodotus*, in these terms: "If we are "wise, *Themistocles*, we shall now for ever lay aside that "vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between "us, and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by "contending which of us two shall do most towards the "safety of *Greece*; you by performing the part of a wise and "great general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my "person and advice. I understand, that you alone have de-"termined rightly, advising to engage in the straights with-"out delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but the "enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your "advice; for the sea all round us is covered and shut up by "their fleet, so that they who have opposed coming to an "engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves "men of courage, there being no room left for flight". To "this *Themistocles* replied, I am ashamed, *Aristides*, at your "having got the start of me in this noble emulation; I shall "use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning, which "is so much to your honour, and to obscure, if possible, this "glorious step of yours by the lustre of my future actions". At the same time *Themistocles* acquainted him with the stratagem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures they did, and which in fact compelled also the *Grecians* to take those which were most adviseable for their own interest, and to which he had so often pressed them, though to little purpose. Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputation, whose new cemented friendship proved of the utmost consequence to the cause of *Athens* and of *Greece*[r].

THE detail of the battle of *Salamis* is unnecessary here since the reader has met with it before in our account of the *Persian* affairs. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that the *Athenians* reaped the highest honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occasion, though *Herodotus* is for bestowing the palm on the inhabitants of *Ægina*. We have more than once noted, that till *Themistocles* persuaded the *Athenians* to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this little isle were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered, that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a sea-fight, of which the *Persian* emperor *The battle of* Salamis Year of the flood, 2519. Before Christ, 480.

[r] PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid.

was

was a ſpectator in perſon, and on the event of which their own liberty, and that of all their confederates depended. The *Athenians*, after the *Perſian* fleet was once broke, drove their ſcattered ſhips towards the coaſt of *Attica*. The ſquadron of *Ægina*, ſtretching out to ſea, got on the other ſide of the flying *Perſians*, and ſunk many of thoſe veſſels which outſailed the *Athenians*. Thus the ſkill and conduct of theſe two nations preſerved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewiſe obliged the *Perſians* to account it a great happineſs, if after this extraordinary defeat they preſerved any part of that navy which had ſo lately darkened the coaſts, and ſtruck a panic through *Greece*.

The morning after the battle of *Salamis*, the *Greeks*, perceiving the enemy's land-forces ſtill encamped in the ſame place, conjectured, that their fleet was retired into the *Phalerum*, one of the ports of *Athens*; but they were miſtaken, for *Xerxes* had given orders, that they ſhould ſail with the utmoſt diligence to the *Helleſpont*, while himſelf with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial Iſthmus in order to unite the iſland of *Salamis* to the continent of *Attica*. The *Greeks* in the mean time were for purſuing the *Perſian* fleet, in hopes of taking ſtraggling ſhips in order to increaſe their booty; but coming to *Andros* without diſcovering any of the enemy's ſhips, they there called a council of war, in which *Themiſtocles* gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould ſhape their purſuit by the way of the iſlands, and make all the ſail they could for the *Helleſpont*, in order to deſtroy the bridge which *Xerxes* had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with *Aſia*. *Plutarch* ſays, that he communicated this to *Ariſtides*, who oppoſed it; but *Herodotus*, with greater probability, aſcribes this oppoſition to *Eurybiades*. That *Themiſtocles* communicated his ſentiments to *Ariſtides* might be, but that he informed *Eurybiades* of them is morally certain, becauſe he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not *Ariſtides* oppoſed the carrying them into execution, becauſe he thought, that ſhutting *Xerxes* into *Europe* with ſuch a mighty army would be to compel him to repair his former omiſſions, and to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the *Greeks*. When *Themiſtocles* perceived that this reaſoning prevailed, and that the *Grecian* chieftains were likely to come into it unanimouſly, he formed another ſcheme, which, *Plutarch* ſays, he likewiſe communicated to *Ariſtides*, and that was this; he ſent a truſty meſſenger to *Xerxes* to inform him, that the *Greeks* intended to break down his bridge over the *Helleſpont*; wherefore he adviſed him to march back with

with the utmoſt ſpeed, promiſing to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. *Herodotus* ſays that he actually adviſed the *Athenians* to give over the purſuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houſes, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wiſh for a quiet retreat, after having ſo long endured ſo violent a tempeſt; but at the ſame time our author intimates, that *Themiſtocles* had in view the ſafety of the *Perſians*, and not the intereſt of the *Athenians*, which he attributes to his foreſight of following misfortunes, and his willingneſs to ſecure an aſylum, when the envy of his countrymen ſhould doom him to baniſhment. Theſe ſort of cenſures are the tribute paid by the great for the luſtre of their actions. Whether *Themiſtocles* really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is univerſally allowed, and that this advice ſuited his ſcheme of making *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon the war in *Greece*, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarniſh his glory by receiving ſuch inſinuations, and we had better ſuppoſe, that he did not foreſee his diſgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminiſh the reputation he acquired as a true patriot [f].

Herodotus relates another thing of *Themiſtocles*; he ſays, that while the *Grecian* fleet and army were employed in beſieging *Andros*, this general ſent to *Paros* and other iſlands, and threatening the inhabitants of them, that the *Greeks* would invade their country, extorted from them vaſt ſums of money, which he inſinuates he applied to his own private uſe. *Plutarch* relates another paſſage, which muſt have happened pretty near this time, *viz.* that when the *Grecian* fleet was arrived at *Pegaſa*, a maritime town of *Magneſia*, where it wintered, *Themiſtocles* made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared, that he had it in his mind to do ſomething which would prove of infinite conſequence to *Athens*; but that it was of ſuch a nature, that he could not communicate it to the aſſembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Ariſtides* only; and in caſe he approved it, to put it in practice. When therefore theſe great men were alone, *Themiſtocles* diſcovered in few words, that his ſcheme was to burn the reſt of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* miſtreſs of the ſeas. *Ariſtides* made his report to the people, that what *Themiſtocles* intended was indeed the moſt advantageous thing that could poſſibly happen to them, but at the ſame time it was the moſt unjuſt; upon which they readily

[f] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt.

directed

directed him to think no more of it, esteeming it far better to sacrifice their interest to their fame, than for the sake of present advantage, how great soever it were, to hazard the censure of succeeding ages, and the stain of infamy never to be blotted out.

WHEN the fleet was returned to *Salamis*, and the booty was divided amongst all who had served on board it, the *Greeks* resolved to sail to the isthmus in order to confer there the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of their chiefs had deserved best; and these being assembled in the temple of *Neptune*, and directed to write down his name who deserved best; and also his who deserved next, each chief put down his own in the first place, and the name of *Themistocles* in the second, whereby, without designing it, they unanimously proclaimed him the most worthy of the *Greeks*. From thence he went to *Lacedæmon*, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect, and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, assigned that of prudence to *Themistocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and when he returned to *Athens* he was escorted by five hundred horse, an honour never paid to any stranger but him.

The Persians *attempt to treat with the* Athenians

ON *Themistocles*'s coming back to *Athens*, there were not wanting some who endeavoured to insinuate, that his receiving such high honours from the *Lacedemonians* was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated these clamours with contempt, and contented himself with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates; but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired and the respect paid them by all the states of *Greece*. About this time some of the families of the *Athenians* returned from *Salamis* to *Træzene*, where they had taken refuge while the *Persians* ravaged *Attica*; the former belonged to the *Athenians*, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid also the best school-masters they could find for taking care of their youth; such a high regard had the generosity of the *Athenians*, in abandoning all for the sake of liberty, drawn from every state in *Greece*. The *Persians* themselves were no less ready in preferring them to all the *Greeks*: *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left to command the army destined for carrying on the war, chose to treat with the *Athenians*, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made use of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, a person

well known and highly reſpected at *Athens*. Him, as a tributary and ally of the *Perſian* king, he ſent to make propoſals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his maſter. When he arrived the *Athenians* entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foreſight, that the *Lacedemonians* would not be long after hearing this news before they ſent ambaſſadors, which accordingly came to paſs. They then appointed a day for *Alexander* to have audience of the people, on which, as *Herodotus* informs us, he ſpoke to this purpoſe: "*Athenians*, I am ſent by *Mardonius* to tell "you, that he has received a meſſage from the king in theſe "words: I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have "done me, and therefore, *Mardonius*, obſerve the follow-"ing orders: Reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their own ter-"ritories; give them moreover whatever other country they "ſhall chooſe; let them govern by their own laws; and re-"build all their temples which I have burnt, if they will "come to an agreement with me. Having received theſe "orders, I am obliged to put them in execution, unleſs you "prevent me; and now I myſelf would aſk you, what mad-"neſs puſhes you on to make war againſt a king you will "never conquer, nor always be able to reſiſt? You are not "ignorant of the numerous forces and great actions of *Xer-*"*xes*; you have heard of the army I have, and if you ſhould "happen to be victorious and to defeat us, which you can "never hope ſo long as you have the uſe of reaſon, ano-"ther much more powerful will come againſt you; ſuffer "not yourſelves then to be diſpoſſeſſed of your country, "and continually alarmed for your own lives, by meaſuring "your ſtrength with the king; but be reconciled to him, "ſince you have now ſo favourable an opportunity in your "hands from the preſent diſpoſition of *Xerxes*. Enter there-"fore into an alliance with us ſincerely and without fraud, "and continue to be a free people. Theſe, O *Athenians*, "are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to ſay to you: "For my own part, I ſhall not mention my conſtant affec-"tion to your ſtate, becauſe you have had ſufficient proof "of that in former time. I beſeech you then, hearken to "the counſel of *Mardonius*; for I ſee you will not always "be able to make war againſt *Xerxes*. Had I not known "this, I ſhould never have undertaken to bring you ſuch a "meſſage; but the king's power is incomparably greater than "that of all other mortals, and his reach ſo extenſive, that, "unleſs you immediately accept the favourable conditions he "offers, I dread the conſequences to you, who lying in the "way of danger more than any other of the confederates,

" and poſſeſſing a country placed as a prize between the con-
" tending parties, muſt be always moſt expoſed to ruin. Let
" theſe reaſons prevail with you, and conſider the im-
" portant advantages you will receive, if the great king
" forgives you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes
" your friend". The *Lacedemonian* ambaſſadors ſpoke in their turns, as ſoon as *Alexander* had made an end of his oration; they ſaid, " that they were commiſſioned to exhort the
" *Athenians* not to liſten to the propoſals of the *Barbarians*,
" becauſe it was a thing unreaſonable on many accounts;
" *Firſt*, becauſe the original quarrel was between the *Perſi-*
" *ans* and *Athenians*, into which the reſt of the *Greeks* were
" drawn merely through their reſpect to them: *Secondly*,
" that the *Athenians* were always wont to be the foremoſt in
" the cauſe of liberty, which it would not become them now
" to deſert: *Thirdly*, that there were no grounds to believe
" the *Perſians* would obſerve any terms with a people they ſo
" much hated, when occaſion would ſerve; that the *Spartans*
" were exceedingly grieved for their misfortunes, and as a
" mark of their regard would in conjunction with their al-
" lies take care of their wives and children till this war was
" at an end, and give them what other aſſiſtance was in their
" power". The *Athenians*, having deliberated on this propoſition, anſwered firſt that of *Alexander*. They ſaid, " they were well acquainted with the great power of the king,
" but that they were alſo well aſſured of the juſtice of their
" own cauſe; that as long as the ſun and moon endured they
" would never deſert the cauſe of *Greece*, nor forget the in-
" juries done them by the *Perſians*". To the *Lacedemonians* they anſwered, " they were ſorry they ſhould conceive ſo
" meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare in-
" tereſt with glory; that they would continue firm to their
" confederates without being a burden to them; but that,
" it being probable *Mardonius* would be ready for action in
" the ſpring, they hoped the *Lacedemonians* would think it
" more reaſonable to meet him with united forces in *Bœotia*,
" than to ſuffer him to ravage *Attica* again[t]".

Athens a ſecond time deſtroyed.

WHAT the *Athenians* foreſaw came exactly to paſs; *Mardonius*, according to the orders of his maſter, marched directly into *Attica*, and began to waſte and plunder the country, levelling even the ruins of antient buildings, and throwing to the ground ſuch as the *Athenians* had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to *Athens*, which its inhabitants were a ſecond time forced to abandon, the *Spartans* ſending help ſo ſlowly,

[t] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Ariſtid. & Themiſt. JUSTIN. lib. ii.

that

that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, so that the *Athenians* were constrained to retire with their families to *Salamis*, and to send the army which they had raised, under the command of *Aristides*, to join that of the *Spartans* and other states of *Greece*, which, under the conduct of *Pausanias* tutor of king *Plistarchus*, the son of *Leonidas*, was preparing to resist the *Persians*. This army soon after advanced into *Bœotia*, where they fought the famous battle of *Platæa*, in which they made a far greater slaughter of the *Persians* than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our present purpose to say any thing more of this battle here, because it was fought out of the territory of *Athens*, and the *Lacedemonians* had the supreme command. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that *Aristides*, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with such bravery and resolution, as procured them the praise of all the *Greeks* who were their cotemporaries, and hath transmitted their fame, both for valour and prudence, even to this far distant age. The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *Greece*, the *Persians* were also defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*. It is universally allowed, that the *Athenians* behaved better than any of the rest of the *Grecians* in this engagement, of whom, *Herodotus* says, that *Harmolycus* the son of *Euthoinus*, a famous wrestler, deserved the first place. When they had defeated the *Persian* navy, the *Greeks* had the boldness to land and to attack the forces they found on shore, whom having also routed they plundered all the country, and carried off an immense booty. Having done this they sailed to *Samos*, where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to transport the *Ionians* into *Greece* and leave *Ionia* to the *Barbarians*, since it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, for the *Athenians*, or indeed for the rest of the confederates, to assist them at all times, and in case they were not protected, their present revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewise proposed, in case they were transported to *Greece*, to give them the territories of such *Greek* states as had in this war sided with the *Persians*; but after all the *Athenians* changed their minds, and shewed a visible reluctance, when this design should have been put in execution. They were apprehensive, that if the *Ionians* were transported into *Greece* they would rival them in point of trade, or at least throw off that obedience and respect which hitherto they had paid *Athens*, as their mother city and constant protectress. They were likewise uneasy at the *Peloponnesians* interfering in matters relating to their colonies; and as

Year of the Flood 2521. Year before Christ 478.

the *Athenians* were at this time the ſtate of greateſt conſequence in *Greece*, their confederates thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy them by their particular condeſcenſion in this point, and therefore, after promiſing the *Ionians* ſuch aſſiſtance as they ſhould have occaſion for from time to time, the fleet left their coaſt. The *Lacedemonians* ſailed back to *Laconia*, but the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xanthippus*, reſolved to make ſome farther attempts before they quitted theſe ſeas [u].

The ſtrong fortreſs of Seſtos *taken.*

THIS reſolution being taken, the *Athenians* croſſed over to the *Cherſoneſus* and beſieged *Seſtos*. It was a ſtrong place and had a great gariſon under the command of *Artayctes a Perſian*, whom *Herodotus* repreſents as a man of very diſſolute morals. The ſiege was long and troubleſome, and autumn drawing on, the *Athenians* were very deſirous of returning home, but their general *Xanthippus* declared, that he would not depart till he had either taken *Seſtos*, or was recalled by a decree of the *Athenian* people, becauſe *Artayctes* had been guilty of ſacrilege in rifling the ſepulchre of *Proteſilaus*, and taking thence a vaſt ſum of money. At laſt, the gariſon, being preſſed with hunger and having no hopes of relief, reſolved to ſhift for themſelves, and accordingly made their eſcape in two parties, the one led by *Oibazus*, the other by *Artayctes*; *Oibazus* and his party were overtaken by the *Thracians*, who, after ſurrounding him and his guards, killed moſt of them, and took him and his family priſoners; after which they ſacrificed him to *Pliſtorus* a *Thracian* god, and put the reſt of their captives to the ſword. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they were maſters of the place, ſent out detachments to ſcour the country, and one of theſe coming up with *Artayctes* and his corps of troops, near the river *Ægos*, engaged, routed them, and made him and his ſon priſoners. When they were brought back to *Seſtos* and put under a guard, *Herodotus* relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the ſacrilege before mentioned. He ſays, that one of the *Athenian* ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody this *Perſian* general was committed, broiling ſome dried fiſh, ſaw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been juſt taken out of the water, upon which *Artayctes* addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words; "*Athenian* friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned "in this prodigy. *Proteſilaus*, though dead and embalmed "at *Elæus*, admoniſhes me by this ſign, that the gods have "given him power to revenge the injury he has received: "Reſolving therefore to make him reparation, I will conſe- "crate a hundred talents to his divinity, inſtead of the riches

[u] HERODOT. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. &c.

"I took

" I took out of his temples; and I will give two hun-
" dred talents to the *Athenians*, if they will ſpare my life
" and the life of my ſon". But their general *Xanthippus* would not be perſuaded by theſe promiſes, partly becauſe he himſelf was averſe to the thing, and partly becauſe the people of *Eleus*, to avenge the injuries done to *Proteſilaus*, earneſtly ſolicited him, that *Artayctes* might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the ſhore, where the bridges of *Xerxes* terminated, or, as others ſay, to an eminence ſtanding near the city of *Madyrus*, they cauſed him to be impaled on a ſtake fixed in the ground for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time ſtoned his ſon before his eyes. When the *Athenians* had done theſe things, they returned with their fleet to *Greece*, carrying, beſides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to be conſecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year [x] (Z).

THE victories of *Platæa* and *Mycale* ſealed the freedom of *Greece*, and particularly eaſed the *Athenians* of their apprehenſions; they therefore brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not

[x] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi.

(Z) The ſtory of *Artayctes*'s ſacrilege we have from *Herodotus*, who relates it thus: " The government of the whole province
" was in the hands of *Artayctes*, a perſon of profligate and deteſ-
" table manners, who had been placed in that ſtation by *Xerxes*,
" and, by impoſing a fraud upon him when he marched to *Athens*,
" had rifled the treaſures of *Proteſilaus* the ſon of *Iphicles*, which
" were at *Eleus*. For in the city of *Eleus* in *Cherſoneſus* the ſepul-
" chre of *Proteſilaus* was erected in the midſt of this temple, and
" a great ſum of money, with gold and ſilver plate, veſſels of
" braſs, and other offerings, were taken from thence by *Artayctes*,
" in virtue of a grant from the king, which he obtained by this
" artifice: *Sir*, ſaid he, *here is the habitation of a certain* Grecian,
" *who having entered your territories with an army, periſhed as he*
" *well deſerved. Give me the houſe of this man, that for the future*
" *none may dare to invade any part of your dominions.* By this re-
" preſentation he doubted not to obtain the houſe from *Xerxes*, be-
" cauſe he could have no ſuſpicion of his project; and told him
" *Proteſilaus* had invaded the royal dominions, becauſe the *Perſians*
" imagine that all *Aſia* is the property of their kings. Thus after
" *Artayctes* had obtained his requeſt, he brought away the treaſure
" to *Seſtos*, converted the ſacred place into paſture and arable land;
" and when he was at *Eleus*, lay with divers women in the ſanctu-
" ary (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* ix. *prope fin.*

only

only with the utmoſt expedition, but alſo with ſome degree of magnificence [y]. The people were more elate than ever, they were conſcious of the mighty ſhare they had in driving the *Barbarians* back into *Aſia*, and were therefore reſolved to preſerve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had ſo warmly contended againſt ſtrangers. *Themiſtocles*, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in theſe expectations, and *Ariſtides*, having thoroughly conſidered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they ſo much deſired, than to hazard new diſturbances by the riſing up of different factions. He therefore propoſed, that every citizen ſhould have an equal right to the government, and that the archons ſhould be choſen out of the body of the people without preference or diſtinction; with this the commons were ſatisfied, and the men of figure were alſo contented [z]. *Themiſtocles* propoſed alſo at this time, that *Athens* ſhould be inſtantly fortified in the beſt manner poſſible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately ſuſtained by the ſudden invaſions of the *Perſians*. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for diſcovery, ſo he contented himſelf with moving that firſt which was firſt to be put into execution. The *Lacedemonians*, as ſoon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in *Greece*, and were, of conſequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens*, who on their arrival declared to the aſſembly, that the *Spartans*, having nothing in view but the general good of *Greece*, could not avoid remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of the *Athenians* in fortifying their city, ſince it was clear to them, that this meaſure muſt prove very diſadvantageous to their confederates; becauſe if the *Perſians* ſhould again make an irruption into *Attica*, with the ſame ſucceſs as before, and poſſeſs themſelves of a fortified city, they would make uſe of it as a bridle on *Greece*, and fill it with ſuch a gariſon as would render it inexpugnable. Theſe arguments ſeeming to have no great weight with thoſe to whom they were urged, the *Spartan* ambaſſadors proceeded to exert an authority which had been admitted in other *Grecian* cities, that is, they abſolutely forbid the *Athenians* to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the ſame time doubtful how it might be remedied, liſtened readily to *Themiſtocles*'s advice, which was to the following effect: He ſaid, that conſidering their own imbecility and the power of *Sparta*, they were in this caſe to make uſe

[y] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 5. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Ariſtid.

rather

rather of prudence than proweſs. That to free themſelves from the *Lacedemonian* ambaſſadors, who were but a kind of ſpies, they ſhould promiſe not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embaſſy of their own they ſhould give ſatisfaction to *Lacedemon* and the reſt of their allies. He then offered to go himſelf at the head of that embaſſy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy concluſion [a].

The Lacedemonians *deceived by* Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles, according to his own propoſal, being named with ſome other *Athenians* ambaſſadors to *Sparta*, he ſet out before the reſt, having intimated to the ſenate that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate, if they delayed as long as poſſible ſending the reſt of the ambaſſadors to *Sparta*. When he arrived at *Lacedemon*, he put off for ſome time receiving an audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his collegues. Theſe in the mean time exhorted the *Athenians* to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, ſparing neither houſes nor ſepulchres for materials, while women, children, ſtrangers, ſervants, and citizens, all wrought night and day, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were almoſt finiſhed. The *Lacedemonians* having received advice of this, and the collegues of *Themiſtocles* being arrived, they ſummoned them before the *Ephori*, who began immediately to exclaim againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the *Athenians* in thus violating their promiſe. *Themiſtocles* denied the charge; he ſaid his collegues aſſured him of the contrary; that it did not become a great ſtate to depend on flying rumours, but that the *Lacedemonians* ought to ſend deputies back with the *Athenian* ambaſſadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himſelf remained as an hoſtage to be anſwerable for the event. This being agreed to, *Themiſtocles* engaged his aſſociates to adviſe the *Athenians* to commit the *Spartan* ambaſſadors to ſafe cuſtody till he ſhould be releaſed. He then publicly avowed the whole tranſaction at *Lacedemon*, took the ſcheme upon himſelf, and ſaid, *That all things are lawful for our country.* The *Spartans*, ſeeing no remedy, concealed their reſentment, and ſent him home in ſafety [b].

THE next year, which was the laſt of the ſeventy fifth olympiad, *Adiamanthus* being archon, *Themiſtocles* opened himſelf further to his citizens, as to the ſchemes he had formed for raiſing their power, and encreaſing their wealth. He obſerved, that the port *Phalerum* was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore adviſed them to make the *Piræus*

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra. [b] PLUT. in vit. Themiſt. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Themiſt. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

the

the port of *Athens*, from whence he said that he was sensible, that great advantages would accrue to the state, but that it was not proper for him to disclose them to the assembly, or to lay down publicly the methods, by which his design might be carried into execution. He intreated them therefore to choose two persons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The assembly thereupon made choice of *Aristides* and *Xanthippus*, to whom *Themistocles* freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the *Piræus* the most capacious haven in *Greece*, and to unite the city thereto by long walls; for he did not conceive it fit that the port should be made part of the city, because, knowing that sailors are generally dissolute, he was afraid, that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He observed, that the *Ionians* were originally from the same stock with themselves, and that of consequence, if *Athens* were mistress of the sea, they would attach themselves to her rather than to *Lacedemon*, which he said would be the case of the islanders also, who, having no idea of a land-force, would sue for protection to that state whose naval power was greatest; he concluded with shewing the easiness with which his scheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept secret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the *Spartans* had once an idea of what was intended. *Aristides* and *Xanthippus* went then out to the people, and told them, that *Themistocles*'s project was of the utmost advantage to the state, and yet might be performed with the greatest ease. This, instead of satisfying the assembly, inspired them with new suspicions, they therefore directed *Themistocles* to apply himself to the senate, and if they approved his design, they empowered them to furnish him with what he wanted; accordingly *Themistocles* addressed himself to that venerable body, and they went unanimously into all his measures. In the first place ambassadors were dispatched to *Sparta*, to insinuate there how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety in order to watch the designs of the *Persians*; having thus prepared the *Lacedemonians* not to take offence at their first preparations for enlarging and establishing the harbour of *Piræus*, *Themistocles* took such care, that every thing was finished, and the place in a posture of defence, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about [c].

The sovereignty of the sea transferred to Athens.

The *Greeks* continuing the war all this time against the *Persians*, *Aristides* and *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* were sent

[c] Plut. in vit. Themist. Diod. Sicul. ubi supra.

commanders of the *Athenian* forces, *Pauſanias* the *Lacedemonian* having the command in chief. This *Pauſanias*, elate with the ſucceſs he had had at *Platæa* and full alſo of new deſigns, having engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the *Perſian* king, treated all the captains under his command with ſuch haughtineſs and ſtate, that they were not able to bear it; for he never ſpoke to them but in very harſh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themſelves or their ſoldiers, till his *Spartans* were all ſerved. As for the private men, under colour of preſerving diſcipline, he treated them as if they had been all ſlaves, making them for the ſmalleſt offences ſtand with an anchor bound down on their ſhoulders, ſo that it almoſt ſunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the juſtice of *Ariſtides*, and the candour and generoſity of *Cimon* attracted the hearts both of captains and ſoldiers; they ſaw, that the *Athenians* were far more powerful at ſea than the *Lacedemonians*, and that the authority of the latter was founded only in their pride; they therefore applied themſelves firſt to *Ariſtides*, to deſire, that he would interpoſe with *Pauſanias*, in order to hinder him from behaving ſo roughly; but when *Pauſanias* turned from him diſdainfully, and ſaid he was not at leiſure to hear him, they unanimouſly beſought the *Athenian* commanders to take them under their protection, promiſing for the future to acknowledge *Athens* as the firſt city of *Greece*. *Ariſtides* upon this propoſition told them, that he ſaw clearly not only the fitneſs, but the neceſſity, of what they propoſed; but as he would never hazard either the ſafety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not ſucceed, ſo he would never comply with their requeſt, till by ſome public act they put their ſincerity out of queſtion, and fixed the concurrence of all the troops beyond a poſſibility of retracting. Upon this *Uliades* the *Samian*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, having agreed together, ran foul of *Pauſanias*'s galley as ſhe rode at the head of the fleet before *Byzantium*, and upon his threatning to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only ſlighted his menaces, but alſo told him in anſwer, that the beſt thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at *Platæa*, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action reſtrained the *Greeks* from reſenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the *Lacedemonians* loſt that pre-eminence which they had hitherto maintained, and the ſupreme command was transferred to the *Athenians* [d].

[d] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 6. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Ariſtid.

Ariſtides *taxes all* Greece *by common conſent.*

The conduct of *Ariſtides* derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the ſtates of *Greece* ſaw very clearly, that it was neceſſary for them to be always on their guard againſt the *Perſians*, and they had already learned, that war was not to be made without money; they therefore inferred, that a ſtanding fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the ſettling the proportions of this fund, according to the abilities of the ſeveral ſtates, ſeemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all *Greece* caſt her eyes on *Ariſtides*, they demanded him of the *Athenians* as the only perſon who could be intruſted with ſuch a plenitude of power. He executed his commiſſion in ſuch a manner, that his taxation was unanimouſly ſtiled, *The happy lot of Greece*, all its ſtates being perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſums he allotted them to pay. The groſs account of this tax was four hundred and ſixty talents. When he had finiſhed this buſineſs, he obliged all the people of *Greece* to ſwear to the obſervation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himſelf taking the oath in the name of the *Athenians*, throwing at the ſame time pieces of red-hot iron into the ſea, when he pronounced curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate any article of the alliance they ſwore to. Afterwards indeed, when neceſſity compelled the *Athenians* to act a little againſt the letter of that treaty, *Ariſtides* adviſed them to transfer the curſes on him, adding that he would willingly bear the puniſhments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the ſtate. *Themiſtocles* ſaw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and, in order to leſſen his reputation, he was pleaſed to ſay in a public aſſembly, that the praiſes beſtowed on *Ariſtides* were not praiſes worthy of a man, but of a money-cheſt, which ſafely keeps what is depoſited therein. But this did not avenge him of an obſervation which *Ariſtides* had made on a former ſpeech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greateſt excellency in a general to penetrate the deſigns of his enemy; to which *Ariſtides* replied, that it was indeed a moſt neceſſary qualification, but that there was another equally illuſtrious, which was *to have clean hands, and not be a ſlave to money.* Thus when the *Athenians* were free from foreign wars, and from any contentions with their confederates, they were continually employed in domeſtic quarrels; the diſſenſions of eminent men were never failing to raiſe diſturbances among their fellow-citizens. An obſervation which we ſhall content ourſelves with making here once for all, though the verification

tion thereof will occur to our readers in almoſt every page of the *Athenian* hiſtory [c].

THE *Lacedemonians*, though at firſt they made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the *Greeks*, who transferred the pre-eminence with reſpect to maritime affairs from *Sparta* to *Athens*, yet in a ſhort time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, becauſe it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware, that they enjoyed not half an empire; yet their anger being moderated by the wiſdom of ſome of their citizens, they laid aſide all thoughts of war, and the *Athenians*, who had proviſionally built ſome ſtout gallies, reaped thereby ſome advantage from their threatnings. There ſeems juſt reaſon to believe, that the *Lacedemonians* acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accuſed *Themiſtocles* to his countrymen of having conſpired with their general *Pauſanias* to betray the cauſe of *Greece*. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear, that *Pauſanias* had diſcovered his intrigues to *Themiſtocles*; but it appeared likewiſe, that *Themiſtocles* did all in his power to perſuade him to let them fall, ſo that he was acquitted of this accuſation with honour. But the minds of the people being once ſtirred againſt him, as well to gratify their own private reſentment as to make their court to the *Spartans*, there were enow found to calumniate *Themiſtocles*. We have already ſhewn ſome of the reaſons which induced the people of *Lacedemon* to hate this great man, there remains yet one more which deſerves the reader's notice, becauſe of all others it exaſperated them moſt. A little after the battle of *Platæa*, it was propoſed in the council of the *Amphictyons*, or ſtates-general of *Greece*, that all ſuch cities as had not fought againſt the *Perſians* ſhould loſe their right of ſending deputies to that aſſembly. This *Themiſtocles* oppoſed, for he foreſaw, that if the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and many others ſhould loſe their right of ſending repreſentatives to this aſſembly, the *Lacedemonians* would rule all; wherefore he repreſented to the members there preſent, that there were but one and thirty cities, and moſt of them very ſmall ones, which had concurred in the war againſt the *Perſians*, and that if the deputies of thoſe only had ſeſſion in their council, it would undoubtedly come to paſs, that this auguſt ſenate would be

Themiſtocles baniſhed Athens, and driven out of Greece.

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vita Ariſtid.

entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to *Greece*. Theſe ſuggeſtions of his having deſtroyed the *Lacedemonian* ſcheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of *Themiſtocles*, and ſought to bring him into odium with the *Athenians*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian*, who was a famous poet in thoſe times, wrote libels againſt *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* promoted exceedingly that ſpirit of jealouſy which began to ſpring up againſt him. *Themiſtocles* himſelf gave them a handle, by erecting near his own houſe a temple which he dedicated to *Diana*, *the giver of the beſt council*; intimating, that himſelf had given the beſt council both for the ſafety of *Athens* and *Greece*. The end of theſe diſputes was, that the *Athenians* by the oſtraciſm baniſhed *Themiſtocles*. The *Lacedemonians*, not ſatisfied with this, accuſed him afreſh of having been concerned in *Pauſanias*'s conſpiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at laſt to take ſhelter in the court of *Admetus* king of the *Moloſſians*; but the *Spartans* ſending ambaſſadors thither to threaten that king with the *Greeks* making war upon him by a confederacy, he furniſhed *Themiſtocles* with money to make his eſcape into *Aſia*, where learning not only the *Perſian* manners, but the language alſo, he raiſed himſelf to greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, than any of the native *Perſians*, ſo that in time he beſtowed on him a *Perſian* wife, a large eſtate, and great privileges which deſcended to his poſterity; inſomuch, that *Plutarch* affirms, that he knew one of them, whoſe name was alſo *Themiſtocles*, who lived at *Magneſia* in full poſſeſſion of them, above five hundred years after the ingratitude of the *Athenians* ſent this excellent perſon to receive his bread from ſtrangers, and to make known to *Perſia* thoſe virtues of which *Greece* was no longer worthy[f] (A).

The

[f] Corn. Nepos in vita Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plut. in vita Themiſt.

(A) As far as the affairs of *Themiſtocles* were mingled with thoſe of the ſtate of *Athens*, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now, when they are no longer connected, we think it neceſſary to throw together ſome memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that *Themiſtocles* when baniſhed had any deſign either to revenge himſelf on *Athens*, or to take refuge in the court of the king of *Perſia*. The *Greeks* themſelves forced him upon this, or rather the *Lacedemonians*;

THE popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them, after *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed; and ſuch a number of falſe

nians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to baniſh him, ſo by their procurement, after he was baniſhed, he was never ſuffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into *Perſia*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was very dangerous; the great king having promiſed by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. *Nicogenes* the *Æolian* found means to convey him to court in ſafety; for, having put him into a cloſe litter, he cauſed the ſervants who attended him to give out that they carried a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman attending on the king's perſon; thus he arrived ſafely at the court of *Artaxerxes*, where he addreſſed himſelf to *Artabanus*, and informed him, that he was a *Grecian*, who deſired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which *Artabanus* having promiſed, demanded whom they ſhould ſay he was; for you ſeem, ſaid he, to be no ordinary perſon. *Themiſtocles* anſwered, no man muſt be informed of this before the king himſelf. When admitted to the royal preſence, and commanded to declare who he was, he ſpoke thus: "I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* baniſhed "and perſecuted by the *Greeks*; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty "monarch: The evils I have done to the *Perſians* are eaſily to "be forgiven, in conſideration of the many atchievements per- "formed for them when I hindered the *Grecians* from purſuing the "*Medes* after the fatal battles of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when "having freed my country, and placed the *Greeks* in ſafety, my "ambition led me on to greater enterprizes; in which being ſuc- "ceſsful, I gratified the far-extended *Perſian* empire, and per- "formed ſervices acceptable to the greateſt prince on earth: Since "which all things having conſpired to augment my preſent cala- "mities, ſuitable to ſuch a condition, I come hither hoping to re- "ceive mercy from a gracious reconciled emperor, who hath laid "aſide his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils; hum- "bly imploring you, that taking the *Greeks* for witneſſes of the "ſervices I have done for *Perſia*, you will make uſe of this occaſion "to ſhew the world the nobleneſs of your virtue, rather than the "greatneſs of your reſentment. Hereby you will preſerve an "humble ſuppliant; if otherwiſe, you deſtroy a ſervant of the "*Perſians*, and a public enemy of the *Greeks*." *Thucydides* (77) mentions a letter ſent by *Themiſtocles* to *Artaxerxes*, differing very little from this ſpeech, attributed to him by *Plutarch*. *Cornelius Nepos* hath copied this letter from *Thucydides*; and all agree, that the *Perſian* monarch received him with great kindneſs. *Plutarch* ſays, that he was ſo well pleaſed with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his ſleep, *I have* Themiſtocles *the* Athenian (78). The next morning the king ſent for him a-

(77) *De Bello Pelop. lib.* i.

(78) *Plut. in vita Themiſt.*

gain,

falſe witneſſes aroſe, that thoſe who were moſt concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. *Ariſtides* alone, when

gain, and as ſoon as the firſt compliments were over, ſaid, *I am in your debt two hundred talents, for ſo much I promiſed to him who brought* Themiſtocles; he likewiſe promiſed him far greater favours, and deſired he would ſpeak his mind freely of the affairs of *Greece*. *Themiſtocles* anſwered by his interpreter, *That diſcourſe, like a* Perſian *carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was ſcarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece*; he therefore deſired that he might have time to learn the *Perſian* language, which would enable him to diſcloſe his own ideas without the help of another. This anſwer of *Themiſtocles* is a noble proof of his extenſive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taſte, the ſentiment great, and the figure expreſſive; he delivered himſelf like a native *Perſian* the very firſt day that he appeared in the court of *Perſia*; the king readily granted him a year for the purpoſe he intended. At the end of that ſpace he appeared frequently at court, *Themiſtocles* being in a ſhort time ſo great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the *Perſian* kings were wont to promiſe any *Greek* whom they ſought to bring over to their intereſt, *that he ſhould live with them as* Themiſtocles *did with* Artaxerxes. He was alſo in high favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the *Perſian* religion, and was inſtructed therein by the magi. He had three cities beſtowed upon him, which, alluding to their ſituation, the king of *Perſia* ſaid in pleaſantry, that they ſhould ſerve to provide him *bread, wine,* and *meat*; theſe cities were *Magneſia, Myon,* and *Lampſacus*; the firſt brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents, and the laſt had in its neighbourhood the nobleſt vineyards in the eaſt. *Themiſtocles* fixed his reſidence at *Magneſia,* where he lived with all the ſplendor of a *Perſian* grandee, inſomuch, that he ſaid one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone.* He was ſo far from expreſſing any hatred againſt his ungrateful country, that *Plutarch* aſſures us the tenderneſs he retained for it had like to have coſt him his life; for ſeeing at *Sardis* a brazen ſtatue of a virgin which he had ſet up in *Athens,* when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to perſuade the governor of *Lydia* to ſend it back to *Athens*; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great paſſion, and threatened to inform the emperor, ſo that *Themiſtocles,* in order to extricate himſelf from danger, was forced to make large preſents to his women. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble *Athenian* died. *Plutarch* ſays, that being preſſed by the king of *Perſia* to undertake an expedition againſt *Greece,* he made a ſolemn ſacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and ſo put an end to his life. *Thucydides,* who was cotemporary

when things came to extremity, ſhewed himſelf more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themiſtocles*; he refuſed to join with *Alcmæon* and *Cimon* in proſecuting him capitally, and was ſo far from inſulting him in his misfortunes, that he ſpoke of him with greater reſpect than ever. The war with *Perſia* was not yet let fall; the *Greeks* found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, eſpecially the *Athenians*, who, by means of their great force at ſea, were continually enriching themſelves at the expence of ſome or other of the *Perſian* emperor's ſubjects. They therefore deviſed various reaſons for ſending fleets to ſea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and enrich themſelves, by the ſkill and valour of their troops and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the ſeventy ſeventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of ſuch of the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia* as were under ſubjection to the great king. This expedition was pleaſing to the *Athenians*, and no leſs grateful to the *Greeks* in general, ſince it ſeemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no leſs regard to their own [g].

Cimon eſtabliſhes the Athenian greatneſs.

Cimon, the ſon of *Miltiades* by the daughter of the king of *Thrace*, was unanimouſly choſen admiral and commander in chief on this occaſion: He will make a great figure in the ſucceeding part of this hiſtory, and therefore it is neceſ-

[g] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

porary with *Themiſtocles*, ſpeaks very doubtfully of this buſineſs; *He died*, ſays he, *of a diſtemper, but ſome report that he poiſoned himſelf, ſeeing it impoſſible to accompliſh what he had promiſed the king*. He was ſixty ſix years old at his death; he was honoured with a ſtately tomb at *Magneſia*, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica* and buried there. Some ſay, that the *Athenians*, repenting afterwards of their ill uſage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the *Piræus*. And *Plutarch* in ſupport of this quotes the following verſes from *Plato* the comedian:

Thy tomb is juſtly rais'd upon the ſtrand,
Where from all parts admiring ſtrangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made
The ſeat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy aſhes on this famous ſhore,
Both ſea and land may honour and adore (79).

(79) *Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos in vita Themiſt.*

ſary,

fary, that we ſhould give the reader his character here. *Cimon*'s abilities were fair and ſolid, yet leſs ſo than his virtues; his father had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the firmneſs of his courage, *Themiſtocles* by the ſtrength of his judgment, *Ariſtides* by his probity, *Cimon* was equal to them all; his diſtinguiſhing perfection was an openneſs of temper, which made him above deceiving, the only ſtain on *Themiſtocles*'s character; and an inflexible honeſty, which raiſed his reputation above his father's. It was this *Cimon* whom the merciful *Athenians* put in chains for his father's fine, and for whoſe releaſe his ſiſter gave up her charms to *Callias*, remarkable only for being at the ſame time *worthleſs*, and *worth money*. In his youth *Cimon* did not promiſe much, he was little inclined to learning, which in an *Athenian* was a ſtrange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were alſo thought blemiſhes in a young nobleman like him; but of a ſudden he gave his citizens to underſtand, that the greateſt virtues are not the ſooneſt ſeen; for when, on the firſt news of the *Perſian* invaſion, *Themiſtocles* adviſed the *Athenians* to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon univerſally decried; *Cimon* went immediately to the temple of *Minerva*, and offered up a bridle, to ſignify that horſemen were no longer of uſe, but that they ought to truſt to their ſhips; after which he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. *Ariſtides*, obſerving the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to buſineſs, that his candour might balance the craft of *Themiſtocles*, in which he ſucceeded very happily; for *Cimon* only of all the *Athenian* generals was always beloved, and never ſuſpected [h]. In this expedition he took the city of *Eion* from the *Perſians*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*, becauſe *Butes*, who commanded in that city for the *Perſian* king, ſet fire to the place, and burnt himſelf, his gariſon, and all the riches that were therein; however, *Cimon* ſettled colonies in that neighbourhood after revenging himſelf on the *Thracians*, who had aſſiſted the *Perſians* in *Ionia* with proviſions. He afterwards reduced the iſland of *Scyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theſeus*, which were honourably interred at *Athens* (B). After this he returned to *Athens*, and having increaſed his

[h] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd.

(B) This note hath the ſame ſubject with the laſt; we are to ſpeak of the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the aſhes of a great man,

his fleet to three hundred ſail, he ſteered for the coaſt of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he ſailed for *Cyprus*, where he was informed the *Perſian* fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, their land army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. *Cimon*, though the fleet was much ſtronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obſtinate engagement, gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ſhips, their crews abandoning them to ſeek refuge on ſhore. Unſatisfied with this, he debarked his forces, and attacked their land army; the *Perſians* fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the *Athenians* prevailed, and not only routed the *Perſians*, but poſſeſſed themſelves of their camp with all the riches contained therein; thus in one day he gained two important victories, one at ſea, the other at land, equal to thoſe of *Salamis* and *Platæa* [1]. *Plutarch* ſays, that he afterwards made him- Year of the Flood 2531. Before Chriſt 468.

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra.

man, whom they treated ill while living, and ſent to beg his bread; this was no leſs a perſon than *Theſeus*, to whom in a great meaſure they owed their being a people. The oracle, in the latter end of the ſeventy fifth, or beginning of the ſeventy ſixth olympiad, commanded the *Athenians* to bring home the aſhes of this prince. When therefore *Cimon* made himſelf maſter of the iſle of *Scyros*, he ſought with great diligence for the tomb of *Theſeus*; but being able to find no ſuch thing, he inquired of the people of the iſland, who either could not or would not give him any intelligence; at laſt obſerving an eagle upon a riſing ground pecking it with her bill, and tearing up the earth with her talons, it came into his head to dig there. This being done, there was found a coffin of a man of more than ordinary ſize, the brazen head of a lance, and a ſword lying by him, all which he took on board his galley, and brought them with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, tranſported with joy, went out to meet and receive the reliques of this great man with all the pomp imaginable. They interred them in the middle of the city, and made his tomb an aſylum or ſanctuary for ſlaves and people of mean condition, who fled from the perſecution of men in power, becauſe in his life-time he had been a protector of the diſtreſſed, and above all things delighted in doing the injured juſtice. They likewiſe ſacrificed ſolemnly to him on the 8th of *October*, becauſe he was reported to have returned from his *Cretan* expedition on that day. Thus the *Athenians*, who injured *Theſeus* living, revered him dead (80)!

(80) *Plut. in vit. Theſ.*

ſelf maſter of eighty *Phœnician* veſſels which lay in a port of *Cyprus*, and were intended to ſtrengthen that navy which *Cimon* had deſtroyed. However it was, he gained ſuch an immenſe booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled thereby to build the ſouth wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of thoſe far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a mooriſh ground, they were firſt of all forced to ſink great ſtones, that they might have whereon to erect a ſuperſtructure, beſides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and beſides what *Cimon* himſelf did out of his proportion of the ſpoils, which were very great; for he adorned the *forum* with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleaſant fountains. The wealth of *Cimon*, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, ſo it likewiſe put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he ſo much affected; he therefore demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed; he likewiſe kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the pooreſt *Athenians* eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was conſtantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, and whoſe pockets were well furniſhed with money. But if by chance he met any antient citizen in a tattered ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs unſuitable, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed perſon privately. Thus, as one of the antients ſaid of him very juſtly, he gained riches that he might uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular; on the contrary he ſided always with the nobility, and oppoſed openly ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches, which his victories poured into *Athens*, brought along with them their conſtant attendant corruption; but though the tide was ſtrong, yet *Ariſtides* in the midſt of a voluntary poverty, and *Cimon* who lived with the greateſt magnificence, eſcaped it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money [k].

The Thaſians reduced, and aſſociated by Cimon.

The affairs of *Athens* were now in ſuch a proſperous condition, that they would not ſuffer any thing to be tranſacted to

[k] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

their

their prejudice without revenging it. The *Perſians* having invaded the *Cherſoneſus*, and by the help of the *Thracians* made themſelves entirely maſters of it, *Cimon* was ſent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ſhips, ſo that the *Barbarians* and their allies looked upon this as a very raſh attempt; however, *Cimon*, falling upon them ſuddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all *Cherſoneſus* under the *Athenian* power; after which he went againſt the *Thaſians*, who revolting from the *Athenians*, had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers *Nyſſus* and *Strymon*, which tempted the *Athenians* to fall upon them. But before we enter into the event of this war, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Cimon* put the *Athenians* into a method of becoming irreſiſtable at ſea, and of ſaving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of thoſe they awed. It was thus: Many of the *Greek* ſtates, who, by the treaty concluded with *Ariſtides*, were bound to furniſh men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their ſupport, when they ſaw themſelves out of danger from the *Barbarians*, were very unwilling to furniſh their quota of men and ſhips; this moſt of the *Athenian* generals diſliking, would have compelled them by high fines to remedy; but *Cimon* took a contrary courſe, he permitted ſuch as were deſirous of ſtaying at home to remain there, and took a certain ſum in lieu of a galley completely manned. By this means he inured the *Athenians*, whom he took on board his gallies, both to hardſhip and diſcipline, while the allies, who choſe to excuſe themſelves in this manner, were enervated thro' idleneſs, and ſo from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almoſt ſlaves. The people of *Thaſus* perceiving this, thought to have ſhaken off the *Athenian* yoke; but *Cimon* proved too many for them, though the *Thaſians* behaved very bravely; for having firſt ſuſtained a great loſs at ſea, they afterwards ſhut themſelves up in their city, and made a very obſtinate defence; while in the mean time they ſent privately to the *Lacedemonians*, and endeavoured to ſtir them up to make war with the *Athenians*; but their affairs not permitting them to comply with their requeſt, the *Thaſians* were obliged at laſt to ſubmit; and ſo the gold mines, about which this war was commenced, fell into the power of the *Athenians*, who ſent a great colony to *Amphipolis* a city of *Thrace*, which for a time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the *Edones*, a great part of them were deſtroyed. In the laſt year of the ſeventy ſeventh olympiad, the *Lacedemonians*

finding themselves extremely vexed by their *Helotes*, who had revolted from them, and were supported by the *Messenians* and some other of their neighbours, sent to demand aid from *Athens*, which produced very great disputes there; *Ephialtes*, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, opposed the motion for sending, as the *Spartans* desired, an army to their assistance. *Cimon*, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the *Lacedemonians*, by whose interest he had been supported against *Themistocles*, earnestly pressed the *Athenians* to lay hold of this opportunity of shewing their virtue and magnanimity, by succouring their companion, who was the other eye of *Greece*. *Ephialtes* sought to bring the people into his opinion, by shewing that *Sparta* had always been, and from the nature of her constitution would always be an enemy to *Athens*, and therefore ought not to be succoured now when the enemies her pride had excited were about to lay her low. The *Athenians*, however, listened rather to *Cimon* than to his adversary, and full of a generous concern for *Greece*, sent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the assistance of *Lacedemon*, which service he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour; some time after, the *Lacedemonians*, being engaged in the siege of *Ithome*, sent again to the *Athenians* for succour, and were again relieved, *Cimon* marching with a numerous body of troops to their assistance; but the *Spartans*, finding that their other confederates had sent troops sufficient to enable them to make an end of the war successfully, dismissed the *Athenian* succours, as being either afraid of them, or caring least to be obliged by them. This grievously offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the *Lacedemonians*, but all of their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to that state [1].

The Athenians make war on Egina, and send a fleet into Egypt.

The *Athenians* engaged themselves in two new wars, one against the inhabitants of *Egina*, who, having been always free, bore very ill those acts of sovereignty which the *Athenians* exercised over them, as well as the rest of their allies; the second was against the great king in *Egypt*, which now revolted from him, and set up one *Inarus* for king. The fleet which the *Athenians* sent hither performed wonders; for they enabled the *Egyptians* to beat the *Persians* in the field, and to subdue two districts of the great city of *Memphis*; but the third which was called the *white*, they could not reduce, the *Persians* who retreated thither, having carried with them

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos in vit. ejusd. Thucyd. lib. i.

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a vaſt quantity of proviſions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a ſiege of three years; but this affair being already exactly related in our account of the *Perſian* monarchy, we need ſay no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the *Athenians* [m].

State of the factions in Athens at this time.

THEIR great buſineſs abroad did not ſo much take up the time of the people of *Athens*, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts againſt thoſe ſmall remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes*; the former of theſe was the ſon of *Xanthippus*, the famous *Athenian* captain who won the battle of *Mycale*, by *Agariſte* the niece of the celebrated *Cliſthenes*, who had ſo great a hand in expelling the *Piſiſtratidæ*. He ſtudied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras*; from the former he learned politics, though he pretended to teach him muſic, and from the latter natural philoſophy and the art of ſpeaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence ſuperior to that of any of his cotemporaries; but he was obliged to conceal theſe ſhining qualifications, becauſe the *Athenians* had taken it in their heads that he reſembled *Piſiſtratus* very much in his face, and ſtill more in his eloquence, which was ſo nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the ſurname of *Olympius*. Notwithſtanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good eſtate, and many relations who filled the firſt poſts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined ſtanding for public employments, but even ſpeaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himſelf the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when *Ariſtides* was dead, *Themiſtocles* in baniſhment, and *Cimon*, generally ſpeaking, employed in foreign affairs, *Pericles* began to apply himſelf ſtrictly to public buſineſs, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of *Athens* had acted; for, inſtead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himſelf wholly to the lower ſort of people, notwithſtanding that it was contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which by no means inclined him to a plauſible inſinuating behaviour. The reaſon was, that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could poſſibly attain to that eminence and ſuperiority which he affected. *Cimon*, by the greatneſs of his birth, the luſtre of his actions, and the largeneſs of his eſtate, had placed himſelf at the head of the nobility, and was by them conſidered as their chief, being

[m] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol V. p. 13.

revered

revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and condescension. The *multitude* therefore were the sole resource of *Pericles*, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresaw exactly the dangers he must be exposed to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the *Prytaneum* or *assembly*; he preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed, before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as *Cimon*, to whom though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreased the salaries given to such of the *Athenian* citizens as sat in courts of justice, the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in the theatres [n] (C).

Inasmuch

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.

(C) The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered *Aristides*'s subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the share he had, like the rest of the great men of *Athens*, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen: In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Aristo*, an historian of *Chios*, or, as M. *Dacier* will have it, of *Ceos*, said, that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* took rise from their being both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful youth of his time; in which if there be any truth, it is an incontestable argument, that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure or perfect, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his cotemporaries had of the rigid virtue of *Aristides*, is better known to us from an accident, than from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of history. It happened, that *Aristides* was present the first time that *Æschylus*'s tragedy was played, which has this title, *The siege of* Thebes *by the seven captains*. A courier being therein introduced, relating to

Eteocles

INASMUCH as *Pericles* never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of consequence be

Eteocles the names and qualities of those that commanded, thus describes the genius and temper of *Amphiaraus*.

He aims at real worth without the show,
Reaping those fruits which in his rich mind grow;
Whence sage advice and noble actions flow.

As soon as these words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon *Aristides*, to shew that in their opinion this was his character also. He was appointed treasurer of *Athens*, and executed that office with great integrity; but inasmuch as he had exposed some of *Themistocles*'s frauds, that artful politician accused him of misapplying public money, and though nothing was falser than this charge, got him condemned. But, the court of *Areopagus* interposing, his fine was remitted, and he chosen treasurer for the next year, when he suffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit; who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and, when the end of the year came, would have persuaded the people to choose him a third time, when *Aristides* rising up, addressed himself to the assembly in these words: "When I discharged my office with care, and managed your treasure faithfully and like an honest man, I was reviled and evil-spoken of; but now when I have taken no care at all, but left it to the discretion of these public robbers, I am, it seems, an admirable treasurer, and a most excellent patriot; I therefore declare to you, that I am more ashamed of the honour done to me this day, than of the sentence passed upon me last year; and with indignation and concern I see, it is more meritorious with you to oblige ill men, than to deserve well of the commonwealth".

The day before the battle of *Platæa*, a conspiracy being discovered among the *Athenians* to introduce a democracy, *Aristides*, who commanded, would not suffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it should occasion some sedition in the camp; but contented himself with telling such as were suspected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might justify themselves, and shew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle *Aristides* proved himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, and gave as noble testimonies of his valour as he had ever done of prudence and justice; he lived but four years after *Themistocles* was banished, and notwithstanding he had exercised the greatest offices in the common-wealth, yet he was so poor that he was unable to make a figure himself, or to leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being descended from such a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public; we will instance but one thing more in relation to *Aristides*, which respects at once his poverty and virtue, and so conclude. His cousin *Callias the torch-bearer* being under a prosecution, the orator who spoke against him observed, that though he was immensely rich, he

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had always been troubleſome to the *Athenians*. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, vainly truſting to their ſkill in maritime affairs, ventured with a ſmall fleet, made up for the moſt part of new-built ſhips, to hazard a battle with the *Athenians*, in which, however, they ſuffered dearly for their raſhneſs, being totally defeated with the loſs of ſeventy ſhips, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Athenians*, and to purchaſe peace at the expence of honour and independence [r].

THE ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatneſs of *Athens*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when ſhe was engaged in troubleſome affairs, and ſeemed to be leſs able to reſiſt them. On this account the *Corinthians* attacked the *Megareans*, whom they knew to be the allies of *Athens*, while the *Athenians* upon ſome freſh provocation were laying ſiege to *Ægina*; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, ſent *Myronides* their general, at the head of a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of their allies, without deſiſting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. *Myronides* behaved ſo well, that after ſeveral engagements the *Corinthians* were glad to return, ſo that this attempt to check the *Athenian* power ſerved, as many others had done, only to increaſe it [s].

The Athenians beaten at Tanagra. Year of the Flood 2541. before Chriſt, 458.

THE *Lacedemonians* having ſent a great army compoſed of their own troops and thoſe of their allies to the aſſiſtance of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phoceans*, the *Athenians* reſolved to attack them in their return, having long wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging thoſe inſults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received, from the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* therefore, drawing in the *Argives* and *Theſſalians* to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty ſail, and with them approached the iſthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the paſſages, ſo that it was impoſſible for the *Lacedemonians* to return home without encountering them. The *Spartan* army commanded by *Nicomedes* conſiſted of eleven thouſand five hundred men; he did not, however, haſten raſhly to a battle, but turned aſide to *Tanagra* a city of *Bœotia*, where ſuch of the *Athenians* as inclined to an ariſtocracy entered into ſome correſpondence with him. But before their deſigns ripened, the *Athenian* army marched with great expedition to *Tanagra*, ſo that a battle became inevitable. When the *Athenians* were diſpoſing themſelves in battalia, *Cimon* preſented himſelf on a

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 283. [s] Id. ib.

ſudden

ſudden completely armed, and went to take poſt among the troops of his own tribe. But thoſe of the popular faction, forgetting all reſpect to their country and minding nothing but their private reſentments, raiſed a great clamour, alledging, that he came with no other view than to put himſelf at the head of his own party in order to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*; they therefore inſiſted, that the general ſhould not receive him, his time of baniſhment being not near expired; and *Cimon* being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneaſy, voluntarily retired; but before he withdrew, he addreſſed himſelf to *Euthippus* and the reſt of his friends, who were charged with being in a conſpiracy with him, earneſtly beſeeching them to behave in ſuch a manner as might wipe off the aſperſion, and convince the *Athenians*, that they had not amongſt them either braver or honeſter men than *Cimon* and his friends. *Euthippus* and his companions made him no other anſwer than deſiring him to leave them his armour, ſince their generals would not permit him to ſerve at their head, which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the *Theſſalian* horſe, deſerting the *Athenians* at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of *Athens* and their confederates fought obſtinately, particularly the little body commanded by *Euthippus*, which, drawing cloſe together, and having *Cimon's* armour in the midſt of them, charged amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all ſlain. In the end, however, the *Athenians* were routed with a very great loſs. This unfortunate buſineſs was followed ſhortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of *Attica*, the *Theſſalians* marched ſuddenly in the night to attack it. The *Athenian* eſcort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of *Tanagra*, received the *Theſſalians* as friends. But they ſuddenly falling upon them, the *Athenian* guard ſtood on their defence, and made a very gallant reſiſtance, till at laſt their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the *Theſſalians* with great ſlaughter; yet there in the end being ſuſtained by the *Lacedemonians*, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being ſufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a ſhort truce, that after ſuch rude encounters both ſides might have time to recruit their forces [t].

THE *Thebans*, who on account of their having joined *Xerxes* in his war againſt *Greece*, had loſt the government of *Boe-*

[t] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi p. 283. PLUTARCH. in vit. Cimonis.

tia applied themselves now to the *Lacedemonians*, entreating them to assist their recovery of it, and promising to be for ever their faithful allies against the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, conceiving this to be a very seasonable proposal, readily complied with it, and entered into a strict league with the *Thebans*. By their assistance *Thebes* was restored to her antient lustre, rendered the head of *Bœotia*, and one of the first cities in *Greece*. The *Athenians*, however, were so much displeased at the conduct of the *Spartans* in this matter, that they resolved to send an army into *Bœotia* to overturn all they had been doing. *Myronides* the son of *Callias* was chosen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march against the enemy; when that day came; many whose names were in the muster-roll did not attend; *Myronides*, however, began his march, and when many persuaded him to wait a little, that such as had been negligent might have time to come in, he answered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for such people, since it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had with him in their early appearance in the field had given such a testimony of their courage as seemed to promise victory. The *Thebans* and their allies, making up a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched without scruple to meet *Myronides* and his handful of *Athenians*; but the event did not answer their expectation, for after a long and obstinate engagement *Myronides* prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed surprising, as *Diodorus Siculus* long ago remarked, that antient authors have passed over so slightly this victory of the *Athenians*, which in some sense was more glorious to them than either that of *Marathon* or *Platæa*. In both those they fought against *Barbarians*, and were assisted by their allies; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a superior army composed of the bravest of the *Greeks*. The first use which the *Athenian* general made of his victory was to march to *Tanagra*, where the *Athenians* had been so hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by storm, and, that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bœotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then penetrated into *Thessaly*, where having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery to the *Athenians*, he returned home laden with riches and glory [u].

[u] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 285. Thucyd. lib. i.

The

THE next year *Tolmides* the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the great actions of *Myronides*, prompted the people to give him power to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, *Tolmides* asked but for a thousand men, which were readily granted him; but he, well knowing that this was too small a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending that he would choose the thousand men out of the strongest and bravest of the youths of *Athens*, he privately solicited all such to give in their names, voluntarily, suggesting, that it would be a stain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thousand to give in their names, he then chose another thousand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thousand men on board his fleet, which consisted of fifty sail of stout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at *Methon* in *Laconia*, he took it, but the *Spartans* sending a speedy succour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at *Gythium*, another sea-port belonging to the *Lacedemonians*, which he took and burnt, with all the shipping and naval provisions that were therein; he likewise wasted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he sailed for *Zacynthus*, which he reduced together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then sailed over to *Naupactus*, which he took by composition, and having ejected the *Lacedemonians*, settled there a colony of *Messenians*, whom the *Athenians* had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no less to the honour of the *Athenians*, than those undertaken in former years against the *Spartans* and their allies [x].

ON the very back of this, *Pericles* was sent with fifty ships and a thousand soldiers to invade *Peloponnesus*, which he did with great good fortune, burning, spoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before said, but a thousand men, for the very fame of the *Athenians* half discomfited their enemies, and the reputation of so great a general took away almost the power of resistance. On his return to *Athens* he found the people not a little out of humour, because *Cimon* remained still in banishment; the death of his friends in the battle of *Tanagra* fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been banished, and therefore we need not wonder, that all *Athens* looked upon it as an act of justice due from their state to recal him. *Pericles* conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately took the thing upon himself, and drew up an act for his restoration, which

[x] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi.

Cimon

Cimon took so kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of scandal among the antients, for some such there always were, as it is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to posterity, that this reconciliation between *Pericles* and *Cimon* was brought about by *Elpinice*, who, they say, stipulated for her brother, that he should be content with commanding abroad, and allow *Pericles* to be at the head of the administration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and generously preserved the *Greeks* from falling upon each other [y].

Cimon, rightly judging that it would be impossible for the *Athenians* to lie still, equipped two hundred gallies with an intent to make a fresh attempt upon *Cyprus*, that, by gaining new booties from the *Barbarians*, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the *Persian* king, than to be harrassing the *Lacedemonians*, or oppressing their allies. *Plutarch* suggests, that he had in view no less a conquest than that of the whole *Persian* empire; part of his fleet he detached to assist the *Athenians* in *Egypt*, with the rest he remained in the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*, or, as *Diodorus Siculus* says, made himself master of *Citium* and *Malus*; after which he defeated the *Phœnician* fleet, beat the *Persian* army commanded by *Megabyzus*, which lay encamped in *Cilicia*, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to *Cyprus*, where he besieged the capital city. But the *Persian* monarch, finding no ease from these *Athenians*, and no hopes of subduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, sent orders to *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* his commanders to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the *Athenians* having named on their side *Callias* the son of *Hipponicus* their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finished; the principal articles of which were, first, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be free and governed by their own laws; secondly, that the *Persians* should send no army within three days journey of the sea; thirdly, that no *Persian* ship of war should sail between *Phaselis* and *Cyene*, the former a city of *Pamphylia* the latter of *Lycia*. Articles most glorious for the *Greeks*, and not a little acceptable to the *Persians*, since the *Athenians* on their side undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, whether of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege,

The Athenians *conclude a peace with* Persia. Year of the flood, 2550. Before Christ, 449.

[y] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi. p. 287. PLUT. in vit. Cimon.

authors

authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. His death was as honourable as his life, and his laſt act the moſt glorious of it all; for when he found himſelf about to expire, he ſent for the principal commanders, adviſed them to embarque the men, to conceal his deceaſe, and to ſail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the laſt great captain of *Athens*, the reſt were ſoldiers and heroes too, but not patriots like *Cimon*; for they, flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight againſt their brethren, and moſt cruelly employed the wiſdom, power, and wealth of *Greece* againſt herſelf. Whereas *Cimon* curbed the vanity of his countrymen; he told them it was lawful to make war, and to ſpoil the *Perſians*, who had deſtroyed their city and carried away all they had, but he diſſuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed againſt that propenſity they had to ſacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On ſuch occaſions he was wont to ſay, *The* Lacedemonians *would not do this*; which at laſt provoked his countrymen to baniſh him, to his immortal glory and their ſhame. We could not avoid this eulogium, becauſe we knew that we ſhould no where elſe have occaſion to ſpeak of a man equally admirable for his abilities and his virtues, and for applying them conſtantly to the ſervice of the public, and not to the aggrandizing of himſelf or his family [z] *(D)*.

THE

[z] PLUT. in vit. Cimon. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Cimon.

(D) The moſt memorable occurrences in the life of *Cimon*, regarding the *Athenian* ſtate, have been already taken notice of in our text; and as to his character, his diſpoſition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them alſo more than once; this note therefore will contain only ſuch paſſages in relation to the life of *Cimon* as did not fall properly within our notice, either in ſpeaking of the public or of him. Firſt then, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* from him, report *Cimon* in his nonage to have been ſuſpected of folly, and to have been nicknamed from thence *Coalemos*, as his grandfather had been before him; but *Valerius Maximus* ſays rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefitted the *Athenian* ſtate, and that his ſubſequent behaviour conſtrained thoſe who thought him a fool to condemn themſelves of folly. The truth ſeems to be, that he did not affect learning, which ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the *Athenians*, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; *Cornelius Nepos*, however, commends him for his eloquence, which ſome have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which perhaps they are miſtaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloqueene,

The affairs of *Athens* began to be ſuddenly and ſorely diſturbed after the death of *Cimon*; for, being alike hated by their

eloquence, ſo there is alſo a natural ability of ſpeaking, which cuſtom improves into an eaſy perſuaſive oratory, more pleaſing to a mixed audience than the moſt artful and regular ſpeeches; and this we may ſuppoſe was that kind of eloquence in which *Cimon* excelled. He went while a very youth into the army, and learned under the moſt experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a great commander. His perſon was handſome, his ſtature juſt, his aſpect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper ſweet, and his mind honeſt. But as all men have their faults, ſo this great *Athenian* wanted not his, which were a ſtrong paſſion for women, and an inclination to feaſting and good company; beſides his ſiſter *Elpinice*, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had ſeveral other miſtreſſes, yet he was paſſionately fond of his wife, whoſe name was *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euriptolemus* the ſon of *Megacles*; when the *Athenians* were in humour with him they overlook'd theſe faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they ſuffered their poets to treat him with great rudeneſs: As for example, *Eupolis*, about the time of his baniſhment, wrote a piece in which were the following verſes relating to *Cimon*:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;
He's gone to *Sparta*, and was ſo unkind,
To leave his poor *Elpinice* behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to obſerve, that *Plutarch* treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that *Cimon* never ſuffered his pleaſures to interfere with the buſineſs of the ſtate, of which it ſeems his victories ſhould be an inconteſtable proof. His attachment to the *Lacedemonians* was the ſole cauſe of his baniſhment; for, as we obſerved in giving our readers his character, he was never ſuſpected by the people of having any deſign to aggrandize himſelf at their expence; true it is, that he had a moſt extraordinary affection for that nation, ariſing not only from the kindneſs that they had ſhewn him, but from the honeſty of his temper, which ſuited better with the ſevere virtue of *Sparta*, than with the ſprightly levity of the *Athenians*. One thing is exceeding odd in *Cimon*'s conduct, that he gave his children ſuch names as did not ſeem to ſpeak them *Athenians*; for he named his three ſons, *Lacedemonius*, *Eleus*, and *Theſſalus*; moſt authors are of opinion, that he had theſe by a woman of *Clitorium*, though *Diodorus* the geographer aſſerts, that they were the children of his wife *Iſodice*. It is clear from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his baniſhment neither altered his conduct towards the *Lacedemonians*, or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter againſt the former at the battle of *Tanagra*; he had intereſt

enough

their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a handle for new revolts or invaſions. The *Megarians* were the firſt in this buſineſs, their little ſtate, which lay in an angle of *Attica*, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion, of *Athens*, and had brought them into ſeveral quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it ſeems, thoſe of *Megara*, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the *Athenians*, or elſe conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, diſclaimed all dependence on *Athens*, and entered into a ſtrict league with her conſtant and avowed enemy *Lacedemon*. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the *Megarians* in their city. The *Lacedemonians* quickly reſented this proceeding, and hearing that *Pericles* the *Athenian* general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into *Attica* and did abundance of miſchief; upon which *Pericles*, who was marched againſt *Eubœa*, was recalled in haſte to aſſiſt his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the *Lacede-*

enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which ſhews how ſteady he was in his conduct, and what a high opinion all his contemporaries conceived of his virtue at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his laſt expedition are preſerved in hiſtory; the firſt, that when he was about to embark for *Cyprus* he dreamed, that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midſt of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet ſhortly ſhalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Aſtyphilus of *Poſidonium* interpreted this dream thus; A dog, ſaid he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be ſtiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking, which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed ſignified the *Medes*, whoſe armies were conſtantly made up of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*; yet in ſpite of this he ſet ſail and proceeded in his expedition. The ſecond circumſtance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at *Cyprus*, having formed ſome great project in his head, he ſent perſons in whom he could confide to conſult the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* as to his ſucceſs; the oracle readily gave them this anſwer; *You may return, for* Cimon *is already with me.* The meſſengers on their return found that *Cimon* was at that time dead; he was ſomewhat younger than *Themiſtocles*, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) *Thucyd. lib.* i. *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib.* xi. xii. *Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. Cicer. de Offic. lib.* ii.

monian army; but conſidering that it was led by a very young man, *Pliſtonax* then king of *Sparta*, who had with him one *Cleandrides* for a tutor, he ſent the latter a conſiderable ſum of money and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedemonian* army without blows. When *Pericles* came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents, laid out in a fit manner on a proper occaſion; at another time the *Athenians* would not have bore with ſuch an article in a public account, but *Pericles* had ſuch an aſcendency over them, and they were ſo thoroughly ſenſible how this money had been applied, that they paſſed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to proſecute the expedition againſt *Eubœa*, in which he had been before employed [a].

While *Pericles* was at home in the winter, *Tolmides*, who had done ſuch great things for the *Athenians*, reſolved to make an expedition into *Bœotia*, with a ſmall body of troops and in a very advanced ſeaſon of the year; a great number of the braveſt *Athenians* readily engaged to ſerve under this famous general as voluntiers. Yet *Pericles* was conſtantly againſt it, preſſing *Tolmides* to wait a little, and to join in his conduct prudence with valour. But he ſeeming to take this amiſs, and not greatly to reliſh another's meddling in his affairs, *Pericles* told him calmly, *If you will not liſten to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiſs if you wait time's leiſure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wiſeſt of all counſellors.* This ſaying being preſently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bœotia*, was attacked by the confederate army, compoſed of the quotas ſent from all the little ſtates of that country, killed, and his army routed at *Chæronea*. This defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for, in order to redeem their priſoners, they were conſtrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of *Bœotia*; and while this was doing, many other little ſtates declared againſt the *Athenians* [b].

Truce between Athens *and* Sparta. Year of the Flood, 3553. Before Chriſt. 446.

Pericles, notwithſtanding all theſe checks, marched with an army into *Eubœa*, from whence a new revolt of the *Megareans* cauſed him to be recalled, but within a ſhort time he re-entered that iſland, and made himſelf maſter of the city of *Heſtiæa*; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the reſt of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of *Athenians* in their ſtead. A ſhort time after the reſt of *Eubœa* ſubmitted, and,

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 293. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

[b] Thucydid. lib. i. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 293.

the

the *Lacedemonians*, finding it no longer for their intereſt to carry on the war, a negotiation was ſet on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, *Callias* and *Chares* being plenipotentiaries for the *Athenians* [c].

ABOUT this time *Pſammeticus* king of *Libya*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, of *Egypt*, ſent by way of preſent to the *Athenian* people forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for *Pericles*, out of ſpite to *Cimon*'s family who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, whereby *Athenians* of the half-blood were diſfranchiſed; this law, on account of the diviſion of the corn before-mentioned, was proſecuted with ſuch ſeverity and effect, that no leſs than five thouſand perſons, who till then had been conſidered as freemen, were ſold as ſlaves; a moſt exorbitant ſtroke of arbitrary power, puniſhed afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all *Pericles*'s children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the *Athenians* to cancel this law out of pity to him its author, who without the leaſt compaſſion, had ſuffered five thouſand men to be made ſlaves at once under colour thereof. One thing this ſeverity of his produced, which has been extremely uſeful to the critics, *viz.* the ſettling exactly the number of the *Athenian* citizens at this time, when in the midſt of ſo many enemies, *Athens* durſt think of ſending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, ſubduing foreigners, and even of erecting an univerſal monarchy. This number, as it is ſet down by *Plutarch*, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thouſand and forty perſons [d].

THE year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty fourth olympiad, the *Sybarites*, a people of *Italy*, being a ſecond time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, ſent ambaſſadors into *Greece*, and humbly beſought the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* to reſtore them, and to ſend a colony to ſhare with them the new city they reſolved to build. The *Lacedemonians* rejected their requeſt; but the *Athenians*, who delighted much in ſuch applications, readily yielded to it; and not only diſpatched ten ſhips, with a conſiderable body of men on board, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*; but alſo cauſed a proclamation to be made throughout all *Peloponneſus*, that ſuch as were willing to go and ſettle in *Italy*, might do ſo under the protection of their fleet; and abundance of people accepting the propoſition, the *Sybarites*, by the aſſiſtance of theſe new comers, re-eſtabliſhed themſelves in their country, and built a new city which they called *Thu-*

[c] THUCYDID. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra. [d] PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

rium, from whence themſelves were afterwards ſtiled *Thurians* [c] (E).

AT

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 295.

(E) In order to conceive rightly of this buſineſs, the reader muſt aſcend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cauſe of the erection of *Thurium* back to the foundation of *Sybaris*; he will then ſee how the *Greeks* ſettled colonies, maintained, and reſtored them. *Sybaris* was a colony of the *Achæans* and *Træzenians*, it ſtood on the gulph of *Tarentum*, between the rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, from which laſt it took its name, (83). The felicity of its ſituation was ſuch, that in a very ſhort ſpace of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power, and people. By degrees it ſpread its dominion over four ſmall nations inhabiting this part of *Italy*, and reckoned no leſs than twenty five ſmaller cities than itſelf within its territory, ſo thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three hundred thouſand men into the field. In conſequence of its proſperity *Sybaris* became formidable, and even hateful, to its neighbours. Their immenſe wealth making its inhabitants at once luxuriant and inſolent, ſo that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themſelves (84). *Telys* being king of *Sybaris*, as *Herodotus* ſays (85), or, as *Diodorus* with greater probability affirms, *Demagogue*, i. e. a *ruler* in right of his *eloquence*, perſuaded the people upon various accuſations to baniſh five hundred of their moſt conſiderable citizens, and to confiſcate their eſtates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to *Crotona*, and as ſuppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very ſhort ſpace *Telys* engaged the *Sybarites* to ſend deputies to *Crotona*, to demand that thoſe they had baniſhed ſhould be delivered up, threatening war in caſe of refuſal. The *Crotonians* upon this were much at a loſs what to do; at laſt they determined to protect at all events thoſe who had fled to them, and to oppoſe force by force. The *Sybarites* took the field with 300,000 men, the *Crotonians* were able to raiſe no more than 100,000; however, valour prevailed over numbers, and the *Crotonians*, having beaten the *Sybarites*, killed all without quarter, and in the end ſacked and deſtroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the lxviiith olympiad. In the fourth year of the lxxxith olympiad the city of *Sybaris* was reſettled by the *Theſſalians*, but in the firſt year of the lxxxiiid olympiad the *Crotonians* overthrew it again. After this laſt misfortune, the *Sybarites* made the application mentioned in the text to the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, who commanded the *Athenian* ſquadron, found it no difficult taſk to collect voluntiers in *Peloponneſus*, when

(83) *Steph. de Urb.* (84) *Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. v. ſect.* 3. *Strab. lib. vi. p.* 263. *Marcian. p.* 14. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xii. (85) *lib. v. p.* 346.

the

AT the close of the eighty fourth olympiad, according to the computation of *Diodorus Siculus*, and six years after the conclusion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, as *Thucydides* relates, a war broke out between the *Samians* and *Milesians* about the city of *Priene*, seated under mount *Mycale* in *Ionia*; how this war came to affect the *Athenians* is not very clear; *Diodorus* says, that the *Samians*, who were victors, conceiving that the *Athenians* favoured their enemies, revolted from them; *Thucydides* says, that the vanquished complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise desired by some *Samian* malecontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government and settle a democracy. *Plutarch* intimates, that the *Athenians* having directed both parties to lay down their arms and submit to their decision, the *Samians* refused so to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason assigned, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that the *Pythian* oracle had declared, that *the city should be exceedingly prospered if they founded it, where the water was scarce and bread without measure.* When they arrived therefore in *Italy*, and began to search through the territory of *Sybaris* for such a place as suited the oracle, they found at last a small spring which was called *Thuria*, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called *Medimnum*. Concluding instantly, that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring before mentioned called it *Thurium*. They who had the direction of the buildings contrived to have four streets in length, called, *Heraclea*, *Aphrodisiade*, *Olympiade*, and *Dionysiade*, and three in breadth, viz. *Heroa*, *Thuria*, and *Thurina*. When the business was executed according to this scheme, and the city compleated, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being so disposed as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit these new-raised dwellings; the *Sybarites*, conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, shut out the new-comers from all employments and honours, which so disgusted them, who were by far the majority, that they suddenly took up arms, fell on the *Sybarites*, extirpated them, and sending for fresh supplies from *Greece*, formed themselves into a commonwealth, making *Charondas*, one of their fellow-citizens, their legislator. The subsequent history of *Thurium* will be found in its ptoper place. From what is said here, the circumstances attending establishing colonies will be sufficiently understood, as also the conveniencies flowing to their mother cities from these kind of settlements, which was the principal intent of this long note (86).

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

Pericles

Pericles engaged the *Athenians* in this war to gratify his miſtreſs *Aſpaſia* a *Mileſian*, one of the handſomeſt women in her time, and who had ſuch an aſcendency over *Pericles*, that for her ſake he ſacrificed his family and his peace (F). However

(F) *Aſpaſia*, who is to be the ſubject of this note, was one of the moſt famous women in all antiquity on account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her perſon, admirable for her natural endowments, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the accompliſhments ſhe had acquired. Her birth-place was *Miletum* a city in *Ionia*, famous for producing perſons of extraordinary abilities. She was the tutreſs, miſtreſs, and at laſt wife, to *Pericles*, who by his eloquence ruled *Athens*, and as ſuch claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be gueſſed at, ſhe was in all probability about fifteen years younger than *Pericles*, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's name was *Axiochus*, but of his quality we are ignorant. How ſhe came to *Athens* is alſo a point unſettled; but as to the remaining part of her hiſtory we are not ſo much in the dark. She rendered herſelf conſpicuous by her perfection in the art of ſpeaking, which ſhe poſſeſſed in a ſuperlative degree, being alſo admirably verſed in all the branches of uſeful literature, particularly natural philoſophy and politics. One *Thragelia* an *Ionian* was her model, ſhe had made herſelf conſpicuous in *Greece* by her charms, addicted herſelf chiefly to the grandees, many of whom ſhe brought over to the intereſt of the great king, and, as *Plutarch* ſays, ſowed the firſt ſeeds of the *Median* faction in moſt of the cities of *Greece*. *Aſpaſia* reſembled and even ſurpaſſed her. It is not to be imagined, that this fair one excelled (like ſome of our age) in light and amorous diſcourſes. Her diſcourſes were on the contrary not more brilliant than ſolid. It was even believed by the moſt intelligent *Athenians*, and amongſt them by *Socrates* himſelf, that *Aſpaſia* compoſed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which *Pericles* pronounced with ſo much applauſe. What then muſt we conceive of her abilities, who had *Pericles* for a lover, and *Socrates* for a diſciple? Whoſe fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the moſt conſiderable perſons in *Athens*, not only to viſit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they deteſted her conduct? As eloquence was of all others the moſt neceſſary talent to an *Athenian* ſtateſman, ſo *Pericles* on hearing *Aſpaſia*, determined to become her ſcholar, obſerving that with an exact method ſhe mingled the moſt warm and pathetic ſtrokes of perſuaſive oratory, uniting the ſymmetry ariſing from art with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wiſdom, this great *Athenian* fell ſoon into a deep affection for her perſon, a thing not wonderful in itſelf, and leſs ſo, if what moſt writers report of *Pericles* be true, that he was of a very amorous diſpoſition. Certain it is, that *Aſpaſia* gained an abſolute dominion over him, and had

ever it was, war was decreed againſt the *Samians*, and *Pericles* was ſent againſt them with a fleet of forty ſail; he preſently

had as great an aſcendency over his genius as he had over the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* reports, that as often as *Pericles* went to, or returned from, the *forum*, he went to the apartment of *Aſpaſia* and ſaluted her. The tenderneſs this nobleman expreſſed for *Aſpaſia* made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneaſy; which *Pericles* perceiving, readily conſented that ſhe ſhould betake herſelf to a huſband more agreeable to her (though ſhe had borne him two ſons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*) and then took *Aſpaſia* to wife, whom he had ſo long and ardently loved before. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* ſays, that *Pericles*, *having divorced his wife, abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, and living with* Aſpaſia, *ſpent on her the greateſt part of his fortune*; but this ought to be regarded as mere calumny, it being morally certain, that *Pericles* in the firſt place was never profuſe, and in the ſecond that *Aſpaſia* piqued herſelf exceedingly on her ſkill in œconomy. As to the affair ſpoken of in the text, viz. the *Samian* war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of *Plutarch* in what we have advanced. For though it be true, that *Thucydides* makes no mention of *Aſpaſia* in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous diſdain of blackening *Pericles*, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumſtances tending to ſupport this ſuggeſtion, there are many. *Aſpaſia* was a *Mileſian* by birth, *Pericles* was wont to conſult her; ſhe is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory; and laſtly, ſhe compoſed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by *Pericles* in honour of thoſe who were ſlain in this war. The comic poets, as they laſhed *Pericles* for affecting ſovereignty, ſo they failed not treating *Aſpaſia* with the ſame ſeverity, and as they called him *Jupiter*, they ſtiled her *Juno*; they likewiſe characteriſed her under the names of *Omphale* and *Dejanira*, the one the wife, and the other the miſtreſs, of *Hercules*; and many other ways. *Cratinus* uſed her the worſt; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned ſtrumpet. It is evident enough, that the ſpleen of *Pericles*'s enemies prompted them to ſay any thing of him, or of thoſe in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new *Piſiſtratus*, the latter not only his whores but his bawds. Beſides various remarkable events relating to *Aſpaſia*, which we ſhall be conſtrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that it is generally conceived the ſon, to whom *Pericles* bequeathed his name and his eſtate, was by her; certain it is, that ſon was but of the half-blood, as any ſon of *Aſpaſia*'s muſt have been, and that his father, to ſecure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law which himſelf had procured to exclude ſuch

from

ſently brought them into ſubjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing firſt, that the government ſhould be democratical for the future, and that fifty hoſtages of principal perſons ſhould be delivered to him with as many children. *Plutarch* ſays, that all imaginable methods were tried to ſoften *Pericles* upon this occaſion; the hoſtages offered him a talent a-head by way of ranſom; thoſe who diſliked the democracy proffered him a large ſum if he would leave the government as he found it; and *Piſſuthnes*, the governor of *Sardis* for the *Perſian* king, thinking an ariſtocratic government in *Samos* more advantageous to his maſter, would have given ten thouſand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the *Athenians*; but *Pericles*, having no reſpect to money, carried away the hoſtages to *Lemnos*, and eſtabliſhed the democracy in *Samos* as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force ſeldom laſt long, the *Samians* fell into mighty diſſenſions as ſoon as *Pericles* was gone home. Some of them who had retired to *Piſſuthnes*, having procured from him an aid of ſeven hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, thoſe of the oppoſite party were ejected and the *Athenian* gariſon expelled; they procured alſo their hoſtages to be privately ſent away from *Lemnos*, and having drawn the *Byzantines* to their party, they declared themſelves open enemies to *Athens*. That city, unuſed to bear inſults, immediately equipped ſixty gallies, and ſent them under *Pericles* to ſubdue the *Samians* a ſecond time.

from ſucceſſions. Beſides theſe circumſtances there is another, favouring this opinion, *viz.* that *Eupolis* the comic poet, introducing *Pericles* aſking news of this baſtard ſon, makes the perſon he ſpeaks to anſwer, *He is alive and well, and had been married long ago, if the fear of meeting with a wife as diſhoneſt as his mother did not deter him.* Which is ſo correſpondent with what *Eupolis* elſewhere ſays of *Aſpaſia*, that one can hardly conceive this ſon to have ſprung from any but her. That ſhe ſurvived *Pericles* is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. *Plutarch* indeed informs us, that ſhe attached herſelf to one *Lyſicles*, a man of mean birth and as mean parts, whom by her intereſt, however, ſhe raiſed to great employments in the ſtate. What thoſe employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of *Aſpaſia* which deſerves notice (87).

(87) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athen. lib. xiii. p.* 560. *Cicero in Bruto. Menoxen. Platonis. in tom. ii. A. D.* 1578. *p.* 235, 249

When

WHEN *Pericles* was at ſea with this fleet, he found it neceſſary to detach ſixteen ſhips, as well to gain intelligence of the *Phœnician* fleet, as to haſten the auxiliary ſquadrons he expected from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; with the forty four remaining veſſels he engaged the *Samians* and their allies, though their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, and beat them. Being afterwards ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of forty ſhips from *Athens* and twenty five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he beſieged *Samos* by land and ſea; deceiving intelligence that the *Phœnician* fleet was coming to its relief, he ſailed with ſixty ſhips to meet it. During his abſence the beſieged fell upon the remainder of the *Athenian* ſhips under the command of *Tiſagoras*, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained maſters of the ſea; during which ſpace of time they furniſhed themſelves with whatever they wanted. *Plutarch* cenſures *Pericles*'s conduct on this occaſion, and attributes the loſs which the *Athenians* ſuſtained to his leaving the ſiege; but there ſeems to be no foundation for this, becauſe fighting the *Phœnician* fleet at ſea, rather than in the neighbourhood of *Samos*, was certainly his intereſt. On his return to the ſiege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourſcore ſhips, according to *Thucydides*, of ninety, as *Diodorus* tells us, he ſtraitened the *Samians* more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept ſeven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refreſh themſelves. At length after nine months ſiege the *Samians* ſurrendered; upon which *Pericles* demoliſhed their walls, ſeized their ſhips, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hoſtages for the remainder [f].

WHEN *Pericles* returned from this war, he procured himſelf to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of ſuch as fell in this war, which he did with ſuch eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where ſuch public declamations were delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongſt the reſt *Elpinice* drew near him, but not with the ſame intention with the reſt, for ſhe addreſſed him in theſe words: "Theſe are brave "things, *Pericles*, that you have done, and ſuch certainly "as deſerve theſe wreaths of glory, who have deprived us "of ſo many worthy citizens, not in a war againſt *Phœni-*

[f] THUCYDID. lib. i. de Bello Pelopon. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. p. 302.

" *cians* or *Medes*, the natural enemies of our country, for " ſuch my brother *Cimon* waged; but in the overthrow of " a city that was in alliance with us, whoſe people ſpoke " the ſame language and were of our kindred". *Pericles* gave a ſtrong inſtance of his great compoſure and readineſs of mind on this occaſion, for he repeated careleſsly the following verſes from the poet *Archilochus*:

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to ſhine;
You ſhould not powder thus your hair,
Nor ſhould your unguents taint the air;
Follies which ſuit the young and fair.

In recording theſe paſſages we had the reader's profit as well as pleaſure in view; for they ſhew, that as abſolute as *Pericles* was become in *Athens*, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could, and durſt, diſtinguiſh between the ſervices done the ſtate by a patriot general, one who ſought nothing but to exalt the intereſt and glory of his country, and him who had the preſervation of his own power chiefly in view. They ſhew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in *Pericles*, who was not to be ruffled even by the ſhrewdeſt ſpeeches, but maintained always ſuch an equality of temper as enabled him to make ſuch an anſwer as was moſt proper on every occaſion [g]. It is on all hands confeſſed, that *Pericles* valued himſelf very much on the reduction of *Samos*, and *Thucydides* gives us great reaſon to believe, that the *Athenians* conceived highly of him for that exploit; the *Samians* at the time he deſtroyed them being one of the moſt flouriſhing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wreſting from the *Athenians* the dominion of the ſea [h].

The war between the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the *Athenians* into thoſe engagements, which at laſt proved the ruin of their ſtate. There is a neceſſity therefore that we ſhould give here a ſuccinct account of the cauſes of this war, and of the methods by which the *Athenians* were drawn to take part in it. An inteſtine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnum*, a city in *Macedonia* founded by the *Corcyrians*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their aſſiſtance, and the other, finding themſelves ſtraitened, applied themſelves for aid to the people of *Corcyra*. They neglecting the buſineſs, the

[g] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. [h] De Bello Pelop. lib. i.

people

people of *Epidamnum* ſent to *Corinth* for ſuccours, owning her for their foundreſs, becauſe the *Corcyrians* were a colony from *Corinth*. The *Corinthians*, partly out of pity to the *Epidamnians*, and partly out of ſpleen to the *Corcyrians*, ſent a very great fleet to the aſſiſtance of the former, which thoroughly eſtabliſhed that party which had applied to *Corinth*; this being reſented by the *Corcyrians*, they ſent a fleet to *Epidamnum* to ſupport the exiles, which on its arrival at that port did not act offenſively, the chief commanders having inſtructions to propoſe an amicable compoſure of all differences, into which the *Corinthians* would by no means come. The next year the *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at ſea, and took *Epidamnum* by ſtorm, after which they waſted the dominion of the confederates of the *Corinthians*, which greatly exaſperated the latter. At *Corinth* therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and preſſed their confederates to do the ſame, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had loſt, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to inſult her mother city. When the *Corcyrians* received advice of theſe proceedings, they inſtantly diſpatched ambaſſadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians*, on the receipt of this news, diſpatched theirs likewiſe; both on the ſame errand, and with equal hopes [1].

THERE could be nothing more glorious for the *Athenians* than ſuch an application as this, which ſeemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this ſtate had always affected. *Thucydides* therefore, who begins his hiſtory with the ſtory of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the *Corinthian* as of the *Corcyrian* ambaſſadors, to which we muſt refer our readers. At firſt the *Athenian* people approved the cauſe of the *Corinthians*, but they ſoon changed their minds, and took part with the *Corcyrians*, yet they did not make a league offenſive and defenſive with that ſtate, becauſe by ſuch a ſtep *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth* and all her allies; they contented themſelves with making a defenſive alliance only with the *Corcyrians*, whereby both parties reciprocally promiſed to aſſiſt each other in caſe either ſhould be attacked. It does not appear, that the *Athenians* entered much into the merits of this cauſe; they were become too great politicians for that; the reaſons aſſigned by *Thucydides*, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are theſe: firſt, *Corcyra* was a very great maritime power; ſecondly, this iſland lay very convenient for aſſiſting *Athens* in her de-

[1] THUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii.

ſigns on *Italy* and *Sicily*. When the *Corinthian* fleet therefore was ready to ſail, the *Athenians*, according to their treaty, ſent ten gallies to *Corcyra* under the command of *Lacedæmonius* the ſon of *Cimon*, with whom were joined *Diotenes* and *Proteus* as collegues. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Pericles*, by ſending this ſmall ſquadron under *Lacedæmonius*, intended to affront him, or at leaſt to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the antient ſplendor of his family, againſt which that great politician had always a pique. But there ſeems to be very little colour for this. *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Athenians*, who were indeed under the direction of *Pericles*'s counſels, did not intend the *Corcyrians* any real aſſiſtance, but ſent this ſmall ſquadron to look on, while the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians* weakened and waſted each other. The *Corinthians*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, made for the coaſt of *Corcyra*, with a fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail under the command of *Xenoclides*, aſſiſted by four other *Corinthian* admirals, each ſquadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The *Corcyrians* prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which by the *Athenian* ſhips was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as ſoon as the navies were in ſight, they prepared for an engagement. The *Corcyrians* gave their right wing to their allies the *Athenians*, ranging their own fleet in three ſquadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The *Corinthians* gave their right wing to the *Megarians* and other of their allies, diſpoſed the reſt of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that they might engage the *Athenians*. The action was very briſk for a time, the *Corcyrian* left wing broke the right of the *Corinthian* fleet, and forcing ſome of the ſhips on ſhore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of priſoners; on the other hand, the *Corinthian* ſhips in their left wing beat the right wing of the *Corcyrians*, whom the *Athenians*, according to their inſtructions, aided but faintly; at laſt the *Corinthians* charging them briſkly, the *Athenians* were obliged to defend themſelves, which they did ſo well, that the *Corinthians* were glad to retire, which accordingly they did, after taking up part of the broken ſhips and moſt of their own dead. The next day the *Corinthians* reſolved to attack the *Corcyrians* again, who prepared on their ſide to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the *Corinthians* of a ſudden retired, which the *Corcyrians* knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty ſail from *Athens* put it out of doubt, that the *Corinthians*, ſeeing them, and fearing

there

there might be more behind them, had wisely chosen to withdraw. The next day the *Athenian* and *Corcyrian* fleets went and braved the *Corinthians* in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, because all the ships from *Athens* were clean, and the *Athenians*, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to *Peloponnesus*. Both sides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at *Sybotis*. The *Corinthians*, because they remained masters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the broken vessels, made a thousand prisoners, and sunk seventy of the *Corcyrian* ships; the *Corcyrians* because by the assistance of the *Athenians* they had sunk thirty of the *Corinthian* vessels, taken some spoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greatest sea-fight, which to this time had happened among the *Greeks*, there being no less than two hundred and seventy vessels engaged. The *Corinthians* complained loudly against the *Athenians*, as if they had broken the peace; the *Athenians* on the other hand alledged, they had only assisted their allies; and thus these states began to hate each other. As for the prisoners made by the *Corinthians*, they sold eight hundred of them for slaves, the rest they treated kindly in hopes of making use of them for facilitating a peace [k].

THE *Corcyrian* war was followed by the revolt of *Potidæa*, a town in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corinthians*, but joined in alliance to *Athens*. As soon as the *Corcyrian* war broke out, the *Athenians* sent orders to the citizens of *Potidæa* immediately to demolish a part of the walls of the city, to send back the magistrates whom they had received from *Corinth*, and give hostages for their own behaviour. *Perdiccas* king of *Macedon*, hating the *Athenians*, took this opportunity to persuade the *Potidæans* to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they sent ambassadors to *Athens* to entreat the revocation of the orders sent them; but in the mean time they sent deputies to *Sparta*, to join with the *Corinthians* and *Megarians* in their complaints of the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* in the mean time sent a considerable fleet against *Macedonia*, and some time after another, with a considerable body of land troops on board, under the command of *Callias*, a man of great quality and courage. The *Corinthians* on their side dispatched *Aristeus* with a considerable force to the assistance of the *Potidæans*. Not to detain the reader too long with a de-

The revolt of Potidæa.

[k] THUCYDID. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. lib xii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

tail

tail of all the little circumstances of this war, which may be found in the accurate history of *Thucydides*, we shall content ourselves with observing, that an engagement happened before *Potidæa*, in which the *Athenians* were victors, but with the loss of their general *Callias*. *Phormio*, who succeeded him in his command, invested the city in form, and shut up its port with his fleet; but the *Potidæans*, dreading to fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, made a most obstinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly solicited the *Corinthians* to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of *Peloponnesus* in their quarrel [1].

Dissentions at Athens.

While affairs abroad were in this condition, the *Athenians* were very far from being quiet at home. *Pericles* had attained such a superiority as had never been seen in *Athens* since the days of *Pisistratus*; the last competitor with him for the favour of the people was *Thucydides*, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications suiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmost to hinder those alterations in government which the popular party sought to bring about, and more especially opposed *Pericles*, who, perceiving that one of them must give way, put the matter to the test by procuring an ostracism; wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that *Thucydides* was exiled by the people. From this time forward *Pericles* altered the whole tenour of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his disposal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian* affairs at home and abroad upon himself. When the state of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the *Athenians* apprehended a war, in which they should be obliged to contend, not for spoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands, and houses, and whatsoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with *Pericles*, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them to say of him. For example, when *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent statuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the statue of *Minerva*, many reasons induced such as disliked *Pericles* to abet this prosecution, among the rest these two; *first*, they conceived that they should try the minds of the people by this step, and discover whether they were at present disposed to bear with the prosecution of *Pericles* or not; *secondly*, they thought to revenge themselves on the statuary, for having inserted a picture of *Pericles*, fighting with an *A-*

[1] Thucydid. lib. i. Diodor. lib. xii.

mazon

mazon in the ſhield of the goddeſs. But in the end this buſineſs had an iſſue little expected; for *Phidias* having declared that by *Pericles*'s direction the gold was ſo laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be juſt. However, *Phidias* either died in priſon, or was baniſhed; *Plutarch* ſays, that he was poiſoned by the procurement of *Pericles*'s enemies, who afterwards ſought to charge it upon him [m]. *Hermippus* next accuſed *Aſpaſia* of impiety or irreligion, as alſo for being a bawd to *Pericles*, and as ſuch, ſeducing the wives and daughters of *Athenian* citizens; *Diopithes* preferred a *pſephiſma* or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, *i. e.* the *Areopagus*, againſt ſuch perſons as diſputed the religion of their country, or taught ſuch things, under colour of natural philoſophy, in relation to celeſtial bodies, as were inconſiſtent therewith. This was known to ſtrike at *Anaxagoras* the preceptor of *Pericles*, and even at *Pericles* himſelf. The people aſſented thereto, and, in conſequence thereof, *Anaxagoras* was judicially accuſed (G). To wind up *Pericles*'s

[m] DIODOR. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(G) It is not clearly expreſſed by *Plutarch*, on what account either *Aſpaſia* or *Anaxagoras* was accuſed of impiety; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that perſons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and for their great knowledge in natural philoſophy, ſhould be ſuſpected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Heſiod*'s time they had no leſs than thirty thouſand gods, for whoſe honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to *Anaxagoras*, we ſhall have elſewhere occaſion to mention him and his opinions; at preſent we will ſtick to the point before us, and ſay nothing but what relates to this proſecution, its cauſes, and conſequences. *Laertius* reports from one *Sotion*, who wrote a book of the ſucceſſion of philoſophy, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed by *Cleon* of impiety, for aſſerting the ſun to be a burning plate; but that, being defended by *Pericles* his ſcholar, he was fined five talents, and baniſhed, whereas *Satyrus* reported, that he was accuſed by *Thucydides*, not only of propagating impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the *Perſians*, and in his abſence ſentenced to die. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with ſickneſs, which moved his judges to compaſſion. *Suidas* is poſitive, that he was caſt into priſon for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature, and baniſhed, notwithſtanding *Pericles* undertook to plead his cauſe. *Joſephus* tells us, that the *Athenians* believing the ſun to be a god, and he affirming it to be

with ::

cles's troubles, *Dracontides* moved, that *Pericles* might bring in his accounts, and that the final deciſion of his cauſe ſhould be committed to judges, who ſhould write their ſuffrages upon billets taken from the altars[n]. Our great orator found means to diſengage himſelf from all theſe ſnares, he appeared in perſon for *Aſpaſia*, pleaded her cauſe as an advocate; but in the midſt of his pleadings let fall a ſhower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the ſight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for *Anaxagoras*, he was afraid to truſt his eloquence with the defence of him whoſe wiſdom was his only

[n] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Anax.

without ſenſe and knowledge, they adjudged him to ſuffer death as a blaſphemer. None of theſe opinions quadrate with *Plutarch*'s account, and, which is ſtill worſe, *Plutarch* does not agree with himſelf; for though ſpeaking of his retirement from *Athens*, he aſcribes it to *Pericles*'s precaution, yet he elſewhere admits, that *Anaxagoras* was accuſed. The truth ſeems to be, that the whole tenour of *Anaxagoras*'s philoſophy was, according to the religious notions of the *Athenians*, impious. For he taught, that matter was compoſed of infinite ſimilar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were diſpoſed in the frame we ſee them, by an infinite ſelf-moving mind; whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the ſurname of *Nous*, i. e. *the mind*. He lived after his baniſhment at *Lampſacus*, and was ſo little affected therewith, that when a perſon told him one day, *You are deprived of the* Athenians: he anſwered, *You are miſtaken, friend, they are deprived of me*. As to his notion of the ſun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning maſs, many times bigger than *Peloponneſus*, and that its revolution was occaſioned by the repulſe of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the ſun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her ſurface. He aſſerted likewiſe, that the ſtars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, becauſe they were all contrary to the *Athenian* religion. His ſcholars were the greateſt men of *Greece*, but all ſuſpected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus* the philoſopher, *Euripides* the tragic poet, *Socrates* the famous moraliſt, who heard both him and *Aſpaſia*; ſome ſay, that *Democritus* was alſo his hearer; but *Laertius* affirms, that *Anaxagoras* could not endure him, which *Phavorinus* likewiſe aſſerts (88).

(88) *Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id de Superſtit.*

crime

crime, and therefore he wisely sent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of respect, however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact oeconomist, he was able to shew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as *Thucydides* observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and, through the innocence of his actions in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calumnies that could be raised against him [o].

The Spartans prepare for war.

THE *Spartans* having heard all that the little states of *Greece* had to say against the *Athenians*, and last of all the *Corinthians*, ambassadors were sent to *Athens*, to demand reparation for these injuries, or to denounce war in case of refusal. *Thucydides*, of all antient authors the most to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the first place the expulsion of those *Athenians* who were stiled execrable on account of the old business of *Cylon* and his associates, because by his mother's side *Pericles* was allied to the family of *Megacles*; they next insisted, that the siege of *Potidæa* should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the *Megarians*, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *Athens* on pain of death, should be rescinded, and the *Grecian* states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of *Athens*. It is certain, that *Pericles* persuaded the *Athenians* to reject these terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted; some say, that he thought the din of war would dissipate that cloud of impeachments which his enemies were framing against him: Others, that personal injuries done to him and to *Aspasia* provoked him to fall into these measures; the most probable seems to be, that he advised the *Athenians* according to his apprehension of the affair, and directed such measures, as he thought suited best with the dignity of the *Athenian* state. The harangue attributed to him by *Thucydides*, and which we have no reason to doubt is to the same effect with that which he delivered, offers the following arguments to the consideration of the *Athenians*: That whatever the *Lacedemonians* might pretend, as to the complaints of allies and injustice of them, the true ground of this resentment was the prosperity of the *Athenian* republic, which they always hated, and now sought an

[o] THUCYD. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

opportunity of humbling. That it must be the fault of the *Athenians* themselves, if they succeeded in this scheme, because, for many reasons accurately and judiciously stated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expensive war, than the *Peloponnesians*; that therefore it should be proposed as the most feasible, and at the same time the most equitable satisfaction that could be given, that they would reverse their decree against *Megara*, if the *Lacedemonians* would allow free egress and regress in their city to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with *Sparta*, provided the *Spartans* would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war, telling them, that they ought not to think they ran such a hazard for a trifle or to retain a scruple in their minds, as if a small matter moved them to it, because on this small matter depended their safety and the reputation of their constancy and resolution; whereas, if they yielded in this, the next demand of the *Lacedemonians* would be of a higher nature; for having once discovered, that the *Athenians* might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude, that they durst deny them nothing, whereas a stiff denial in this instance would teach them to treat *Athens* for the future on terms of equality. He enforced these reasons, by shewing, that their ancestors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all cases preferred their glory to their ease, and their liberty to their possessions. *Diodorus* informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, putting them in mind, that the treasure brought from *Delos* amounted to ten thousand talents, and that tho' four thousand had been expended on the stately gate to their citadel, yet that six thousand were still in hand, that they were also entitled to the subsidies paid by the confederate states, that the statues of the gods, the *Persian* spoils, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immense sums, that private men were arrived at vast fortunes, and that, considering their trade by sea, they had a certain annual increase of wealth; that they had an army on foot of twelve thousand men, and in their colonies and garisons seventeen thousand; that their fleet consisted of three hundred sail, which might easily be increased, whereas the *Peloponnesians* had none of these advantages, which also *Thucydides* mentions, but places this oration lower. These were the causes, and this the beginning, of the famous *Peloponnesian* war,

which

which though, while it laſted, it brought innumerable evils upon *Greece*, yet there reſults from it this circumſtance of glory, that perhaps of all the wars which ever happened, the events of this are beſt recorded, ſo that the minuteſt circumſtances thereof are known even in theſe far diſtant times; which ſhews how far learning is preferable to power, ſince now that all the ſtates of *Greece* have been for many ages ſubverted and deſtroyed, the reſpect due to the writings of *Thucydides* hath preſerved them, as the merit of *Xenophon*'s hath alſo done his continuation of *Thucydides*'s ſtory, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions, which, however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe been buried in oblivion (H).

THINGS being in this ſituation, the *Thebans* conceiving with themſelves, that *Platea*, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the *Athenians*, would be a perpetual thorn in their ſides, reſolved to ſurprize it; with this

Platæa *ſurprized by the* Thebans.

[P] THUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 7. DEMOST. adv. Neær.

(H) Beſides what is mentioned in the text of *Pericles* adviſing the *Peloponneſian* war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous ſtory related both by *Plutarh* and *Cornelius Nepos*, that he was induced thereto by a ſprightly ſaying of the young *Alcibiades*; who ſeeing him melancholy one day, aſked him what was the matter, and upon his anſwering, that he knew not how to account for the public money which had gone through his hands. *Alcibiades* ſharply replied, *Then ſtudy to give no account at all.* Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree againſt *Megara*, to revenge *Aſpaſia*, two of whoſe harlots ſome young men of that city had ſtolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but *Pericles* does not ſeem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being diſpatched to *Megara* to complain of the injury, he was ſlain upon the road; and this violation of a ſacred character gave birth to the war. The enemies of *Pericles* indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the *Megarians*; but that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor *Adrian* granted many privileges and favours to the citizens of *Greece*, he expreſsly excepted the *Megarians* on account of this very murder. If *Thucydides* had conceived, that any of theſe charges on *Pericles* had been juſtly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneers of *Ariſtophanes* and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence, ſince they were enemies alike to all who were eminent (89).

(89) *Plut. in vita Periclis.*

view they ſent *Eurymachus* at the head of three hundred men, to aſſiſt ſuch of the *Plateans* as they had drawn over to their party, in making themſelves maſters of the place. In this deſign they ſucceeded very happily, the *Plateans*, who had promiſed to open the gates, kept their words exactly, and the *Thebans* in an inſtant took poſſeſſion of the place. The *Plateans*, that is, the townſmen in general, perceiving at laſt how ſmall a number the *Thebans* were, unanimouſly roſe and fell upon them, killing great numbers, and in the end forcing the reſt, with *Eurymachus* their chief, to render themſelves priſoners of war. It happened, that another party from *Thebes* came to aſſiſt their companions, but came too late; the *Plateans*, foreſeeing that they would waſte their country, offered to releaſe their priſoners, if they would forbear to ſpoil their lands; but threatened at the ſame time, that, if they committed any waſte, they would put their friends to death. The *Thebans* upon this withdrew, but the *Plateans*, however, put their priſoners to death, alledging, that they never promiſed to releaſe them but in caſe of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and *Eurymachus*, as he led them, died with them. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they had notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, cauſed all the *Bœotians* in their territory to be arreſted, and when they underſtood how the *Plateans* had delivered themſelves, they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, and a numerous body of troops to eſcort their wives and children to *Athens*. The league being now broken on both ſides, each party prepared for the war, both ſent ambaſſadors to the *Perſian*, both ſought to rouſe their allies. Moſt of the ſtates of *Greece* were inclined to the *Lacedemonians*, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves on this occaſion the deliverers of *Greece*; they likewiſe hated the *Athenians*, either becauſe they already oppreſſed them, or becauſe they apprehended that in time they would. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Acheans*; without *Peloponneſus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*, declared themſelves on their ſide. On the other hand, the *Chians*, *Leſbians*, *Plateans*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyrians*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the iſlands for the moſt part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubœa* and *Samos*. The *Lacedemonians* aſſembled their army at the *Iſthmus*, but *Archidamus*, the *Spartan* king and commander in chief, diſpatched a herald to *Athens* before he would enter *Attica*; this herald was ſent back without an anſwer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the *Lacedemonians* reſolving to act immediately

immediately offenſively, and the *Athenians* preparing to defend themſelves as well as they could [q].

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, ſo his wiſdom ſeems to have been the only reſource they had in it. He was aware that *Archidamus*, being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his eſtates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and to cut off all grounds of ſuſpicion, declared, that in ſuch a caſe he made a preſent of his lands to the public. He then adviſed, that, without thinking how to defend their country ſeats, they ſhould turn all their care to the city, buſy themſelves eſpecially in equipping their ſhips, and ſettle a thorough reſolution, not to be intimidated with the firſt evils of war. The *Athenians* came readily into all that he propoſed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To ſay the truth, the *Lacedemonians* themſelves aſſiſted his riſe, for their ambaſſadors continually attacking him, the *Athenians* apprehended from thence that he of all others muſt have the greateſt regard for their intereſt. When, however, the *Peloponneſian* army advanced as far as *Acharne*, one of the largeſt boroughs in *Attica*, and at a very ſmall diſtance from *Athens*, the *Athenians* began to grow very diſcontented, and to clamour exceedingly againſt *Pericles*, for not ſo much as attempting to drive them away. In which, however, he ſhewed his judgment, for that army conſiſting of no leſs than ſixty thouſand men, the *Athenians* were unable to ſet on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore, when ſome hot men preſſed for an engagement, *Pericles* very prudently ſaid, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a ſhort time; but men, once loſt, cannot eaſily be recovered. By degrees the madneſs of the people grew ſtill more violent, ſo that he was perſecuted with libels of all ſorts, and even his own friends preſſed him earneſtly to alter his conduct, and to attempt ſomething for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midſt of this ſtorm, purſued the plan which he had laid down in ſpite of the clamour raiſed againſt him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity [r].

The Peloponneſian *war*. Year of the Flood, 2567. Before Chriſt, 432.

HE ſent, however, a fleet of a hundred gallies with fourteen hundred land forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty veſſels from *Corcyra*, coaſting the *Peloponneſian* ſhore, did infinite miſchief, ſo that its inhabitants had no reaſon to boaſt of their expedition into *Attica*, ſince they left their own

[q] THUCYD. lib. ii. prop. init. DIODOR. lib. xii. [r] THUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

country

country to feel those miseries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another *Athenian* fleet infested the *Locrians*, and because *Ægina* had been a principal occasion of the present war, when the fleet returned from *Peloponnesus* it ejected all the inhabitants of that island, which was repeopled from *Athens*. They likewise reduced *Cephalenia*, and several towns in *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, while in the mean time *Pericles* refreshed those who were shut up in the city with distributions of public money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever else he could think of to amuse and divert them. In the autumn, when the *Peleponnesians* were retired, *Pericles*, at the head of a great army, entered the *Megarian* territory, and did all the mischief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this was, because on their account the *Lacedemonians* pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this first year the *Athenians* made up accounts as it were with the *Peloponnesians*, and repaid them those mischiefs, insults, and ravages, which they had committed in *Attica* at the beginning of it [r].

In the winter of this year the *Athenians* solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war after this manner; first, their bones were laid in a tent to be seen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their last offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypress coffin or coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for such whose bodies had not been recovered, and consequently could not have those honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentation for them. They were then interred in a public sepulchre in the *Ceramicus*, and after burial, a person, appointed by the senate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour; the person appointed on this occasion was *Pericles*. How he discharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from *Thucydides*, who, if he has not preserved the words of *Pericles*, has undoubtedly kept strictly to his sense, since he wrote and published his history within so short a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumstances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* war [s].

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to *Athens*; nature afflicted her at home, and the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, wasted all things abroad; but

[r] Thucyd. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. [s] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra.

the

the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will eaſily perceive from the deſcription of *Thucydides*, who was ſick thereof (I). *Pericles* in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes

(I) This plague in *Athens* makes ſo remarkable a figure in hiſtory, and the deſcription of it by *Thucydides* has been ſo much commended, that we ſhould deal unjuſtly with our readers, if we either omitted the deſcription of this plague, or gave it in other words than thoſe of that accurate hiſtorian. When the plague firſt began among the *Athenians*, the *Peleponneſians* had not been long in *Attica*; but ſo great a plague, and ſo fatal as this was, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. For at firſt neither were the phyſicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died faſteſt themſelves, as being the men that moſt approached the ſick, nor any other art of man availed whatſoever. All ſupplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatſoever means they uſed of that kind, proved all unprofitable; inſomuch as, ſubdued with the greatneſs of the evil, they gave them all over. It began, by report, firſt in that part of *Æthiopia* that lieth upon *Egypt*, and thence fell down into *Egypt* and *Afric*, and into the greateſt part of the territories of the king. It invaded *Athens* on a ſudden, and touched firſt upon thoſe that dwelt in *Piræus*, inſomuch as they reported, that the *Peleponneſians* had caſt poiſon into their wells; for ſprings there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faſter. Now let every man, phyſician or other, ſpeak concerning the ground of this ſickneſs, whence it ſprung, and what cauſes he thinks able to produce ſo great an alteration, according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only ſuch things as one may take his mark by to diſcover the ſame, if it come again, having been both ſick of it myſelf, and ſeen others ſick of the ſame. This year, by confeſſion of all men, was of all other for other diſeaſes moſt free and healthful. If any man was ſick before, his diſeaſe turned to this; if not, yet ſuddenly without any apparent cauſe preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken firſt with an extreme ach in their heads, redneſs and inflammation in the eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew preſently bloody, and their breath noiſome and unſavoury. Upon this followed a ſneezing and hoarſeneſs, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breaſt; and when once it was ſettled in the ſtomach, it cauſed vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that phyſicians ever named. Moſt of them had alſo the hiccoughs, which brought with it a ſtrong convulſion, and in ſome ceaſed quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch were neither very hot nor pale, but reddiſh, livid, and beflowered with little pimples and wheals; but ſo burned inwardly,

treſſes retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuſe it into his countrymen, though he held them to the obſervance of the

ly, as not to endure any the lighteſt cloaths or linen garments to be put upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedneſs, but rather moſt willingly to have caſt themſelves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being ſtill from eaſe, and power to ſleep, as far as ever. As long as the diſeaſe was at the height, their bodies waſted not, but reſiſted the torment beyond all expectation, inſomuch, as the moſt of them either died of their inward burning in nine or ſeven days, whilſt they had yet ſtrength; or if they eſcaped that, then the diſeaſe falling down into their bellies, and cauſing there great exulcerations and immoderate looſneſs, they died many of them afterwards through weakneſs. For the diſeaſe which took firſt the head, began above, and ran down, and paſſed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worſt of it, was yet marked with the loſs of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loſs of theſe eſcaped. There were alſo ſome that loſt their eyes, and many that preſently upon their recovery were taken with ſuch an oblivion of all things whatſoever, as they neither knew themſelves nor their acquaintance For this was a kind of ſickneſs which far ſurmounted all expreſſion of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwiſe to be none of thoſe diſeaſes that are bred amongſt us, and that eſpecially by this: For all, both birds and beaſts, that uſed to feed on human fleſh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or taſting periſhed. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifeſt defect of ſuch fowl, which were not then ſeen, neither about the carcaſes, nor any where elſe; but by the dogs, becauſe they are familiar with men, this effect was ſeen much clearer. So that this diſeaſe, to paſs over many ſtrange particulars of the accidents that ſome had differently from others, was in general ſuch as I have ſhewn; and for other uſual ſickneſſes at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, ſome for want of attendance, and ſome again with all the care and phyſic that could be uſed. Nor was there any, to ſay certain, medicine, that applied muſt have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for ſtrength or weakneſs that was able to reſiſt it; but it carried all away what phyſic ſoever was adminiſtered. But the greateſt miſery of all was the dejection of mind in ſuch as found themſelves beginning to be ſick, for they grew preſently deſperate, and gave themſelves over without making any reſiſtance; as alſo their dying thus like ſheep, infected by mutual viſitation. For if men forbore to viſit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of ſuch as ſhould take care of them. If they

the ſame rule which he had preſcribed before, and would not ſuffer them to ſtir without the city, either to eſcape the plague or

they forbore not, then they died themſelves, and principally the honeſteſt men: For out of ſhame they would not ſpare themſelves, but went in unto their friends, eſpecially after it was come to paſs, that even their domeſtics, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatneſs of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But thoſe that were recovered, had much compaſſion both on them that died, and on them that lay ſick, as having both known the miſery themſelves, and now no more ſubject to the like danger: For this diſeaſe never took a man the ſecond time, ſo as to be mortal. And thoſe men were both by others counted happy, and they alſo themſelves through exceſs of preſent joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any ſickneſs hereafter. Beſides the preſent affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their ſubſtance into the city, oppreſſed both them, and much more the people themſelves that ſo came in. For having no houſes, but dwelling at that time of the year in ſtifling booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the ſtreets, and men half dead about every conduit through deſire of water. The temples alſo where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppreſſed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careleſs both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws which they formerly uſed touching funerals, were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things neceſſary, after ſo many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having caſt thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiouſneſs, which alſo in other kinds was uſed in the city, began at firſt from this diſeaſe. For that which a man before would diſſemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuouſneſs, he durſt now do freely, ſeeing before his eyes ſuch quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their eſtates; inſomuch, as they juſtified a ſpeedy fruition of their goods even for their pleaſure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, becauſe they thought it uncertain whether they ſhould die or not before they atchieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleaſure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, becauſe they concluded it was alike, to worſhip or not worſhip; from ſeeing that alike they all periſhed: Nor the latter, becauſe no man expected that his life would laſt till he received puniſhment

or infeſt the enemy. He cauſed, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty veſſels of the allies of *Athens*, on board of which, and of a hundred *Athenian* gallies, he embarked three hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, with which he ſailed to *Epidaurus*. The *Peloponneſians*, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is withdrew their troops out of *Attica*, after they had waſted it for forty days. *Pericles*, however, did no great matter, the plague raging amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus* was ſent againſt *Chalcis* and *Potidæa*, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, ſo that after a ſhort ſtay they returned from thence alſo, bringing back to *Athens* about fifteen hundred men out of four thouſand, the reſt being loſt through peſtilence and war. Theſe evils drove the *Athenians* to madneſs and deſpair. In vain *Pericles* made uſe of all his eloquence to appeaſe them; they ſent ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon* to deſire a peace, which the *Spartans* were much too proud to beſtow; after this fruitleſs negotiation, *Pericles* harangued the aſſembly afreſh, and with the utmoſt force of reaſon ſought to combat their apprehenſions and fears; when he had done ſpeaking, they confeſſed he was in the right in adviſing them to begin the war; yet, diſtracted with the evils it had brought, they diſmiſſed and fined him; yet, with an inconſtancy natural to a people, they in a ſhort time recalled him, and veſted him with almoſt abſolute authority. But the ſtorms in his family did not blow over ſo eaſily; his ſon *Xanthippus* quitted his houſe, becauſe his father would not allow him more money than his eſtate would bear; but to conceal the true cauſe, the profligate youth gave out his father converſed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, *Xanthippus* died of the plague; ſhortly after him *Pericles*'s ſiſter died, after her almoſt all his relations and friends, laſt of all his ſecond ſon *Paralus*. At his funeral, *Pericles* loſt his heroiſm quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burſt out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his houſe cloſely, and abandoned himſelf to melancholy. It was of his crimes by judgment, But they thought there was now over their heads ſome far greater judgment decreed againſt them; before which fell, they thought to enjoy ſome little part of their lives (90).

(90) *Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. init.*

then,

then, that the *Athenians* invited him to accept of thoſe honours of which they had ſtripped him. At the perſuaſion of *Alcibiades* and others of his friends he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelf to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his requeſt cancelled that very unjuſt law, which they had made at his motion, for baſtardizing all children of the half-blood; and hereupon he enrolled a ſon of his by *Aſpaſia* a freeman of *Athens*, by the name of *Pericles*. In the ſummer of this year, a *Peloponneſian* navy of a hundred gallies waſted the iſland of *Zacynthus*, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themſelves. Towards the end of the ſummer they ſent ambaſſadors to the king of *Perſia*, to intreat his aſſiſtance againſt his antient enemies the *Athenians*; theſe ambaſſadors had it alſo in commiſſion to make application to *Sitacles* king of *Thrace*; but his ſon *Sadocus*, being a citizen of *Athens*, ſeized them and delivered them to the *Athenians*, who put them to death, to teach the *Lacedemonians* more mercy than they had ſhewn of late in killing ſuch as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to *Athens*. In the winter the *Athenians* ſent *Meleſander*, with a fleet of twenty ſhips, to *Caria* and *Lycia*, where he was ſlain. About this time *Potidæa*, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human fleſh, yielded to the *Athenians*, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from *Athens*. Such were the events which fell out in the ſecond year of the war [u].

IN the ſpring of the third year, *Archidamus* king of *Sparta* came with a great army and beſieged *Platæa*. The *Plateans* inſiſted, that *Pauſanias*, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predeceſſors had ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but *Archidamus* inſiſted, that they ſhould forſake the ſide of the *Athenians*, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promiſe of having all things reſtored to them when it ſhould be over. The *Plateans* were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they reſolved to abide all things rather than deſert *Athens*. *Archidamus* then waſted their country, but not with impunity; for thoſe of *Platæa* made continual ſallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then cauſed the city to be ſet on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to aſhes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore he was conſtrained to turn

[u] THUCYD. DIODOR. &c.

his ſiege into a blockade, and having thrown up a retrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a ſufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to *Peloponneſus*. In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two ſmall victories at ſea. But the great event of this year was the death of *Pericles*, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body elſe; for whereas it hurried off others ſuddenly, it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an inſtance of this laſt obſervation, *Plutarch* ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he muſt be very ſick indeed when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his very laſt moments, ſome of his friends, ſitting by his bed-ſide and conceiving him to have quite loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a ſudden he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, *I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing elſe, and which have happened to others alſo, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the reſt; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account.* Thus *Pericles* died as he lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of *Athens* as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that the ſame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation; only it muſt be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and that while he exalted the *Athenian* ſtate and adorned its capital, he deſpoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* [y] (K).

In

[y] Thucyd. lib. i, ii. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greateſt men of *Greece*, will not be very long, becauſe we have had occaſion to ſay ſo much of him in his hiſtory, that very little remains unſaid. He was very learned, eſpecially in uſeful ſcience; and there is a ſtory related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it muſt have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from moſt of his countrymen: juſt as he was going

IN the ſummer following, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* the third time, deſtroying

ing on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much that he knew not what to do. *Pericles* perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, aſked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it. He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid *Pericles*, what difference can you make between one darkneſs and the other, except that what ſhades the ſun is bigger than my cloak: Which brought the pilot and his crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to *Anaxagoras* appears from this, and indeed from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he ſuffered that wiſe man to be in ſuch diſtreſs, that throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving to death. When *Pericles* was told of this he ran to him in all haſte; yet inſtead of lamenting his diſtreſs, he fell to bewailing his own loſs, in caſe he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a counſellor; to which *Anaxagoras*, opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: *Thoſe*, Pericles, *who have need of a lamp, ſupply it with oil.* Whereupon the ſtateſman took him home, and uſed him better for the future. It was at his motion that the *Athenians* ſeized the treaſure of all *Greece* at *Delos*, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of truſt, *Pericles* thus defended it: It was given, ſaid he, to defend *Greece* from the *Barbarians*, which the *Athenians* having done have a juſt title to the money; for money, ſaid he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions; and as the *Athenians* were always ready to carry on war, it was but juſt that ſomething ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by theſe public buildings. This reaſoning of his drew over to his party merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds; as for ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them and penſions from the public ſtock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other *Athenians* had made themſelves eminent, *Pericles* had made himſelf a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: In a word, he made *Athens* the richeſt and moſt powerful of the *Greek* ſtates; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had fought to depreſs; and in the midſt of all the *Athenian* greatneſs, when her commons were moſt vain and moſt unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a ſmall time, in diſgrace, recalled afterwards with

honour

ſtroying the ripe corn, and waſting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, though without profit to themſelves. In the mean time, the whole iſle of *Lesbos*, the city and diſtrict of *Methymna* only excepted, revolted from the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of *Clippides* and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of *Mitylene*, to demand that the citizens ſhould pull down their walls and deliver up their ſhips, which if they did not do, they were then to act offenſively. The *Mitylenians* endeavoured to amuſe the *Athenians*, and to that end procured a truce till they ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens*; but in the mean time they diſpatched other ambaſſadors to intreat aid of the *Lacedemonians*, who directed them to make their ſolemn application at the *olympic* games to the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed againſt *Athens*. The *Spartans* meditated another inroad into *Attica*, and actually advanced as far as the *Iſthmus*; but their allies not ſending their quotas as they had promiſed, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an *Athenian* fleet had appeared on the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*. Yet the *Peloponneſians*, in purſuance of their promiſe to the *Mitylenians*, ſent a fleet to their aſſiſtance of forty gallies; but they were able to effect little, becauſe the *Athenians* had ſent a hundred gallies on that coaſt. Hitherto they purſued the maxims of *Pericles* and cultivated a naval force; but as this coſt immenſe ſums of money, they were conſtrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raiſe that tax which *Ariſtides* had impoſed with the conſent of the *Greeks*, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies. The *Mitylenians* and the reſt of the *Lesbians*, greatly incenſed at thoſe of *Methymna* for remaining ſtedfaſt in their duty to the *Athenians*, made excurſions into their country, whereupon the *Athenians* inveſted the city of *Mitylene*, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themſelves, inſtead of offending their neighbours. *Platæa* was all this time blocked up, its little gariſon, conſiſting of four hundred natives, and fourſcore *Athenians*, having

honour by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his authority to his death. But in the midſt of this great fortune his hands were clean, he did all things for *Athens*, and nothing for himſelf, leaving his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved, an example admirable rather than imitable (91).

(91) *Plut. in vit. Periclis. Thucyd. lib.* i, & ii. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. xii. *Juſtin.* iii. *c.* 7. & *mult. al.*

thus

thus long withſtood the whole power of *Peloponneſus*; but finding it a vain thing to hope aſſiſtance from *Athens*, and being very much ſtreightened for proviſions, they took a deſperate way of forcing a paſſage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred, however, perſiſted in their intention, and fell with ſuch fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a paſſage and marched to *Athens*, the reſt were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth year of the *Peloponneſian* war [z].

IN the very beginning of the next year the *Peloponneſians* ſent forty ſhips to the relief of *Mitylene*, and at the ſame time entered with a great army into *Attica* for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. The *Athenians* were exceedingly diſtreſſed by theſe cruel ravages; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in *Lesbos*. *Paches*, who commanded before *Mitylene*, obliged it to ſurrender before the *Peloponneſian* fleet, ſent to ſuccour it, could arrive; he likewiſe chaſed that fleet, and returning to *Lesbos* ſent the *Lacedemonian* miniſter, whom he found in *Mitylene*, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to *Athens*, where the *Lacedemonian* was immediately put to death; and in a general aſſembly of the people it was reſolved, at the motion of *Cleon*, that orders ſhould be ſent to *Paches* to put all the *Mitylenians*, who were at man's eſtate, to death; and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves. The next day, however, they reconſidered this decree, which *Cleon* ſtill ſupported with all his eloquence; but *Diodotus*, an orator of a milder diſpoſition, having ſhewn how injurious it would be to the *Athenian* glory to deal ſo ſeverely with perſons who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, it was carried by a very ſmall majority to reverſe the decree. A clean ſhip was immediately diſpatched to *Lesbos* to countermand the orders that had been ſent to *Paches* the day before, and inſtructions were given to the commander to make all the ſail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ſhip, which, though he ſtrongly endeavoured, he could not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to ſave the *Mitylenians* from utter deſtruction, for *Paches*, being a man of great humanity, took a day to conſider the orders he had received, and in that ſpace the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The *Athenians*, however, did not wholly pardon the *Mitylenians*; on the contrary, they put a thouſand of the briſkeſt of the rebels to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls of the city, took away all their

[z] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

ſhips

ſhips divided their lands among themſelves, and let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents. The ſame ſummer they made themſelves maſters of the iſland of *Minoas*, lying over againſt the territory of *Megara*; they ſeized likewiſe the port of *Niſæa*, and fortified it, which acquiſitions were of mighty importance to them. The *Plateans*, driven to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered, and by the judgment of the *Lacedemonians* were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty five *Athenians*, put to death, and their women ſold for ſlaves. Such was the end of one of the braveſt and moſt generous people of *Greece*. Their city was ſome time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the *Thebans*, who left only an inn to ſhew where it ſtood. The fame, however, of its antient inhabitants moved *Alexander the great* to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous ſedition in *Corcyra*, from whence future ſeditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were ſtiled *Corcyrian*. *Thucydides* hath inſerted a very copious deſcription thereof, its cauſes, and conſequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the *Athenians*, we are bound to inſert a ſuccinct relation of it here. We have already obſerved, that the war waged by this ſtate againſt the *Corinthians* induced the *Peloponneſian* war; and in ſpeaking thereof we have ſhewn, that a great number of *Corcyrians* were carried away priſoners into *Peloponneſus*, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the reſt were ſold for ſlaves; the reaſon of this conduct of the *Corinthians* was a deſign they had formed of engaging theſe *Corcyrians* to influence their countrymen to ſide with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderneſs imaginable, inſtilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic government, and a deſire of veſting the rule of their iſland in their own hands. When it was found that the *Corcyrian* priſoners had thoroughly imbibed theſe principles, they were told, that, on condition they would uſe their intereſt at home in favour of the allies and to the prejudice of *Athens*, they might obtain their freedom. The *Corcyrians* promiſed largely, returned home, and, which may ſeem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promiſed. From theſe endeavours ſprung the ſedition before mentioned; at firſt ſuch as were for an ariſtocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of ſuch as inclined to a democratic government; they were aſſiſted by the *Peloponneſians*, but the *Athenians* ſending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed party, the *Peloponneſians* were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party, taking

heart again in *Corcyra*, revenged themſelves for the injuries they had received from the now depreſſed faction; nor would they ſuffer any notions of religion to reſtrain their hands, but dragged away ſuppliants from the altars to execution on the ſtanding maxim of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worſt of all was, that this example once ſet, almoſt all the ſtates in *Greece* felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always incited and blown up by agents from *Sparta* and *Athens*, the former pretending to ſettle ariſtocracies every where, and the latter exerting her utmoſt power to prevent their remaining any where. In the midſt of theſe momentous affairs, and while they had ſo many important buſineſſes on the carpet, the *Athenians* were engaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the reſt. It happened thus; the inhabitants of *Sicily* were ſplit into two factions, the one ſtiled the *Doric*, which had the ſtate of *Syracuſe* at its head; the other the *Ionic* which owned the *Leontines* for their chiefs; the latter, conceiving themſelves too weak without foreign aid, applied themſelves to *Athens*, and ſent a citizen of theirs, one *Gorgias*, and a great orator, to intreat it; never was any miniſter ſuited better to his negociation than this man to treat with the *Athenians*; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and ſo tickled the ears of the people by his fine ſpeeches, that they ran headlong into a war with which they had no buſineſs, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the *Peloponneſians*. *Pericles* had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war; he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they meddled with nothing elſe, and that their ſucceeding therein would fix their empire over *Greece*, and ſecure *Athens* in as high a ſtate as ſhe could expect, or ought to deſire. But the people giddy with ſucceſs, and hoping at once to graſp the empire of *Greece* and the dominion of *Sicily*, reſolved to aſſiſt the *Leontines*, and to that end diſpatched a fleet under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*; and, as if this new buſineſs had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly ſailed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midſt of all theſe great deſigns, cutting off this year four thouſand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people, *Diodorus* ſays, ten thouſand; he likewiſe acquaints us with what he ſuppoſes to have been the cauſe of this diſtemper; he aſcribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot ſummer following thereupon, during which the *Eteſian* gales or evening breezes were wanting.

ing. The *Athenians*, however, aſcribed it to the pollution of the iſle of *Delos*, by the burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore cauſed to be removed, and ſought to appeaſe *Apollo* by various ſacrifices; ſuch were the events in the fifth year of the *Peloponneſian* war [a].

At the opening of the next ſummer, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Agis* the ſon of *Archidamus* king of *Sparta*, invaded *Attica*, or rather aſſembled in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes, which happened at this time throughout *Greece*, alarmed them ſo much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in *Sicily* with various ſucceſs; *Carcades*, one of their generals, being ſlain, the ſole command devolved upon *Paches*, who diſcharged his truſt with great reputation. At *Athens* the people ordered new ſhips to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among theſe *Demoſthenes* gained great reputation, and made himſelf very agreeable to their allies. The *Athenians*, however, received ſome check from the *Ætolians*, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the *Ambraciotes*, and conſtrained them to conclude a peace with the *Acarnanians* the allies of *Athens*; *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, who commanded in *Sicily*, gained, as the winter drew on, ſome advantages over the *Syracuſians*, and in this year it is remarked that mount *Ætna* made a greater eruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the ſixth year [b].

In the ſucceeding ſpring, *Agis* the ſon of *Archidamus* invaded *Attica* with a great army; the *Athenians*, however, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to *Sicily*, and to their commanders gave inſtructions to keep a ſtrict eye on *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehenſions leſt their exiles ſhould make any attempt, or the *Peloponneſians* make a deſcent with their fleet of ſixty gallies which was in their neighbourhood. *Demoſthenes* was ſent with another fleet to infeſt the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*, he was one of the greateſt generals of his time, of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet ſailed by *Laconia*, he took notice of the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by a narrow iſthmus, having before it a barren iſland about two miles in circumference, in which, however, there was a very good ſafe port, all winds being kept off, either by the head-land or by the iſle; theſe advantages gave him to apprehend, that a gariſon left here would give ſo

[a] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. [b] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii

much

much trouble to the *Peloponnesians*, that they would find it more advisable to protect their own country than to invade their neighbours. He proposed therefore to his collegues, that they should immediately seize it, and fortify it with the utmost expedition; but they, desiring rather to fulfil their instructions than to do extraordinary service, for which perhaps they might not be thanked, refused to follow his advice, and insisted upon sailing to *Corcyra*, according as their orders bore. A storm arising obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the island, where *Demosthenes* revived his persuasions to seize and fortify so convenient a post, but in vain; his collegues were all of another opinion, so that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the soldiers declared unanimously that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in six days finished a strong wall; and then the rest of the admirals sailing for *Corcyra*, *Demosthenes* was left with five ships to guard his new-raised fortification. As soon as the news of this event was carried to the *Peloponnesian* army, it was immediately resolved to return back and besiege *Pylus*. When they arrived before the place, they took possession of the harbour, and caused a chosen body of *Spartans* to take possession at the same time of the island *Sphacteria*, and these precautions taken they attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments with great vigour; *Demosthenes* and his garison made a prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty *Athenian* ships arriving in the nick of time, offered battle to the *Peloponnesian* fleet; but this being refused, because the *Lacedemonians* were at present set on taking *Pylus*, the *Athenians* boldly sailed into the harbour, broke and sunk most of the vessels therein, and took the rest, after which they besieged the *Spartans* in the isle, which threw the affairs of the *Peloponnesians* into the greatest disorder. The *Lacedemonians* sent for their magistrates into the camp, which was their custom in all great dangers, and they, perceiving that no safety could be wrought for the *Spartans* in *Sphacteria*, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the *Athenian* army, while a negociation was carried on at *Athens*; the articles of this truce were, that the *Peloponnesians* should deliver up all their ships, on condition to have them punctually restored to them in case the treaty did not take effect, that neither the *Athenians* nor they should undertake any thing till this negociation ended some way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the island, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth; that the truce should end at the return of the ambassadors, and that, if in the mean time it were

were broke in any of its articles, it ſhould be held utterly void in all. The *Lacedemonian* ambaſſadors ſpoke to the *Athenians* with great gravity and wiſdom; they ſhewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their requeſt; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the *Spartans*. You have now, ſaid they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wiſdom, or fortune, may be diſputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occaſion to make a juſt and honourable peace, you will ſhew, that your nation does not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas if you do not make peace, you will riſque that reputation, and even thoſe advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The *Athenians* in general were inclined to put an end to this troubleſome war, but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obſtinate man, ſo wrought upon them, that they inſiſted on very unreaſonable conditions, and treated the ambaſſadors in ſuch a manner, that, finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The *Peloponneſians* then demanded their ſhips, but the *Athenians*, pretending that the truce had beeen infringed, refuſed to deliver them, and thereby kept the poſſeſſion of ſixty good veſſels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hoſtilities being re-commenced on both ſides, the *Lacedemonians* attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments at *Pylus*, while the *Athenians* renewed their aſſaults on the *Lacedemonians* at *Sphacteria*; the latter, though under all the diſcouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, inſomuch, that the buſineſs went on very ſlowly, which gave the people of *Athens* much uneaſineſs. They began then to wiſh they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at *Cleon*, who to excuſe himſelf ſaid, that it would be eaſy for the general of the forces they were now ſending to attack the *Spartans* in the iſle, and put an end to this diſpute at once. *Nicias*, who had been appointed to this command, ſaid immediately, that if *Cleon* believed he could do ſuch great things, he would do well to go thither in perſon; the latter, conceiving this to be meant only to try him, ſaid, he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby *Nicias* catched him, and declared that he had relinquiſhed his charge. *Cleon* thereupon ſaid, modeſtly enough, that he was no general; but *Nicias* anſwered, he might then become one; and the people, pleaſed with this controverſy, held the orator to his word; *Cleon* then advancing, ſaid, I am ſo little afraid of the enemy, that I will deſire but a very ſmall body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with thoſe at *Pylus*, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the *Spartans* you are in ſuch pain about

about, or periſh in the attempt; at which the people, little expecting ſuch things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him, however, the troops he deſired, and he ſet ſail on this expedition, in which he conducted himſelf with great prudence and fortitude; for he firſt ſent a herald to the enemies camp, ſignifying, that if the *Lacedemonians* in the iſle ſurrendered at diſcretion, a new negociation might be commenced; but this demand, being looked upon as diſhonourable to the *Lacedemonian* ſtate, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with *Demoſthenes* made a deſcent upon the iſland, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the *Spartans* to the laſt extremity. *Cleon* perceiving it to be in their power to cut theſe brave men to pieces, reſtrained his *Athenians*, and ſent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at diſcretion; whereupon the *Lacedemonian* commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two ſuperiors being killed, demanded a conference with the *Athenian* generals, in which he deſired leave to ſend for orders to the *Peloponneſian* camp, but that was refuſed; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the priſoners were put on board the ſhips in order to be conveyed to *Athens*. They had ſuſtained a ſiege of ſeventy two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they loſt one hundred and twenty eight perſons out of four hundred and twenty, ſo that two hundred and ninety two yielded. *Cleon*, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promiſe, producing the priſoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next aſſembly decreed, that theſe priſoners ſhould be ſafely kept till a peace ſhould be made, unleſs the *Peloponneſians* ſhould in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which caſe they reſolved that they ſhould be put to death. They ſent a colony of *Meſſenians*, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the *Spartans*, to repoſſeſs *Pylus*, and their neighbourhood was ſo troubleſome to the *Lacedemonians*, that they quickly reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors afreſh to *Athens*, in order if it was poſſible to put an end to the war. The people of *Athens* were too much exalted with their ſucceſs, to treat the *Lacedemonians* either with juſtice or candour, and the ambaſſadors of that ſteady nation, diſdaining to be amuſed with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing. This ſummer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the iſthmus; they ſent likewiſe a fleet to *Sicily*, which fleet had inſtructions to put in at *Corcyra*, and to aſſiſt the government there againſt the faction which was in the intereſt of the *Lacedemonians*; this they effectually performed, for they gave the *Corcyrians* ſuch aſſiſtance, that the exiles fell into their

their power; they impriſoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death, with all the circumſtances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent; when there were only ſixty remaining, they beſought the *Athenians* to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The *Corcyrians*, thereupon ſurrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing theſe unhappy men into deſpair, they ſtrangled and otherwiſe deſtroyed themſelves with their own hands Such was the dreadful end of that miſerable ſedition, which for ſo many years rent this little iſland, and made the *Corcyrians* endure greater evils from themſelves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The *Athenians* were this year ſucceſsful in ſome other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall omit, and refer our readers to the account of them in *Thucydides*. In the winter, a *Perſian* ambaſſador whoſe name was *Artaphernes*, being ſent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace* and brought priſoner to *Athens*. His letters and inſtructions were read, but when it was diſcovered, that they no way concerned the *Athenians*, he was diſmiſſed, and other ambaſſadors from *Athens* were ſent with him to *Epheſus*, where, when they came, they were informed, that *Artaxerxes* the *Perſian* monarch was dead, by which their commiſſion being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year the *Athenians* apprehended, that the inhabitants of *Chios* had an intention to deſert them; they therefore ſent a fleet thither, with orders that they ſhould demoliſh their new walls, a method they commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. Theſe were the principal events of the ſeventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war there happened an eclipſe of the ſun, as *Thucydides* tells us, which was followed by an earthquake. The firſt matter of conſequence the *Athenians* reſolved on, was the taking of the iſle of *Cythera*, ſeated on the coaſt of *Laconia*, which lay extremely convenient for them. *Nicias* was choſen to command this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of *Pericles*, had been eminent in the ſtate, and enjoyed a great meaſure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary: for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of treſpaſſing in the leaſt on his inſtructions, and timorous to the laſt degree of offending the people. *Pericles*, eſpecially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he ſo much exceeded all others in eloquence, that to ſpeak and to perſuade were the

fame

ſame things with him, and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he deſired. *Nicias* was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchaſe it, another way; he had an immenſe eſtate, and he laid out a great part of it in beſtowing largeſſes, exhibiting plays, ſhews, and whatever elſe might pleaſe the people, who likewiſe pitied the timidneſs of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propoſe to them. We have already mentioned his diſpute with *Cleon* as to the buſineſs of *Pylus*; the ſame man was his conſtant opponent in every thing, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and intereſts. *Cleon* was continually the author of warm and violent counſels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the *Lacedemonians*; whereas *Nicias* was gentle in his manners, adviſed moderate meaſures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other reſpects he was fearful, yet he never diſſembled that he wiſhed well to the *Lacedemonians*, that is, wiſhed his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that ſtate and their own by obſtinately continuing the war. The people, having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into *Cythera*, and furniſhed him with a ſtrong fleet, and a good army. *Nicias* executed his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully, whereby he gained them a very commodious poſt, and brought the *Lacedemonians* very ill neighbours; afterwards the *Athenians* took *Thyrea* on the confines of *Laconia*; this place the *Lacedemonians* had given to the inhabitants of the iſle of *Ægina* when they were expelled by the *Athenians*, theſe with the *Cythereans* were ſent to *Athens* to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the antient and inveterate enemies of their ſtate and nation, the latter they diſperſed for the moſt part through the iſlands under their obedience, and on ſuch as they left in their own country they impoſed a very heavy tribute. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuſe* perſuaded all the inhabitants of that iſland to adjuſt their differences among themſelves, whereby the *Athenian* generals were conſtrained to re-embark their forces and return home. There were three of them, *Pythodemus*, *Sophocles*, and *Eurymedon*; they gave the people a diſtinct account of the reaſons which induced them to quit the iſland, and inſiſted particularly on this, that the *Sicilians* being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other meaſures; but the *Athenians*, who ſeldom conſidered any thing where

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ſucceſs was wanting, baniſhed two of their generals, and ſubjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of *Megara*, finding themſelves exceedingly diſtreſſed from the continual incurſions of the *Athenians*, and the miſchief done by their own exiles, began to have ſome thoughts of recalling thoſe they had baniſhed, of which when the *Athenians* had notice, they found means to engage the magiſtrates to aſſiſt them in quelling the townſmen. *Hippocrates* and *Demosthenes*, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition, wherein the *Megarians* concerned, exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had taken poſſeſſion of the town, if on a ſudden ſome of the conſpirators had not altered their minds and gone over to thoſe who ſought to defend it, whereupon the *Athenians* and their friends ſeized the long walls, and threw up a croſs work againſt the city, bending all their force to make themſelves maſters of *Niſæa*, or the port, doubting not, that, if they had this, *Megara* would ſoon fall. The gariſon, having no magazines of proviſion, were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion, after which the *Athenians* inveſted the city and cloſely beſieged it. *Braſidas* the *Lacedemonian* came quickly from *Corinth* to relieve the *Megarians*; but the citizens, being ſtill divided in their opinions, ſome ſiding with the *Athenians*, ſome with the *Lacedemonians*, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time the *Bœotians* came with a conſiderable army and joined *Braſidas*, who thereupon engaged the *Athenians*; but it ended in a drawn battle; at laſt, however, the *Lacedemonian* party prevailing in *Megara*, thoſe who ſided with the *Athenians* were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was paſt, and not to attempt any thing which might diſturb their country. But as ſoon as they were ſettled, they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderneſs for their country, cauſed a hundred of thoſe whom they moſt ſuſpected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in conſequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power. The exiles of *Mitylene*, ſome other *Leſbians*, and a crew of mercenary troops, ſeized *Rhetium* in *Aſia*, and poſſeſſed themſelves afterwards of *Antandrus*; that they might not incumber themſelves with too many things, they ſold the former city to its antient inhabitants, and were quickly after diſpoſſeſſed of the latter by the *Athenian* generals, *Demodorus* and *Ariſtides*; their collegue, whoſe name was *Lamachus*, ſailed to *Heraclea*

cles in *Pontus*, where he pretended to levy tribute; but the *Heracleans* inſiſted, that, as they were ſubjects to the *Perſian* king, the *Athenians* had no right to any ſubſidies from them. While theſe points were litigating, a land-flood drove moſt of the *Athenian* ſhips on ſhore, and broke them in pieces, ſo that *Lamachus* found himſelf unable to act either by land or ſea. The *Heracleans*, inſtead of taking any advantage of this accident, aſſiſted the *Athenians* to the utmoſt of their power, ſo that with much ado *Lamachus* put his army into a condition to march through *Thracia* to *Chalcedon*. The *Bœotians* growing weary of that form of government, which ſince their league with the *Lacedemonians* had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the *Athenians*, and to invite them to aſſiſt in ſettling democracies throughout *Bœotia*; but this buſineſs was not very proſperous, for the *Thebans* and other *Bœotians* of their party drew together a great army under the command of *Pantoedas*. The *Athenians* were commanded by *Demoſthenes* and *Hippocrates*; at *Delium* the armies met, and a very bloody engagement enſued, wherein the *Athenians* were at laſt beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in *Bœotia* taken away, moſt of the *Bœotians*, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forſake their country, and to take ſhelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides* the hiſtorian commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coaſt of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedemonians* had ſent *Braſidas* one of their beſt generals with a conſiderable army. He, partly by force, partly by perſuaſion, reduced *Amphipolis* and ſeveral other places; but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, ſaved *Ione*; and the *Athenians*, being extremely alarmed at the news of *Braſidas*'s conqueſts, ſent new ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips, in the winter to the *Macedonian* coaſt; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their intereſt in thoſe parts, where the valour and conduct of the *Lacedemonian* chief carried all before him. Theſe were the events of the eighth year of the war [c].

IN the beginning of the ſpring the *Spartans* made new propoſitions of peace at *Athens*, ſuppoſing that the misfortunes, which their enemies had met with in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much miſtaken; for the *Athenians*, finding that fortune was no more conſtant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unſettled by the loſs of *Amphipolis*, agreed to a truce for a

[c] THUCYD. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vita Niciæ.

year, that they might have time to re-eſtabliſh them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of what they held at preſent; that ambaſſadors, heralds, and all other perſons with public characters, ſhould have free leave to enter any of the ſtates, in order to the negociation of a general peace; that neither party ſhould receive or protect deſerters; that all controverſies ſhould be amicably decided, and not by force; proceedings at ſea were likewiſe ſettled; and confederates on both ſides were compriſed in this truce. Immediately on the concluſion thereof, negociations were ſet on foot for a general peace; but theſe were interrupted, and the *Athenians* thrown into new diſorders by an accident in *Thrace*, where the city of *Scione*, and the city of *Menda* revolted to *Braſidas*, who, knowing nothing of the truce, ſought to draw over *Potidæa* alſo; the *Athenians* pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, aſſerting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and *Menda* ſhould be reſtored them, which negociations not having the power to effect, an army was ſent to reduce them; by this army *Menda* was recovered, but *Scione* made an obſtinate reſiſtance, whereupon the *Athenians* encompaſſed it with a wall, and turned their ſiege into a blockade. The ſpring drawing on, the *Lacedemonian* army, under the command of *Braſidas*, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*; but it miſcarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover ſome courage in this part of the world.

The truce expiring on the day of the *Pythian* games, *Cleon* perſuaded the *Athenians* to ſend a great army into *Thrace* under his own command; it conſiſted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, all *Athenian* citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. *Cleon* ſoon after his arrival took the city of *Torone*; but he miſcarried in his attempt on *Stagyrus*, which, however, did not diſcourage him from falling upon *Galopſus*, a colony of the *Thaſians*, which he took; after which he retired to *Ione*, waiting there for ſuccours. *Braſidas*, who had an army much inferior to his, obſerving that *Cleon* was become careleſs, and that his troops did not obſerve diſcipline, attacked the *Athenians* by ſurprize, and routed them with very great ſlaughter, *Cleon* himſelf flying at laſt, but not far, a *Lacedemonian* ſoldier overtaking and killing him on the ſpot; *Braſidas* was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the *Athenians* loſt ſix hundred men, and the *Lacedemonians* no more than ſeven. This deciſive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the *Athenians* were greatly humbled by the loſs of their army,

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and the *Spartans* little leſs concerned at the loſs of their general; beſides, the *Athenians*, in loſing *Cleon*, loſt the moſt popular ſpeaker amongſt them, and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wiſe and prudent ſtateſmen amongſt them, thought fit to offer in their public aſſemblies. Amongſt the *Lacedemonians* there was likewiſe a conſiderable party, at the head of whom was *Pliſtonax* their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as *Nicias* and his party did at *Athens*. Theſe proceedings induced various negociations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*; on the following conditions: That a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, excepting that *Niſæa* ſhould remain to the *Athenians* who had taken it from the *Megarians*, and that *Platæa* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Thebans*, becauſe they abſolutely would not give it up. The *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refuſed to be included in this peace, but the reſt of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly ſworn to at *Athens* in the archonſhip of *Alcæus*, ten years after the commencement of the war; and as *Nicias* of all the *Athenians* moſt vigorouſly promoted it, ſo from him it was called the *Nician* peace [d].

THE quiet of *Greece* was far from being reſtored on the ceſſation of the war; ſuch of the ſtates in *Peloponneſus* as were not ſatisfied with the terms of peace, began to intrigue and negotiate amongſt themſelves, and to endeavour to ſet on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the ſtate of *Argos*. The pretence was, that the liberty of *Greece* was in danger from the alliance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual conſent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleaſure. In the mean time the *Spartans* found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with *Athens*; for whereas it was ſtipulated, that all places taken ſhould be reſtored, *Amphipolis* abſolutely refuſed to return under the *Athenian* government, ſo that all the *Lacedemonians* could do was to withdraw their gariſon, and under the colour of this, the *Athenians* on their ſide refuſed to evacuate *Pylus*. The *Lacedemonians* preſſing earneſtly to have this fortreſs put into their hands, or that at leaſt the *Helotes*

[d] THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Niciæ.

and *Meſſenians* might be removed from thence, the *Athenians* were at laſt prevailed on to grant the latter, and to ſend thoſe who were thus removed from *Pylus* to the iſland of *Cephalenia*. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all ſides, the *Lacedemonians* ſought to induce the *Bœotians* to give up *Panactus* and the *Athenian* priſoners, in hopes thereby to recover *Pylus*; with much ado they brought the *Bœotians* into this, but not till they had thoroughly deſtroyed the fortifications of the city in queſtion; after which it was delivered up. The *Athenians* on their ſide had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of *Pylus*, which they kept as a pledge for the *Spartans* complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of *Panactus* therefore gave them very great uneaſineſs, and induced them to apprehend the *Lacedemonians* had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themſelves to their old confederates at their expence. Theſe diſcontents were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who began now to rival *Nicias*, and who will make ſo conſiderable a figure in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, that there is a neceſſity of our informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the ſon of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and deſcended lineally from *Ajax*; in his perſon he was ſo beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comelineſs; his fortune was large, and beyond moſt of the nobility in *Athens*; as to his parts *Cornelius Nepos* ſeems to have drawn his juſt character in ſaying, that nature in him had exerted her utmoſt force, ſince, whether we conſider his virtues or his vices, he was diſtinguiſhed from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all theſe virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a looſe to his paſſions, he was indolent, luxurious, diſſolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneneſs. It was a great advantage to him, that *Socrates* had a great friendſhip for him, or, as the *Greeks* ſtiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners, and brought him to the knowledge of many things, of which otherwiſe he would have been ignorant, but alſo gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from reſenting thoſe wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilſt a lad; by his mother's ſide he was deſcended from the *Alcmeonidæ*, and his anceſtors by the

the father's ſide had been always upon good terms with the *Lacedemonians*. *Clinias* had indeed diſclaimed his friendſhip with that people, but *Alcibiades* renewed his title to it, and affected to ſhew a mighty reſpect to *Lacedemonian* ſtrangers. But when he obſerved the ambaſſadors of that ſtate applied themſelves wholly to *Nicias*, and his dependants, he reſented it ſo much, that he began inſtantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out, that the *Lacedemonians* were not hearty in their laſt treaty, and that *Nicias* was more a friend to them than was conſiſtent with his duty to his country. In proof of the firſt, he alledged, that the *Spartans* were now taking meaſures for humbling *Argos* and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down *Athens*. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldneſs *Nicias* had ſhewn when they would have ſent him with a fleet to make a deſcent on *Sphacteria*; the iſſue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a diſtruſt both of their old general and of their new allies. Shortly after this came ambaſſadors from *Lacedemon* to court the *Athenians*, and to rectify their opinions as to the ſincerity of that ſtate; theſe miniſters at firſt applied themſelves to *Nicias*, who introduced them to the ſenate, where they declared they were veſted with full power to adjuſt all differences, and to add ſuch new clauſes to the treaty already ſubſiſting, as might give ample ſatisfaction to the *Athenians*. When they retired from thence, *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his houſe, where he expoſtulated with them on their attaching themſelves to *Nicias*, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and, as a proof thereof, adviſed them to deny in the general aſſembly of the people that they were veſted with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce the *Athenians* to extort unreaſonable compliances. When therefore the ambaſſadors came into the *forum*, *Alcibiades* firſt ſtood up, and aſked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they anſwered, No. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, ſaid, *You ſee, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to theſe* Lacedemonians, *who deny to you to day what they ſolemnly affirmed yeſterday to the ſenate!* The people upon this abſolutely refuſed to hear the *Lacedemonians* ſpeak. *Alcibiades* immediately afterwards recommended the cauſe of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time ſought the friendſhip of *Athens*; but before they could come to a concluſion, an earthquake happened, which of courſe diſſolved the aſſembly. At the next meeting, *Nicias* propoſed, that he might be ſent ambaſſador

baſſador to *Sparta*, before any harſh reſolutions were taken, which the aſſembly complied with; but when *Nicias* came to *Lacedemon*, he found there a party as unreaſonable as that which he had left at *Athens*; for they would not give him any ſort of ſatisfaction with reſpect to his demands, and only ſwore anew to the old alliance, merely, that they might ſeem to do ſomething for the ſake of their old friend. Upon his return the *Athenians* concluded a league with the *Argives* and the other ſtates beforementioned for a hundred years, which *Alcibiades*, who promoted it, looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics, becauſe thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a diſtance, in caſe the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, a thing which was much eaſier foreſeen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this *Peloponneſian* war [e] (L).

The

[e] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(L) We thought it neceſſary to inſert here the league itſelf, as it ſtands in *Thucydides*, for many reaſons; firſt, becauſe it enlightens the hiſtory; ſecondly, for that it ſhews the policy of thoſe times, and that the treaties of the antient *Greeks* were no leſs perfect and explicit than ours; thirdly, that it might ſerve as an authority to demonſtrate the truth and ſolidity of this hiſtory; thus it runs:

" The *Athenians* and *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, for " themſelves and for the confederates commanded by every of " them, have made an accord for a hundred years, without fraud " or damage, both by ſea and land. It ſhall not be lawful for the " *Argives*, nor *Eleans*, nor *Mantineans*, nor their confederates, to " bear arms againſt the *Athenians*, or the confederates under the " command of the *Athenians* or their confederates, by any fraud or " machination whatſoever, and the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, have made league with each other for a hundred years " on theſe terms. If any enemy ſhall invade the territory of the " *Athenians*, then the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* ſhall go un- " to *Athens* to aſſiſt them, according as the *Athenians* ſhall ſend them " word to do, in the beſt manner they poſſibly can. But if the " enemy, after he have ſpoiled the territory, ſhall be gone back, " then their city ſhall be held as an enemy to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, " *Mantineans*, and *Athenians*, and war ſhall be made againſt it by " all thoſe cities, and it ſhall not be lawful for any of thoſe cities " to give over the war without the conſent of all the reſt. And if " any enemy ſhall invade the territory either of the *Argives*, or of

" the

THE next ſummer *Alcibiades*, at the head of a conſiderable army, paſſed over into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence

" the *Eleans*, or of the *Mantineans*, then the *Athenians* ſhall come " into *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantinea* to aſſiſt them, in ſuch ſort as thoſe " cities ſhall ſend them word to do, in the beſt manner they poſ- " ſibly can. But if the enemy, after he hath waſted their terri- " tory, ſhall be gone back, then their city ſhall be held as an " enemy both to the *Athenians* and alſo to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and " *Mantineans*, and war ſhall be made againſt it by all thoſe cities, " and it ſhall not be lawful for any of them to give over the war " againſt that city without the conſent of all the reſt. There ſhall " no armed men be ſuffered to paſs through the dominions either " of themſelves, or of any the confederates under their ſeveral " commands, to make war in any place whatſoever, unleſs by the " ſuffrage of all the cities, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantinea*, their " paſſage be allowed. To ſuch as come to aſſiſt any of the other " cities, that city which ſendeth them ſhall give maintenance for " thirty days after they ſhall arrive in the city that ſent for them, " and the like at their going away. But if they will uſe the army " for a longer time, then the city that ſent for them ſhall find them " maintenance at the rate of three oboles of *Ægina* a-day for a " man of arms, and of a drachma of *Ægina* for a horſeman. The " city which ſendeth for the aids ſhall have the leading and com- " mand of them, whilſt the war is in their own territory: But if " it ſhall ſeem good unto theſe cities to make a war in common, " then all the cities ſhall equally participate of the command. " The *Athenians* ſhall ſwear unto the articles both for themſelves " and for their confederates; and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, " and the confederates of theſe, ſhall every one ſwear unto them, " city by city, and their oath ſhall be the greateſt that by cuſtom " of the ſeveral cities is uſed, and with moſt perfect hoſts, *i. e.* " beaſts offered in ſacrifice, and in theſe words:

" I will ſtand to this league according to the articles thereof, " juſtly, innocently, and ſincerely, and not tranſgreſs the ſame " by any art or machination whatſoever.

" This oath ſhall be taken at *Athens* by the ſenate and the offi- " cers of the commons, and adminiſtred by the *Prytanes*. At " *Argos* it ſhall be taken by the ſenate, and the council of eighty, " and by the *Artynæ*, and adminiſtred by the council of eighty. " At *Mantinea* it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, " and by the ſenate, and by the reſt of the magiſtrates, and ad- " miniſtered by the *Theori* and by the tribunes of the ſoldiers. " At *Elis* it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, and " by the officers of the treaſury, and by the council of ſix hundred, " and adminiſtered by the procurators of the people, and by the " keepers of the laws. This oath ſhall be renewed by the *Athe-*

" *nians*,

thence to *Patræ*; he laboured at both places to perſuade them to build walls to the ſea, that ſo they might the more eaſily receive aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*. The *Patræans*, thinking to ſhew their wiſdom and foreſight, expoſtulated with *Alcibiades*, telling him, that if they took his advice, the *Athenians* might in time ſwallow them up. I do not know, anſwered he, but they may, yet they muſt begin at the feet and eat you by degrees, whereas, if the *Lacedemonians* are your enemies, they will begin at the head and devour you all at once. The *Argives* thought this year to have made themſelves maſters of *Epidaurus*, but were hindered by the *Lacedemonians* putting a garriſon into it of three hundred men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, and reſettled them in *Pylus*; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that ſtiled the *Peloponneſian*, yet no action was undertaken therein [f].

The next ſummer the *Spartans* drew together a very great army, which, under the command of *Agis* their king, entered the territory of *Argos*, where the confederate army lay; but, as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was ſuddenly clapped up by two of the *Argive* generals, and the king of *Lacedemon*, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill-treated by their reſpective citizens. Some ſhort time after, an *Athenian* army, conſiſting of a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, arrived at *Argos*, whereupon the *Argives* renounced the truce with *Lacedemon* and began the war again. The *Athenian*

[f] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

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" thirty days before the *olympic* games, and by the *Argives*, *Eleans*,
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" to theſe articles, whatſoever ſhall be determined by them all
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troops were commanded by *Paches* and *Nicoſtratus*, but *Alcibiades* was in it as a voluntier without command; he it was who perſuaded the *Argives* to beſiege *Orchomenus*, and ſoon after *Tegea*; but the career of their victories was ſoon ſtopped, for *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, and is very accurately deſcribed by *Thucydides*; in it the *Argives*, and their confederates were at firſt victorious in one wing, but the *Lacedemonians*, prevailing in the center and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the *Argives*, and defeated them alſo, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of which they erected a trophy. The *Eleans* and *Athenians*, however, after this battle inveſted *Epidaurus*, and threw up intrenchments around it; in the winter a ſtrong party in *Argos* joining with the *Lacedemonians*, that city broke off her league with *Athens*, and renewed it with *Sparta* for fifty years; in conſequence of which the *Argives* aboliſhed democracy, which city hitherto had ſubſiſted in their, and to compliment their new allies, not only ſet up an ariſtocracy among themſelves, but aſſiſted the *Lacedemonians* with a conſiderable body of troops, to force the *Sicyonians* upon the ſame meaſure: thus ended the fourteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, which was now opened again with circumſtances more dangerous than before.

IN the very next ſummer, *Argos* changed her party again, for falling into an early diſlike of ariſtocracy, which to thoſe who were free before ſeemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the *Lacedemonians* in their city, and upon ſuch of their own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed ſome and baniſhed others, they renounced their new-made league with *Sparta*, and renewed their old one with *Athens*. They likewiſe began to follow the advice which *Alcibiades* had given them, and with indefatigable induſtry wrought on the long walls which were neceſſary to join their city with the ſea. The *Athenians*, in the mean time, being convinced that *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia* had betrayed them, and been the chief occaſion that their expeditions againſt the *Chalcidians* and the city of *Amphipolis* had miſcarried, renounced their league with him, and declared war againſt him. Theſe were the events of the fifteenth year [g].

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ſhips into the territories of *Argos*, to aſſiſt his friends and to put an end to the diſputes which reigned in that

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[a] THUCYD. DIODOR. & PLUT. ubi ſupra.

city; in order thereto, he cauſed three hundred of the inhabitants, who were ſuſpected of favouring the *Lacedemonians* to be ſeized and carryed away; after which they ſailed to the iſland of *Melos*, which, though but ſmall and of inconſiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obſtinacy againſt the *Athenians*; the general contented himſelf with beſieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and, leaving a conſiderable body of forces in his lines here, returned to *Athens*. *Philocrates* the ſon of *Endemus*, being afterwards ſent with ſupplies to the camp before *Melos*, he reduced the place to ſuch diſtreſs, that the inhabitants yielded at diſcretion; whereupon the *Athenians* put every man who was able to bear arms to the ſword, and carried the women and children captives to *Athens*. *Thucydides* and *Plutarch* both mention this extraordinary act of ſeverity, but they differ pretty much with reſpect to the circumſtances attending it; *Thucydides* ſpeaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obſtinate defence of the inhabitants of *Melos*; *Plutarch* ſays, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of *Athens*, which, if it was not propoſed, was at leaſt promoted, by *Alcibiades*; *Diodorus Siculus* relates this fact alſo, but generally, and without any circumſtances at all. The *Athenians* from *Pylus* made various incurſions into *Laconia*, which the *Lacedemonians* did not reſent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their ſubjects to make repriſals on the *Athenians*. As to affairs in *Macedonia*, they received no very material alteration, except that the *Athenians* made ſome incurſions into the territories of king *Perdiccas*; theſe were the events of the ſixteenth year of the war[h].

THE *Athenians* determined in the beginning of this year to ſend a fleet and a great army into *Sicily*, the occaſion was this: the *Egeſtines*, conceiving themſelves exceedingly ill-treated by their countrymen, ſent to deſire aid from the *Athenians*; their ambaſſadors arrived the year before, but as no reſolution was taken, or at leaſt put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole ſtory at once. *Alcibiades* and his faction were of opinion, that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the *Athenians* ought readily to embrace an opportunity of conquering *Sicily*, for with them, to invade and to conquer were ſynonymous terms, that from thence they might paſs over to *Africa*, and reduce *Carthage* and *Libya* under their dominion; after which they intended to conquer *Italy*. People of ſenſe ſaw the madneſs of theſe ſchemes, but durſt not

[h] THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

oppoſe

oppoſe them; *Nicias* alone, though he was held the moſt timorous man in *Athens*, had the courage to oppoſe both the nobility and the people, and to ſet all things forth in their true light. He ſaid, that *Athens* had already as much work upon her hands as ſhe could do, that a breach with *Sparta* was inevitable, that the war muſt of conſequence be carried on in all parts of *Greece*, and that fleets and armies ſufficient for this purpoſe would try the utmoſt ſtrength of *Athens*. That *Sicily* was not ſo eaſy a conqueſt as many apprehended, ſince it was a very populous iſland, and its inhabitants remarkable both for prudence and valour. That the *Carthaginians*, who were by far more powerful than the *Athenians*, had in vain attempted to reduce this iſland, and that in caſe the *Athenians* could prevail, it would be found no eaſy taſk to preſerve their conqueſt, againſt the united power of the *Sicilians* and all their other enemies in *Greece*. His diſcourſe, however, had no manner of weight, the *Athenians*, deluded by their own ambaſſadors, who reported ſtrange things of the wealth of the *Egiſtines*, decreed, that a fleet ſhould be ſent to their aſſiſtance with a land-army on board, naming *Nicias* for the general, and giving him *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* for his collegues. Nothing could give greater uneaſineſs to any man, than this nomination did to *Nicias*; he repreſented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that ſort, by giving the generals abſolute authority to do whatever ſeemed to them moſt proper for the ſervice of the ſtate. While theſe preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city in confuſion; the *Hermæ*, i. e. *the ſtatues of Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be diſcovered, notwithſtanding a proclamation offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in conſequence of a clauſe therein, inviting any perſon, of what condition ſoever, to diſcover former ſacrileges, ſome ſervants and ſlaves depoſed, that a long time before, certain young men heated with wine had ridiculed ſome religious myſteries, and that *Alcibiades* was amongſt them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a proſecution againſt him, to which *Alcibiades* readily offered to anſwer, aſſerting his innocence, and proteſting againſt accuſations brought in his abſence; but his enemies, being determined to deſtroy him, procured others to move, that for the preſent he ſhould have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial ſhould be aſſigned him; to which propoſition he very unwill-

ingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped on this occa sion consisted of a hundred gallies, but they were better, and better provided, than any the *Athenians* had ever sent to sea before, and when joined by their allies at *Corcyra*, made up a hundred and thirty four gallies; of heavy-armed troops there were five thousand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were *Athenian* voluntiers. This great fleet staid some time at *Corcyra* in order to send some light frigates to the coast of *Sicily*, and to take proper measures with their allies for the debarkment of the forces. At *Corcyra* the generals differed; *Nicias*, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far less powerful than they had been represented, inclined to send only a squadron of sixty ships to th ir relief. *Alcibiades* alledged, that it would be highly dishonourable for the *Athenians*, after fitting out a fleet at such an immense expence, to content themselves with sending only a part of it to perform what the whole was designed for; *Lamachus* differed in opinion fr m them both; he said, that, their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to consider what could be done against their enemies; and as an army was always most terrible at first, before the minds of the soldiers were discouraged by hardships and fatigues, he gave his vote for sailing directly for *Syracuse*, landing their troops as near it as possible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at last, however, he came over to the opinion of *Alcibiades*, after which the fleet sailed for *Sicily*, where the army was landed, and with much ado took possession of *Catana*; from thence they made some excursions, but with little success. But long they had not been in this island before orders from *Athens* arrived, directing *Alcibiades* to return and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the *Mercuries*. It was a state-trick plaid off by the enemies of *Alcibiades* to ruin the mighty interest he had in *Athens*; to the same end they gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the *Lacedemonians*, and that he had persuaded the *Argives* to undertake something to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended, that the causing him to be arrested in sight of his army might produce great commotions therein, those who were sent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to discover by any means the severe resolution taken against him. They executed their commission very exactly, so that *Alcibiades* and those of his army, who were accused as well as he, had not any suspicion; but in the course of their voyage, gathering from the seamen somewhat of what was intended,

and

and being informed, that a perſon out of fear of death had ackowledged himſelf guilty and impeached them, they wiſely determined not to truſt an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, but to provide for their own ſafety, by withdrawing as ſoon as they had an opportunity; which offering itſelf quickly after, they gave their convoy the ſlip, and retired to ſuch parts of *Greece*, as, out of hatred to the *Athenians*, were moſt like to give them ſhelter; as for *Alcibiades*, he afterwards went to *Sparta*, and was well received there. The army in *Sicily* took this proceeding very heavily, however, the command devolving on *Nicias*, he managed it the beſt he could, as well for the ſake of his own honour, as from the apprehenſions he was under of being accuſed, in caſe any accident happened; for, having a juſt idea of the temper of his countrymen, he dreaded above all things a proſecution before the people, who heard accuſations willingly, and believed the moſt juſt defences but ſlowly. By a ſtratagem he and his collegue *Lamachus* brought their army near *Syracuſe*, and afterwards engaged the inhabitants of that city to make a ſally, wherein they ſuffered ſome loſs, and grew in great fear of an enemy whom hitherto they had in a manner deſpiſed; the *Athenians*, however, retired, and took their winter-quarters at *Catana*. In the interim the *Syracuſians*, by the advice of *Hermocrates*, ſent deputations to *Sparta* and *Corinth* to deſire aid againſt the *Athenians*, while in the mean time themſelves wrought hard in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waſte the country in the neighbourhood of the *Athenian* camp. The moderation of *Nicias* and the complacency of *Lamachus*, a well-diſpoſed man and an excellent officer, but little eſteemed by the *Athenian* people becauſe he was poor, drew many of the cities of *Sicily* to ſide with them, ſo that at laſt the iſland was divided into two factions, the one friends, the other enemies, to the ſtate of *Athens*. As for the *Syracuſians*, who were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the ſuccours they had demanded from *Greece*; the *Corinthians* readily promiſed and ſent them aſſiſtance, and alſo ſent ambaſſadors to *Sparta* to co-operate with thoſe whom the *Syracuſians* had ſent thither; but the *Spartans*, not caring to offend the *Athenians* further, heſitated much at their propoſitions, till *Alcibiades* informed them of the *Athenian* deſigns; then they diſpatched *Gylippus* with a ſmall body of troops to aſſiſt the *Syracuſians*, and at the ſame time determined to renew the war with *Athens*, and to invade *Attica* itſelf; this was the firſt ſtep to the ruin of *Athens*, for by the perſuaſion of the ſame perſon they determined to fortify *Decelea* a caſtle in *Attica*, which

which hindered the inhabitants of *Athens* from returning to their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their supplies from their silver mines at *Laurium*, and served as a receptacle for all the malecontents, and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is strange, that this was never thought of before, and that it should be resolved on now at the recommendation of *Alcibiades*, who in a short time had gained as great or greater credit at *Sparta* than he had ever at *Athens*. He procured this confidence by addicting himself to their customs, by conforming to them in his dress and manner of living, and in short by throwing off every thing which seemed to speak him an *Athenian*, and going more heartily than any of the *Lacedemonians* themselves did into such measures as had a direct tendency to their destruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in *Sicily* being much weakened, the generals sent to demand a supply of money and horsemen, which the *Athenians* readily decreed; this was the seventeenth year after the commencement of the *Peloponnesian* war[1].

Nicias, having received the succours he demanded, sailed to *Syracuse*, where he had several rencounters with the townsmen, but had the better of them in all; the *Athenian* fleet sailing into the haven of *Syracuse*, a very brisk action happened, in which *Lamachus* was killed; after which *Nicias*, causing new works to be thrown up before the place, straightened the *Syracusians* so much, that they thought of capitulating, but in the interim *Gylippus* with his *Spartan* succours arrived. In *Greece*, the *Athenians*, in support of their allies the *Argives*, invaded the territory of *Epidaurus*, and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful manner, subsisted between them and the *Lacedemonians*. *Gylippus*, by dint of conduct, defeated the designs of *Nicias* against *Syracuse*, who notwithstanding began to form new projects, and to exert his utmost skill, though in a very bad state of health, for furthering the *Athenian* affairs in that island. New supplies were in the mean time decreed to him at *Athens*, *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* being joined in commission with him: the latter sailed in the midst of winter with ten gallies and a great sum of money into *Sicily*. *Demosthenes* remained behind, being employed in providing all things necessary for a great fleet, which was to be sent thither in the spring. A small one in the mean time, consisting of

[1] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Alcibiad. & Nicia.

twenty

twenty gallies, was ſent to cruize on the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and theſe were all the remarkable things which happened in the eighteenth year of the war [k].

EARLY in the ſpring, *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a very numerous army of *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and other nations of *Peloponneſus*, invaded *Attica*, and, according to the advice which *Alcibiades* had given, ſeized and fortified *Decelea*, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Bœotia*. In the mean time the *Athenians* ſeemed leſs concerned for their own ſafety than for their conqueſts in *Sicily*; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ſhips to be equipped for ſpoiling the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*, at the ſame time that they ſent *Demoſthenes* with ſixty of their own gallies, and five belonging to the iſland of *Chios*, to ſupport *Nicias*, and to carry on effectually the war againſt the *Syracuſians*, who about this time received a powerful ſuccour from the *Peloponneſians*. When *Demoſthenes* arrived, he found things in a very declining way, *Nicias* having ſometime before ſuſtained ſome loſs at ſea, wherewith himſelf and his army were much diſpirited, though it had been occaſioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little regard to the general's orders. *Demoſthenes*, who commanded the ſupply, affected to cenſure *Nicias*'s conduct, as if he had wanted activity, and was not at all deſirous of carrying on the war; to ſhew therefore of how different a diſpoſition himſelf was, he would cauſe *Epipolæ* to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad ſucceſs; for all ſpeaking the ſame language, they were unable to diſtinguiſh foe from friend, ſo that a mighty ſlaughter happened, which exceedingly weakened the *Athenian* fleet. *Demoſthenes* was then for ſailing away as faſt as poſſible, conceiving that, ſince himſelf could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in *Sicily*; *Nicias* on the contrary inſiſted poſitively on continuing the ſiege, *Eurymedon* joined with *Demoſthenes*, but *Nicias* could not be prevailed on to depart from his ſentiment; which was, that the *Athenians*, having once ſat down before a town, ought not to riſe without taking it. The true motive, however, to his obſtinate behaviour was his old apprehenſions of the people of *Athens*; he remembered how they baniſhed two generals for coming from *Sicily* before, though they had all the reaſon in the world for what they did; he choſe therefore to truſt fortune, ſickneſs, and the enemy, rather than the people of *Athens*. Yet when they received

[k] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

certain

certain intelligence, that *Gylippus*, with a body of *Spartans* and other *Peloponnesian* troops, was arrived, *Nicias* agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were issued to the army; but just as they were ready to retire, an eclipse of the moon happened, which terrified *Nicias*, who was a very superstitious man, so much, that he would needs keep the army there seven and twenty days longer. The *Syracusians*, as soon as they were informed of this, attacked the *Athenian* camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and sea. At last a naval engagement happened, in which *Eurymedon* was slain; and though *Gylippus* and his squadron were beaten, in consequence of which the *Athenians* erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worst of it, since the *Syracusians* and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to shut them up in the port. *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, seeing the miserable condition in which they were, concluded at last to draw their forces into a smaller camp nearer their ships, that they might be at hand to assist each other; and when this was done, they resolved to venture another engagement at sea, in hopes of breaking through; but in case they were so unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themselves to burn their vessels, and to march over land to *Catana*; according to this resolution they attacked the *Syracusians* in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and resolution, the land armies being spectators on both sides. This was the most bloody battle, and by far the most obstinate which the *Athenians* had ever fought; in it they sunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themselves so much weakened, that though the generals resolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men absolutely refused to go on board, alledging, that it was impossible for them to undergo two services at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which if they had done, it is very probable they might have escaped; but being deceived by the industry of *Hermocrates*, they put it off till the third day after. *Nicias* with his troops led the van, *Demosthenes* brought up the rear, but the *Syracusians* pressed so hard upon them, that *Demosthenes* was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but, the *Syracusians* surrounding him, and many of his men beginning to desert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having stipulated that none of his men should be put to death on any pretence whatsoever, he and his troops to the number of six thousand yielded up their arms and became prisoners. The next day the *Syracusians* overtook *Nicias*, who thereupon encamped on

on an eminence; and diſpoſed all things for making the beſt defence he could; *Gylippus* immediately ſent to inform him that *Demoſthenes* had ſurrendered, and adviſed him to do the like, which he refuſed; but he offered to give hoſtages for the repayment of the expence of the war to the *Syracuſians*, if they would ſuffer him and his army to retire; but this was refuſed him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river *Aſinarus*, where the ſoldiers, throwing themſelves in without any order, miſerably deſtroyed each other, and were at the ſame time killed without mercy by the enemy, ſo that they periſhed by hundreds, without making any effort for their lives. *Nicias* himſelf ſurrendered to *Gylippus*. When the *Syracuſians* returned to the city, the *Sicilians* preſſed violently to have the generals put to death, which the *Lacedemonians*, and eſpecially *Gylippus*, oppoſed as much as they were able, out of generoſity with regard to *Demoſthenes*, who was the moſt bitter enemy of the *Spartans*, and who, as we have before ſhewn, projected the ſeizing of *Pylus*; out of gratitude with reſpect to *Nicias*, who had ever been a friend to *Lacedemon*, and who had been the chief author of the peace. At laſt, if we may believe *Thucydides*, the *Syracuſians* prevailed, and *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* were put to death. *Plutarch* ſays, they killed themſelves in priſon (M). Of the ſoldiers

(M) The character and ſervices of *Nicias* are ſufficiently ſettled in the text; here therefore we ſhall ſpeak only of his misfortunes, which were derived from the fear of the people and his ſuperſtition; he carried with him into *Sicily* one *Stilbides* a philoſopher, who had weaned him from many of his follies, and had poſſibly ſaved him at laſt, if he had lived; but happening to die ſometime before the laſt defeat at *Syracuſe*, *Nicias* had nobody about him who could account for an eclipſe of the moon; for as to eclipſes of the ſun, *Pericles* had put their being ominous out of every body's head by an action mentioned in note K. In their laſt retreat, *Nicias* in the midſt of his misfortunes behaved with the greateſt dignity and compoſure; after he was taken priſoner, perceiving that the *Syracuſians* continued ſtill to maſſacre his ſoldiers, though they were abſolutely in their power, he threw himſelf at the feet of *Gylippus*, whom he addreſſed in theſe words: *In the midſt of victory*, O Gylippus, *ſuffer yourſelf to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an exceſs of miſery has made famous, but of thoſe unhappy* Athenians *Conſider that fortune is never ſo changeable as in war, and do not forget how the* Athenians, *whenever they got the better of the* Lacedemonians, *always uſed their victories with moderation and generoſity.* The *Lacedemonian*, moved at this, raiſed up *Nicias*, and gave orders that the ſlaughter ſhould ceaſe, but thoſe orders were very indifferently obeyed,

ſoldiers who were made priſoners, numbers were put to death, many ſent to work in the quarries, and a very few returned by ſtealth to the ſea-ports, and from thence made their eſcape to *Athens*. This was the end of the *Sicilian* war, wherein the *Athenians* loſt not only the conqueſt they aimed at, or that reputation which they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. When advice of theſe loſſes came to *Athens*, they were for a long time not believed; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew very

obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy cataſtrophe of this great man. *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Syracuſians*, againſt *Gylippus*'s will, put *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* to death, or, as the word literally ſignifies, cut their throats. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Timæus* wrote, that *Hermocrates* ſent the generals word that the *Syracuſians* would put them to death, and that thereupon they ſlew themſelves. *Diodorus Siculus* is ſtill wider from *Thucydides* than any of the reſt, for he makes *Gylippus* the author of their death, againſt the will of the wiſeſt of the *Syracuſians*, and has inſerted an oration of his to that purpoſe. *Juſtin* from *Trogus Pompeius* ſays, that *Demoſthenes* ſlew himſelf, but that *Nicias* ſubmitted, and was made priſoner; undoubtedly *Thucydides* deſerves moſt credit; with his account of the matter therefore we will cloſe this note: "*Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* they killed againſt *Gylippus*'s will. For *Gylippus* thought "the victory would be very honourable, if, over and above all "his other ſucceſs, he could carry home both the generals of the "enemy to *Lacedemon*. And it fell out, that one of them, *Demoſthenes*, was their greateſt enemy, for the things he had done "in the iſland and at *Pylus*; and the other upon the ſame occaſion "their greateſt friend. For *Nicias* had greatly laboured to have "thoſe priſoners which were taken in the iſland to be ſet at liberty, "by perſuading the *Athenians* to the peace: For which cauſe the "*Lacedemonians* were inclined to love him. And it was principally "in confidence of that, that he rendered himſelf to *Gylippus*. But "certain *Syracuſians* (as it is reported) ſome of them for fear (be-"cauſe they had been tampering with him) leſt being put to the "torture he might bring them into trouble, whereas they were "now well enough; and others (eſpecially the *Corinthians*) fear-"ing he might get away, by corruption of one or other (being "wealthy), and work them ſome miſchief afreſh, having perſuad-"ed their confederates to the ſame, killed him. For theſe, or "for cauſes near unto theſe, was he put to death, being the man "that of all the *Grecians* of my time had leaſt deſerved to be "brought to ſo great a degree of miſery (93)".

(93) *Thucyd lib. vii. prop. fin. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Juſtin. lib iv. c. 5.*

angry

angry with thoſe who had adviſed the war, and with ſuch as had pretended to publiſh prophecies and oracles in favour of it; they reſolved, however, to take all neceſſary meaſures for ſupporting the dignity of the ſtate, to leave the adminiſtration of affairs to grave and wiſe perſons, to live with greater frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad; the expediency of theſe reſolutions appeared ſuddenly, for as ſoon as the news of the defeat in *Sicily* was ſpread throughout *Greece* all ſuch as had been confederates with *Athens* began to ſhew their diſlike of her, while the *Lacedemonians* were preparing by all means whatſoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The *Athenians* cauſed the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vaſt quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war. In the beginning of the next year, the *Chians* ſought to revolt from *Athens*, and to put themſelves under the protection of the *Lacedemonians*, with a view to which they ſent privately ambaſſadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promiſed to ſend ſuch a fleet as might protect them; but this promiſe was eaſier made than kept, and beſides, the *Athenians* got notice of it in the mean-time, and ſent a fleet to *Chios*. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that iſland with their perfidy, which they ſtifly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of *Chios* knew nothing of what had been tranſacted with the *Lacedemonians*. But the *Athenian* general, to put the buſineſs out of diſpute, inſiſted, that they ſhould ſend their quota to join the fleet of *Athens*, whereupon they were conſtrained to fit out immediately ſeven gallies, and to ſend them as he directed. After this the *Athenians* had ſeveral ſmall ſucceſſes at ſea, which not a little diſcouraged the *Peloponneſians*, who would ſhortly have loſt all their reſolution, if *Alcibiades* had not exerted his eloquence to perſuade them to carry on the war. He adviſed them to ſend him with a ſmall fleet to *Ionia*, where he promiſed to engage the cities to revolt from the *Athenians*, and to negotiate a league between *Sparta* and the great king, from whence he aſſured them, that ſuch advantages would be derived as muſt effectually ſink their rival. The *Lacedemonians* coming at laſt into his meaſures, he paſſed over, as he had propoſed, into *Ionia*, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promiſed, which ſtruck the *Athenians* with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly ordered a thouſand talents, which had hitherto been reſerved untouched, to be laid out in the ſervice of the war, for which alſo they made other great preparations. As ſoon as they were able they ſent ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips to

ſea, with directions to reduce, firſt of all, ſuch places as had rēvolted, and then to act generally againſt the *Peloponneſians*; moſt of theſe ſquadrons were ſucceſsful, ſo that *Leſbos*, *Clazomenæ*, and other places, which, upon the proſpect of the downfal of *Athens*, had revolted from her, were conſtrained to fall under her dominion again. *Alcibiades* in the mean time acquitted himſelf well to the *Lacedemonians*, by drawing *Tiſſaphernes* the king of *Perſia*'s lieutenant into a league with them. The *Spartans*, however, were diſpleaſed with the terms thereof, and ſought to have them altered, which gave the *Perſians* much diſtaſte. The hatred which *Agis* had conceived againſt *Alcibiades*, for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he perſuaded the *Lacedemonians* to ſend orders to their general in *Ionia* to put the *Athenian* to death, notwithſtanding all the ſervice he had done their ſtate. *Alcibiades*, gaining ſome inteiligence of this, retired to *Tiſſaphernes*, and laying aſide the *Lacedemonian*, as he had formerly done the *Athenian*, he became now a perfect *Perſian*; and, by the politeneſs of his addreſs, gained ſo much on *Tiſſaphernes*, who was a profeſſed enemy to the *Greeks*, that he ſtiled his gardens of pleaſure, after he had been at vaſt expence in adorning them, *Alcibiades*, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the *Athenian* perceived that *Tiſſaphernes* placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a juſt light into the affairs of *Greece*; he told him, it was not for the intereſt of the *Perſian* king that *Athens* ſhould be deſtroyed, but, on the contrary, that ſhe and *Sparta* might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the *Greeks* might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his maſter; but if it ſhould at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he adviſed him to truſt *Athens*, becauſe ſhe would be content with the dominion of the ſea; whereas the pride of the *Spartans* would always inſtigate them to new conqueſts, and eſpecially excite a deſire of ſetting all the *Greek* cities at liberty. For the preſent he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promiſed to the *Peloponneſian* ſeamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as alſo to countermand the order given to the *Phœnician* fleet to join that of *Peloponneſus*. When *Tiſſaphernes* had given into theſe councils, *Alcibiades* privately wrote to ſome of the officers of the *Athenian* army which lay at *Samos*, intimating, that he was now treating with the *Perſian* on their behalf, adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was aboliſhed. The reaſon, offered by him to engage the *Athenians* to this proceeding, was, that the *Perſian* king liked not a democracy, but would immediately truſt and aſſiſt

Athens

Athens, if the government was put into the hands of a few, *Phrynicus* the *Athenian* general, having a great antipathy to *Alcibiades*, and dreading his return, resolved to let nothing slip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion against the proposition which *Alcibiades* had made, but also discovered it to *Astyochus* who commanded the *Lacedemonian* troops; this man, being brought over to the interest of *Tissaphernes*, revealed *Phrynicus*'s treachery; *Alcibiades* upon this wrote again to his correspondents at *Samos*, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. *Phrynicus*, when he had information of this, wrote a second time to *Astyochus*, reproaching him with betraying him and discovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithstanding to betray the army he commanded at *Samos*, which lay in an open town, to the *Lacedemonians*; which piece of intelligence *Astyochus* instantly revealed to *Alcibiades*. *Phrynicus* being aware of this, told his soldiers, that the *Lacedemonians* were about to attack them by land and sea, and that therefore they should throw up with all diligence a strong intrenchment round the town to defend themselves, which immediately they did; so that, when *Alcibiades* wrote again concerning *Phrynicus*'s second treachery, his letters were disbelieved, because the general had taken such care for their safety. Such were the chieftains of *Greece* in these times; how unlike those who broke the power of *Persia*, and abandoned their country rather than live in it in a state of dependance? The *Athenians*, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of *Pisander* and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propositions of *Alcibiades*, dissolved the democracy, in defence of which they had so often and bravely fought, or rather resolved to dissolve it, for it stood yet a small time. The issue of their present debates was, that *Pisander* with ten deputies should return and treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tissaphernes*, that it might be known on what terms the king of *Persia*'s friendship might be depended on; and in case they were reasonable to declare, that the *Athenians* would vest the sovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival *Alcibiades* discovered, that *Tissaphernes* did not incline to help the *Athenians* at present on any terms, because they had been lately successful, and *Alcibiades* himself had taught him to help always the weaker party; when *Alcibiades* perceived this, he set up such high demands in the name of the *Persian*, that the *Athenians* themselves broke off the treaty, whereby he preserved both their friendship and that of *Tissaphernes*. When *Pisander* and his collegues came to the army at *Samos*, they engaged them to favour the scheme for the alteration

teration of government, and procured a commiſſion to themſelves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almoſt done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms aſſaſſinating, ſuch as were ſtanch friends to the people. It was at firſt propoſed, that only the dregs of the people ſhould loſe their authority; which was to be veſted in five thouſand of the moſt wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when *Piſander* and his aſſociates found the ſtrength of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time *Oropus*, a ſtrong city on the borders of *Bœotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, whereby all *Eubœa* was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being deſirous to revolt, and the diſturbances at *Athens* giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the *Peloponneſian* war [k].

When *Piſander* and his aſſociates firſt came from the army, they accuſed *Phrynicus* to the *Athenians*, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of conſummate parts and prudence, and, according to *Thucydides*, as honeſt as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in ſettling an oligarchy, *Alcibiades* would be afraid to truſt it; there was likewiſe at *Athens* one *Antiphon*, a man of ſuch mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to ſuch a degree, that he was conſtrained to avoid ſpeaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man deviſed a new frame of government, and having communicated it to *Piſander*, they contrived together a method whereby to eſtabliſh it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, propoſed, that ten men ſhould be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, theſe ten appointed an aſſembly of the people at *Colonus*, a place without the city. When they came together there, inſtead of propoſing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, *That every* Athenian *might ſpeak his mind freely*, i. e. *without danger from any of the laws*; which being aſſented to, *Piſander* produced his ſcheme, which was, that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five *Prytanes* might be elected; that theſe five ſhould chooſe a hundred; that each of the hun-

[k] Thucyd. lib. vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, vit. Alcibiad.

dred

dred ſhould chooſe three ; that the four hundred thus elected ſhould become a ſenate with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only, when and on ſuch matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of *Athens*, which was grown into diſlike with the people, who were notwithſtanding not over-fond of the new ; but thoſe who were for it, being ſuch as were men of great parts, found means to eſtabliſh it by force ; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his veſt, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered ſuddenly into the ſenate-houſe, diſſolved the old ſenate, paid them their ſalary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were conſtrained to ſubmit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new ſenate choſe *Prytanes*, or *preſidents*, out of their own body, and began to eſtabliſh themſelves after the mode of moſt new governments, by blood, bonds, and baniſhment; yet theſe ſeverities, though they were illegal, were not exceſſive, and, as ſoon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They ſent ambaſſadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedemonian* army at *Decelea*, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the *Spartans* might better rely on them than on the democracy ; but *Agis* was of another opinion, he could not imagine, that the *Athenians*, who had ſtickled ſo much for democracy, would ſubmit patiently to an oligarchy, eſtabliſhed rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no anſwer to the ambaſſadors ſent by the four hundred, but having ſignified his thoughts of the matter to the *Lacedemonians*, procured a great recruit to be ſent him into *Attica*. On the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he marched boldly to *Athens*, not at all queſtioning, but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raiſe a ſedition on his approach, and either ſubvert the government, or ſo weaken and diſtract the city, that the *Lacedemonians* might eaſily take it ; but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, for the people of *Athens*, when he approached their walls, and ſent ſome advance-parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with ſuch order and intrepidity, that *Agis*, after receiving ſome loſs, was conſtrained to retire again to his old poſt, from whence he ſent back the laſt forces he received to *Lacedemon*. After this the four hundred ſent ambaſſadors to him again, concerning whoſe negociations we can ſay nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the

army

army at *Samos* were generally inclined to a democracy, ſent ten deputies thither to appeaſe them, by perſuading them, that the government, now ſubſiſting at *Athens*, was only the beſt ſort of democracy, the dernier reſort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thouſand, a larger number than had ever aſſembled while the power was in the people; but theſe deputies were hardly gone from *Athens* before deputies of the army arrived there, ſignifying, that they had reſtored the democracy at *Samos*, and that they were reſolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred ſent ſome of theſe deputies to priſon; but one *Carias* who came from the army made his eſcape and got thither again, making a frightful report of the ſtate of things at *Athens*; upon which a ſedition enſued, that might have been very fatal to the ſtate; but moderate men interpoſing, the generals *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus* contented themſelves with taking an oath of all the ſoldiers, to do their utmoſt to reſtore the power to the people, to fight againſt the *Peloponneſians* and other enemies of *Athens*, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correſpondence with the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be ſteady in the meaſures they had taken, by repreſenting to them, that they had not deſerted their city, but their city them; that their ſtrength was ſuperior to any that could be ſent againſt them by the four hundred, and that queſtionleſs on the public faith *Alcibiades* would come to them, and procure them aid from *Tiſſaphernes* and the king. Theſe diſcourſes had their effect, the ſoldiers came unanimouſly into all that was required of them, choſe new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the *Peloponneſians*. At the requeſt of *Thraſybulus* they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, on his arrival, made a moſt eloquent ſpeech to the army, ſhewing them the true ſource of his misfortunes, the injuſtice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the ſtate. Above all things he magnified the power and good will of *Tiſſaphernes*, though he knew he had little authority for it, yet he could not be ſaid to deceive his countrymen, becauſe by this very method he compelled *Tiſſaphernes* to become their friend, inſtilling ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy into the *Peloponneſians*, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility. The ſoldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but ſailing directly to *Athens*, and reſtoring the antient form of government there. *Alcibiades* oppoſed this extravagant meaſure; he told the ſoldiers, that, ſince they had choſen him their general, he muſt return

to *Tissaphernes* in order to dispose things for the making a speedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he desired of them, and he departed accordingly; when he came to *Tissaphernes*, he gave him to understand, that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the *Athenians* to be either great friends, or very troublesome enemies, to the subjects of the king, and that, whether they should be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himself formidable to the *Persians* by boasting of the *Athenian* power, and necessary to the *Athenians* by the display of his interest with the *Persians*. As to the *Peloponnesians*, their affairs went wrong every-where, and all through the procurement of *Alcibiades*: their army mutinied and forced ther general to fly to a sanctuary; *Tissaphernes* with-held their pay and deluded them with promises of a fleet; they on the other hand distrusted *Tissaphernes*, and neither knew what measures to take, nor whom to trust. When *Alcibiades* came back to the *Athenian* army, he disposed them to hear reason, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from *Athens* had stayed all this while at *Delos*, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the soldiers having passed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of *Alcibiades*, however, they were allowed to come and deliver their message; but no sooner had they done this, than the army cried out as vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourse with the tyrants, but sail to *Athens* and restore the government; but *Alcibiades* still interposed, he shewed, that, if such a course was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Hellespont* would be immediately lost, so that if they pretended to be true patriots, they must remain where they were and defend the dominions of the state. To the deputies he gave this answer, that they should immediately return to *Athens*, and acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to resign their power, and to restore the senate they had ejected; that as to the five thousand, they might retain their authority, provided they used it with moderation, and that they should remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, since, if they betrayed *Attica*, or the army deserted *Athens*, a reconciliation would not restore the mischiefs such wrong steps might create. On the return of these deputies to *Athens*, all things were in confusion, few regarding the public, almost all anxious for their particular interest. *Phrynicus*, knowing upon what terms he stood with *Alcibiades*, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the

army. The former were the ſtronger party, and that they might make a proper uſe of their ſtrength, they diſpatched away ambaſſadors to *Sparta*, deſiring peace upon any terms; they likewiſe ordered the *Piræus* to be fortified towards the ſea: Upon which *Theramenes*, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty *Peloponneſian* ſhips upon the coaſt; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hundred ſought firſt to maintain themſelves in the ſovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preſerve at leaſt the city under their dominion; and in caſe that likewiſe failed, to make a compoſition for themſelves by giving it up to the *Peloponneſians*; for at all events they were reſolved to prevent a popular government from being reſtored, not doubting, that, if once that was done, they ſhould fall victims. *Phrynicus*, who was ſent at the head of the embaſſy to *Sparta*, being able to effect nothing, returned, and on his return was ſtabbed in the forum; after which *Theramenes* and his party, growing bolder, ſeized the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not *Thucydides* the *Pharſalian* interpoſed, and engaged the people to be quiet. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted on demoliſhing the new works in the port, which for the ſake of ſafety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, though in great fear, aſſembled in the ſenate-houſe, and ſent ſome of the members to appeaſe the people, promiſing to ſet all things right, and to make every thing eaſy; in order to which, they propoſed that they ſhould be allowed to chooſe five thouſand men, who ſhould elect four hundred by turns to govern the ſtate, beſeeching their countrymen not to deſtroy themſelves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that, at a day certain, a general aſſembly ſhould be convoked for ſettling the ſtate, but when that day came and the aſſembly was convened, news was brought, that the *Lacedemonian* fleet ſteered directly for *Salamis*, which put all things in confuſion again; for inſtead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crowds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for *Eubœa*, whither immediately a fleet from *Athens* was ſent under the command of *Thymochares*; but his fleet had little ſucceſs, for being attacked by the *Peloponneſians* without, and betrayed by the *Eretrians* on ſhore, they were miſerably defeated, twenty two ſhips out of thirty ſix being taken, moſt of the others deſtroyed, and all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolting. When this news came to *Athens*, the wife and the unwiſe gave up all

things

things for loſt, the defeat at *Sicily* ſeeming a ſmall thing to this, becauſe they had now neither fleet nor army, and had loſt *Eubœa*, from whence the city received greater ſupplies than from *Attica* itſelf; certain it is, that if the *Spartans* had known their own ſtrength, they would have ſailed directly to *Athens* and put an end to the war; but being always ſlow, and eſpecially ſo in naval affairs, they gave the *Athenians* time, which of all things they wanted moſt: when they had gained this, they wrought ſo hard at their gallies, that in a ſhort ſpace they equipped a fleet of twenty ſail; the power of the four hundred they aboliſhed by law, conferred the ſovereignty on the five thouſand, and acted in all other reſpects, eſpecially in recalling *Alcibiades*, with ſuch prudence, moderation and firmneſs, that *Thucydides* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed ſo happy a temperature as at this time. *Piſander* and the reſt of the vehement ſticklers for *Oligarchy* withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at *Samos*, and to the view of thoſe things which were performed in *Ionia*. *Tiſſaphernes* going to *Aſpendus*, where the *Phœnician* fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promiſes he had made to the *Peloponneſians*. *Alcibiades*, however, perſuaded the *Athenians* that he meant nothing leſs, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to paſs, ſailed with thirteen gallies to *Aſpendus*, where he held frequent conferences with the *Perſian* lieutenant, embroiling him thereby ſo effectually, with the *Peloponneſians*, and they with him, that he deſtroyed all their affairs. In his abſence an engagement happened between the *Peleponneſian* fleet under the command of *Mindarus*, which conſiſted of ſeventy three ſail, and that of *Athens* under the command of *Thraſybulus*, conſiſting only of fifty five; at firſt, the *Peloponneſians* had the advantage, ſinking ſome of the *Athenian* ſhips, and running others on ſhoar; but purſuing the advantage too eagerly, and breaking their line, the *Athenians* ſupplied by their great ſkill in maritime affairs their defect in force, and entirely defeated the *Peloponneſians*, taking twenty one of their ſhips; it is true, they loſt fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, though dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raiſed the hopes of the *Athenians*, gave new life to their affairs, and ſaved all *Ionia* and the *Hell-ſpont*. A few days afterwards the *Athenians* took eight gallies coming from *Byzantium*, which had revolted, preſently after they reduced that city, and grievouſly fined its inhabitants for their diſobedience. *Alcibiades*, returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which ſquadron he conſtrained the *Halicarnaſſians*

carnaſſeans to pay a large ſum of money, and fortified *Cos*. The news of theſe advantages coming to *Athens* mightily enlivened the people, and inſpired them with hopes of recovering *Eubœa*, and putting an honourable end to the war. Theſe events fell out in the ſummer of the twenty firſt year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and ſure guide *Thucydides*, who concludes his hiſtory at this point of time. The hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war was continued by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next ſeventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty eight. *Theopompus*'s writings are ſwallowed up by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preſerved by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Grecian* hiſtory of *Xenophon* remains ſtill in our hands; from theſe materials therefore, with the aſſiſtance of *Plutarch*'s writings, we ſhall continue our memoirs of the *Athenian* affairs [1].

Year of the Flood, 2588. Before Chriſt, 411.

Dericus, admiral of the *Italian* gallies, paſſing to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Helleſpont*, found the *Athenians* in his way at *Seſtos*, whereupon he fled to *Dardanum*, and landing his men endeavoured from the ſhoar to defend his ſhips, which he cauſed to be hal'd on the beach. The *Athenian* fleet, however, attack'd him, and were upon the very point of making themſelves maſters of all his gallies, when *Mindarus* the *Peloponneſian* admiral came to his aſſiſtance with a navy of eighty four ſail. The *Athenians* thereupon relinquiſhed their firſt enterprize, and prepared for a general engagement, *Thraſybulus* commanding the right wing, and *Thraſyllus* the left. *Mindarus* with his *Lacedæmonian* ſhips had the right in the *Peloponneſian* fleet, and *Doneus* with the *Syracuſian* gallies were in the left, *Pharnabazus* with a *Perſian* army lay hard by on the ſhoar, on whoſe aſſiſtance the *Peloponneſians* knew they might depend. The *Athenians*, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, fought with great reſolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty ſail appeared in view; neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's gally hoiſted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to *Alcibiades*. The *Peloponneſian* fleet immediately broke and fled, the *Athenians* took ten ſhips, and, if a mighty tempeſt had not ariſen, would have taken many more. *Mindarus* was conſtrained to run his ſhips into any port, and marched with his men to join *Pharnabazus*, who effectually

[1] THUCYD. lib. viii. prop. fin. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN. lib. 5.

protected

protected them from the *Athenians*. The *Eubœans* having almoſt generally deſerted the *Athenians*, the *Bœotians* propoſed to them the joining of their country, by an artificial iſthmus, to the continent, to which they aſſented, and herein they ſucceeded in ſpite of the oppoſition given them by the *Athenians*, and the rapidity of the *Euripus*, *i. e.* the arm of the ſea they were to fill up. *Theramenes* the *Athenian* admiral, finding it impoſſible to hinder this deſign from taking effect, ſailed away to other places, particularly to *Paros*, reduced them again under the *Athenian* government, and levied exorbitant fines upon ſuch as, he conceived, had willingly deſerted him; after which he ſailed to join the grand fleet under the command of *Thraſybulus*; ſome ſhort time after this conjunction, advice came, that *Mindarus* by the aſſiſtance of *Pharnabazus* had taken *Cyzicum* by ſtorm, upon which it was reſolved to ſail directly thither and fight them. When therefore the *Athenian* fleet had coaſted to *Cherſoneſus*, and were arrived at *Proconneſus*, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of *Chares*, directed him to march ſtrait to *Cyzicum*; as to the fleet they divided it into three ſquadrons, the firſt led by *Alcibiades*, the ſecond by *Theramenes*, and the third by *Thraſybulus*; *Alcibiades* with his ſquadron ſailed in ſight of the *Peloponneſian* fleet, upon which *Mindarus*, having with him eighty ſail, put to ſea to give him battle. *Alcibiades*, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the *Peleponneſians* purſued him with great joy, when on a ſudden *Alcibiades* made a ſignal for a new line. The *Peloponneſians*, looking about them, ſaw the ſquadrons of *Theramenes* and *Thraſybulus*, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the ſhoar; upon this, altering their courſe, they endeavoured to get into *Cleros*, a port near *Pharnabazus*'s camp; *Alcibiades* purſued them thither, ſinking and taking their ſhips all the way; when they came to the ſhoar, however, *Pharnabazus* ſent them ſuch aid, that the *Athenians* ſuffered in their turns. *Thraſybulus* then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, giving *Theramenes* orders to land alſo to join *Chares*, and to come with all ſpeed to their aid. *Alcibiades* dealt with *Mindarus* and his *Lacedemonians*, *Thraſybulus* fought bravely againſt the reſt of the *Peloponneſians* and their *Perſian* ſuccours, notwithſtanding they were much out-numbered and were at laſt ſurrounded. In that inſtant *Theramenes* and *Chares* came in with their foot; the battle was long and obſtinately fought, till *Mindarus* being killed, the *Perſians*, *Peloponneſians*, and *Lacedemonians* all fled; and thus to his immortal glory *Alcibiades* gained a victory at ſea, and another at land on the ſame day, took the enemy's whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his and the remains of it could carry away. When the news of this

this ſucceſs reached *Athens*, the people were ready to run diſtracted; they immediately levied an army of a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and ſent thirty gallies to join *Alcibiades*, from whom, as he was now maſter of the ſea, they expected all things. The *Lacedemonians* conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the deſtruction either of the one ſtate or other, ſent *Endius* their ambaſſador to *Athens* to propoſe a peace. This miniſter delivered himſelf to the aſſembly of the people, after the *Laconic* manner, in a ſhort, plain, and excellent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, that *Athens* had ſuffered, and was like to ſuffer, more than *Sparta* from this war, but inaſmuch as the evils occaſioned by war were hateful to all good men, he ſaid the *Spartans* deſired to free both themſelves and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account only they had ſent him to treat of peace. The people at firſt were inclined to reliſh what he ſaid, but one *Cleophon*, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a ſlave, but who had ſurreptitiouſly got his name inſerted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to ſend back *Endius* without an anſwer. This was the laſt ſtep they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuſe peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that *Alcibiades* would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had hitherto been ſo unſteady, fix herſelf now to their ſide [m].

IN the beginning of the next year, *Thraſybulus*, having repulſed *Agis* king of *Sparta* who led an army to the gates of *Athens*, ſailed with a great fleet, and a ſtrong body of land forces on board, to *Epheſus*, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to *Leſbos* and other places, where he had better ſucceſs. The *Spartans*, in the mean time perceiving that the war was transferred far from *Greece*, attacked *Pylus* by ſea and land, whereupon the *Athenians* ſent a ſquadron under the command of *Anytus*, but he finding the wind directly againſt him, after he had been ſome days at ſea, returned directly to *Athens*; upon which the people, according to their uſual cuſtom, condemned him to die, which ſentence, however, he commuted by paying a vaſt ſum of money, being the firſt who reverſed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the garriſon of *Pylus*, after having made an obſtinate defence, rendered upon terms; and

[m] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. i. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. in vita Alcibiad. JUSTIN. lib v. CORN. NEPOS, in vita Alcibiad.

thus

thus the *Lacedemonians* pulled this thorn out of their side, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the *Megarians* surprised *Nisæa*, which so enraged the *Athenians*, that they immediately sent an army into that country, though it could be of no use; the *Megarians*, by the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, and some troops from *Sicily*, ventured a battle, wherein they were most shamefully beaten, the *Athenians* killing great numbers of them, and committing horrid devastations in their country. In the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Theramenes*, did great things in the *Hellespont* and *Thrace*; at last they besieged *Byzantium*, then well fortified, and having in it a *Lacedemonian* garison under the command of *Clearchus*; some of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and let in *Alcibiades* and his army; the garison, however, and such of the *Byzantines* as adhered to them, made so gallant a resistance, that the *Athenians* were on the point of being driven out; which when *Alcibiades* saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the *Byzantines* should be safe in their persons and effects; whereupon they turned out the garison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred who were sent prisoners to *Athens*. This done, *Alcibiades* received *Byzantium* into favour [u].

IN the beginning of the next year, *Alcibiades* and *Theramenes* returned in triumph to *Athens*, they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ships, and such a load of spoils as had never been seen in *Athens* since the *Persian* war. The people left their city destitute, that they might crowd to the port to behold *Alcibiades* as he landed; old and young blessed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to absolve him from the curses he lay under, created him general with absolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The sweetness of his temper, his complacence towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought to the discharge of taxes, made the best of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid to him; neither did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed when *Agis* king of *Sparta* made a bold

[u] XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, JUSTIN. ubi supra.

attempt

attempt upon *Athens*; he came with an army of twenty eight thouſand men, in the night, to the very walls, ſlew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The *Athenians*, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning ſent out a body of horſe, equal to the cavalry of the *Peloponneſian* army; they fought under the walls and in the ſight both of the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*; at laſt the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the *Peloponneſian* cavalry back on their foot, whereupon *Agis* retired, finding it impoſſible to prevail againſt the city. *Alcibiades* in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of *Antiochus* his pilot, with ſtrict orders to do nothing till his return, ſailed into the *Helleſpont*, to aſſiſt ſome of the cities which yet ſtood firm to the *Athenians*. When he was gone, *Antiochus* little regarding his orders, went and provoked *Lyſander* the *Lacedemonian* admiral to fight, which he, finding *Alcibiades* was abſent, very readily did. In this engagement the *Athenians* were beat, loſing fifteen ſhips, with *Antiochus* their commander. On the news of this defeat *Alcibiades* returned, and would have provoked *Lyſander* to a ſecond battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the *Athenians* being perſuaded that this diſgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of *Alcibiades*, and liſtening alſo to certain ſtories they were told, that he correſponded with *Pharnabazus*, and the *Lacedemonians*, they inſtantly ſtripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were *Conon*, *Thraſybulus*, and *Pericles*, the ſon of the famous *Pericles*. *Conon* having demanded the fleet from *Alcibiades*, he readily yielded up his command, but refuſed to return to *Athens*. He then with his own ſhip paſſed over into *Thrace*, built a caſtle for his own ſecurity, and erected a little principality in the ſight of his many and potent enemies [o].

The next year *Conon* the *Athenian* general engaged *Callicratidas* the ſucceſſor of *Lyſander* in a ſea-fight, wherein he is ſaid to have ſhewn greater conduct than any admiral before him had done, in the diſpoſition of his fleet; however, he was worſted, loſt thirty of his ſhips, and was cloſely beſieged in *Mitylene*. News of this coming to *Athens*, the people were in great confuſion; they admitted all ſorts of perſons to the freedom of their city, who would aſſiſt them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ſhips, which were ſent away to *Samos*, where their fleet

[o] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vita Alcibiad. Corn. Nep. in vita eiuſd. Justin. lib. 5.

rendezvouſed,

rendezvouſed, with ſtrict orders to relieve *Conon* at any rate. In obedience to theſe commands, the whole fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty ſail, bore away from *Samos*: *Gallicratidas*, receiving advice thereof, and leaving a force ſufficient to block up the city, ſailed with a hundred and fifty ſhips to *Malea*, a promontory of *Leſbos*. The ſame night that he arrived there, the *Athenian* fleet came to *Arginuſæ*, a place over againſt *Leſbos*. In the morning a general engagement enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy, till at laſt, the *Lacedemonian* admiral being ſunk, the *Athenians* gained a great victory, with the loſs, however, of nineteen of their own ſhips with moſt of the men in them; but the *Peloponneſians* loſt ſeventy nine. It might have been expected, that the people of *Athens* would have been extremely grateful to thoſe generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for *Theramenes* having accuſed his collegues of having taken no care to ſave the dying, or to pay the laſt rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them, not caring to truſt the people, fled, but ſix of them returned home and ſtood their tryal, alledging that they were hindered by a tempeſt from doing what they were now accuſed of neglecting; but *Theramenes* making a moſt laboured and pathetic oration againſt them, in which he now and then ſtopped, that the cries of thoſe who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have eſcaped in a meal-tub, and who depoſed that the people when drowning deſired, that the *Athenians* would revenge them on their generals, the people againſt law and reaſon condemned them all to death. *Socrates* the philoſopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and reſolutely refuſed to do his office. *Diomedon*, one of thoſe who were condemned, riſing up, deſired to be heard, whereupon ſilence being made, he ſpoke thus, *We all of us wiſh, ye men of* Athens, *and wiſh it from our hearts, that the ſentence pronounced againſt us, may iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this city; but ſince we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but juſt and fit that you return thanks to* providence *for it.* They were then all haled to execution, and ſuffered like brave men, with great reſolution, calmneſs, and fortitude; their names are, *Diomedon*, *Thraſyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lyſias*, *Ariſtocrates*, and *Pericles*, the only ſon of the famous *Pericles*. A little while after, the madneſs of the people turned the other way, *Cleophon* the demagogue, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition, upon which the reſt who had ſtirred in that affair fled, but *Calixe-*

nus, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men was famiſhed to death [p].

The next year, the *Athenian* fleet aſſembled at *Samos* under the command of *Conon*, while *Lyſander* took the command of what fleet the *Peloponneſians* had left; he being unable to fight with ſo ſmall a force, and having too great a one to lie idle, ſailed firſt to *Thaſus* which he took, afterwards he ſailed to the coaſt of *Attica*, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old ſtation, and ſome time afterwards beſieged and took *Lampſacus*. The *Athenians* hearing of this, ſailed under the command of *Conon* and *Philocles* with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ſhips; firſt to *Seſtos*, and then to the river *Ægos* where *Lyſander* lay, daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in ſtrength, refuſed. While they remained here, the *Athenians* grew idle and careleſs, and having a camp on ſhoar ſpent their time in revelling and drunkenneſs. *Alcibiades*, reſiding in this neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earneſtly beſought them to be more vigilant. He told them, that *Lyſander* was both a wiſe and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They anſwered, that they wondered at his aſſurance, who was an exile and vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening, if he came any more, to ſeize him and ſend him to *Athens*; they afterwards concluded among themſelves what they ſhould do with the *Peloponneſians*, when they were taken priſoners, and reſolved, at the motion of *Philocles* their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as *Plutarch* ſays, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a ſpear, but tug at an oar. *Adiamantus*, one of their officers, could not help ſaying, that ſuch idle diſcourſe was unworthy of *Athenians*; for which they hated him. Some days after, *Lyſander*, taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in diſorder, both by ſea and land, and gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; *Conon* with eight gallies only eſcaping to *Cyprus*. Afterwards returning to *Lampſacus*, *Lyſander* put *Philocles* and three thouſand captives, with all their officers except *Adiamantus*, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced all the cities which had been under the *Athenian* power, diſmiſſing all their gariſons with great civility; that going home to *Athens*, the city might be full of people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to beſiege it, which ſoon after he

[p] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi ſupra.

did

did by ſea; while *Agis* king of *Sparta* came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the *Athenians* defended themſelves, without ſo much as demanding peace. At laſt, being ſore preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with *Agis*, but he referred them to *Sparta*; thither then they ſent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The *Lacedemanians*, however, would liſten to nothing, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. On the return of the ambaſſadors, *Archiſtratus* propoſed complying with thoſe terms to the aſſembly, for which he was impriſoned, many preferring death to ſlavery: at length *Theramenes* undertook to treat with *Lyſander*, who after a long attendance referred him to *Sparta*, whither with ſome other deputies he was preſently ſent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates aſſembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter deſtruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared, they would not conſent to the ruin of that city, which had ſo well deſerved of *Greece*. On the return of *Theramenes* peace was concluded upon theſe terms, that the long walls and the fortifications of the port ſhould be demoliſhed. That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips except twelve, receive all they had baniſhed, and follow the fortune of the *Lacedemonians*. *Lyſander* cauſed the walls to be pulled down, all the muſic in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the *Perſians* at *Salamis*. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed an oligarchy, expreſly againſt the will of the people; and thus the ruin of *Athens* ended in the twenty ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* war [q].

As ſoon as *Lyſander* had demoliſhed the long walls and the fortifications of the *Piræus*, he conſtituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are the perſons ſo famous in hiſtory under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of *Lyſander*, mere implements of power, who, as they derived their riſe from conqueſt, and the law of the ſword, exerciſed their offices in a ſuitable manner; that is, with the higheſt teſtimonies of pride, inſolence, and cruelty. Inſtead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a ſenate and magiſtrates at their will, and, that they might do all things without danger of controul, they ſent for a garriſon from *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of *Callidius*, upon their promiſe to pay the ſoldiers regularly. One of the firſt ſteps they took was to

[q] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xiv PLUT. in vit. Lyſander. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Ejuſd. JUSTIN. lib xv.

puniſh all informers, who by falſe accuſations had taken off honeſt men and diſturbed the ſtate; this, though ſevere, was popular; but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over *Callidius* to their party, they ſuffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage againſt the good. *Critias* and *Theramenes* were at the head of the thirty, men of the greateſt power and abilities in *Athens*; the former was ambitious and cruel without meaſure, the latter retained ſome bowels for his country; the former puſhed on all the bloody ſchemes framed by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always oppoſed them, at firſt with moderation, at laſt with vehemence. He ſaid, that power was given them to rule, and not to ſpoil, the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like ſhepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themſelves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being ſuch a handful of men as they were. The reſt, diſliking much the former part of his diſcourſe, catched hold of the latter, and immediately choſe out three thouſand whom they made the Repreſentatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them ſhould be put to death, but by judgment of the ſenate, thereby openly aſſuming a power of putting any other *Athenian* citizen to death by their own authority. A glorious uſe they made of this new-aſſumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themſelves in particular, they put to death, without cauſe, and without mercy. *Theramenes* openly oppoſing this, and abſolutely refuſing to concur in ſuch meaſures, *Critias* accuſed him to the ſenate, as a man of unſteady principles, ſometimes for the people, ſometimes againſt them, always for new things and ſtate revolutions. *Theramenes* owned, that he had ſometimes changed his meaſures, but alledged, that he had always done it to ſerve the people; he ſaid, that it was ſolely with this view that he made the peace with *Sparta*, and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he had never oppoſed their meaſures while they cut off the wicked, but when they began to deſtroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime againſt the ſtate. While *Theramenes* was ſpeaking, *Critias* withdrew, perceiving that the ſenate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what *Theramenes* had ſaid; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out that he had ſtruck *Theramenes*'s name out of the liſt of the three thouſand, that the ſenate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cauſe, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death.

Theramenes,

Theramenes, perceiving that they intended to ſeize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midſt of the ſenate-houſe, and laying his hands thereon ſaid; *I do not ſeek refuge here, becauſe I expect to eſcape death, or deſire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may intereſt the gods in bringing them to ſpeedy judgment, and thereby reſtore freedom to my country*: the guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poiſon with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his laſt breath, that as they ſtruck his name out of the three thouſand, they might ſtrike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, ſo that in a ſhort time ſixty of the worthieſt and moſt eminent citizens of *Athens* fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongſt theſe the moſt pitied was *Niceratus* the ſon of *Nicias*, a man univerſally beloved for his goodneſs, and univerſally admired for his virtues. As for the *Spartans*, they, loſing their former generoſity, were extremely pleaſed with theſe things, and by a public decree commanded, that ſuch as fled from the thirty tyrants ſhoud be carried back bound to *Athens*; which extraordinary proceeding frightened all *Greece*; but the *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppoſe it; the former received the *Athenian* exiles with humanity and kindneſs, the latter puniſhed with a mulct ſuch of their citizens as did not riſe and reſcue the *Athenian* priſoners, who, in purſuance of the *Lacedemonian* decree, were carried bound through their territories[r].

Thraſybulus, and ſuch as with him had taken ſhelter in the *Theban* territory, reſolved to hazard ſomething, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet conſidering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cauſe of his country, he made an irruption into *Attica*, where he ſeized *Phyla*, a caſtle at a very ſmall diſtance from *Athens*, where in a very ſhort ſpace his forces were augmented to ſeven hundred men; and though the tyrants made uſe of the *Spartan* gariſon, in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet *Thraſybulus* prevailed in various ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt conſtrained them to break up the blockade of *Phyla*, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the poſſeſſion of *Eleuſina*, marched thither, and having perſuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city that they might number them, took

[r] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib ii. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. Alcibiad. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Lyſand. JUSTIN. lib. v.

this

this opportunity moſt inhumanly to murder them. The forces of *Thraſybulus* encreaſing daily, he at length poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Piræus*, which he fortified in the beſt manner he could; but the tyrants, being determined to drive him from thence, came down againſt him with the utmoſt force they could raiſe. *Thraſybulus* defended himſelf with great obſtinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having loſt before the place not only a great number of their men, but *Critias* the preſident of the thirty, another of the ſame body, and one who had been captain of the *Piræus*; when they came to demand the dead from *Thraſybulus* in order for their interment, he cauſed a cryer he had with him to make a ſhort ſpeech, in a very loud voice to the people; intreating them to conſider, that as they were citizens of *Athens* without, ſo thoſe againſt whom they fought, and who fought to preſerve themſelves within the fort, were *Athenian* citizens alſo; wherefore, inſtead of thinking how to ruin and deſtroy their brethren, they ought rather to conſult how all differences ought to be compoſed, and eſpecially ought to rid themſelves of thoſe bloody tyrants, who, in the ſhort time they had had the adminiſtration in their hands, had deſtroyed more than had fallen in the *Peloponneſian* war. The people, though moved by theſe diſcourſes, differed among themſelves; the conſequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and choſe ten men out of each tribe to govern in their ſtead, whereupon the tyrants retired to *Eleuſina*. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with thoſe in the *Piræus*, but ſent away deputies to *Sparta*, as did alſo the tyrants from *Eleuſina*, complaining that the *Athenians* had revolted, and deſiring their aſſiſtance to reduce them. The *Spartans* ſent thereupon a large ſum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed *Lyſander* commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, reſolving to ſend ſea and land forces to reduce *Athens* a ſecond time, intending, as moſt of the *Greek* ſtates ſuſpected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable, that this deſign of theirs would have taken effect, if *Pauſanias* king of *Sparta*, envying *Lyſander*, had not reſolved to obſtruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raiſed againſt the *Athenians*, of which himſelf had the command, and with which he marched immediately to beſiege the *Piræus*. While he lay before the place and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correſpondence with *Thraſybulus*, informing him what propoſitions he ſhould make

in

in order to force the *Lacedemonians*, who were ſuſpected by all their allies, to grant them peace [r].

THE intrigues of *Pauſanias* had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh; the *Ephori*, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his meaſures, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of *Athens* ſhould be reſtored to their houſes and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had ſucceeded them, and who had acted no leſs tyrannically than they, and the eleven, who during the time of the oligarchy had been conſtituted governors or keepers of the *Piræus*; that all ſhould remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to truſt to this agreement, they ſhould have free leave to retire to *Eleuſina*. *Pauſanias* then marched away with the *Spartan* army, and *Thraſybulus* at the head of his forces marched into *Athens*, where, having laid down their arms, they ſacrificed with the reſt of the citizens in the temple of *Minerva*, after which the popular government was reſtored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed, the exiles at *Eleuſina* having endeavoured by the help of money to raiſe an army of foreigners, by whoſe aid they might recover the authority they had loſt; but firſt depending on their friends in the city, they ſent ſome of the principal perſons amongſt them, as deputies to treat with the citizens, but ſecretly inſtructed them to ſow jealouſies, and excite diſcords among them: Which the latter quickly perceiving, put theſe perſons to death, and then remonſtrating to thoſe at *Eleuſina*, that theſe contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the deſtruction of their country, they offered immediately to paſs an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, thoſe who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjuſted, and both parties moſt religiouſly obſerved the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly reſettled the ſtate. In this whole tranſaction, the virtue of *Thraſybulus* deſerves chiefly to be admired. When he firſt ſeized the caſtle of *Phyla*, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number inſtead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon at his requeſt any twelve perſons he ſhould name; but he generouſly anſwered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchaſed on ſuch terms; and, by perſiſting in his deſign, he accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it

[r] XENOPH. DIODOR. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. ubi ſupr.

was

was, since, as *Isocrates* informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and drove five thousand more into banishment, procuring also the death of *Alcibiades*, as many think, though at a great distance from them (N). Much about

(N) We are here to speak of the misfortunes of *Alcibiades*, a man who deserved much of his country, and would have deserved more, if her impatience had not prevented his services, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of serving her. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not because he had done any fault, but because he had not performed all which the *Athenians* hoped from him; his success in his first expedition had so elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of atchieving any thing, which he desired to atchieve, tho' his ships were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his soldiers; when therefore he was sent to *Chios* and *Ionia*, they concluded the first news they heard would be, that he had reduced both; being disappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and persecuted him a-new, for not doing what in the nature of things it was not possible he should have done. With the public madness of the people conspired the private envy of the chief men amongst them. *Thrasibulus* began to dislike him, and most of the ten commanders, who afterwards perished by popular rage, now busied themselves in turning it on him, of which when *Alcibiades* had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was foolish to study a defence against an accusation, when it was possible to fly from it. In his expedition into *Thrace* he made use of such as offered their service, and he did it with honourable intent; first, to settle a secure retreat for himself; and secondly, to preserve the *Greek* cities in his neighbourhood from the insults of these *Thracians*, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, so they consulted nothing but their own interest, preying, as occasion served, on any who were least able to resist. After the entire destruction of the *Athenian* fleet, and the flight of *Conon* to *Cyprus*, *Alcibiades* thought himself no longer safe in his castle; for the *Lacedemonians*, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid they should take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired first into *Bythinia*, but finding himself not safe there he went to *Pharnabazus*, who received him with great civility, and, as he believed, with great friendship. In *Athens* the people, sighing under the thirty tyrants, placed all their hopes in *Alcibiades*; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make some effort to relieve her. The tyrants themselves expected the same thing, and especially *Critias* their chief, who had been his most intimate friend, and at whose motion the decree had been made for recalling *Alcibiades* from banishment; but the lust of power destroys all ties, whether of

 blood

about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was ſettled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned and put to

blood or affection. He who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and ſending to *Lyſander* aſſured him, that *Athens* would never be quiet, or *Sparta* ſafe, till *Alcibiades* was deſtroyed. The *Lacedemonian* general, ſcorning to defile himſelf with an aſſaſſination, treated theſe notices with the contempt they deſerved; but *Critias*, applying to the magiſtracy of *Sparta*, procured an order to be ſent from thence to *Lyſander*, which he durſt not diſobey. Upon receipt of this order, *Lyſander* ſent away a meſſenger to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the affair to *Magæas* his brother, and to his uncle *Suſamithres*. *Alcibiades* reſided at that time in a ſmall village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra* a miſtreſs of his. As he ſlept he had this dream: he thought himſelf attired in his miſtreſs's habit, and that ſhe, holding him in her arms, dreſſed his head and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others ſay, he dreamed, that *Magæas* cut off his head and burnt his body; and it is ſaid, that it was but a little while before his death that he had theſe viſions. They who were ſent to aſſaſſinate him had not courage enough to enter the houſe; but ſurrounding it firſt they ſet it on fire. *Alcibiades*, as ſoon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire with a deſign to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked ſword in his right, he caſt himſelf into the middle of the fire, and eſcaped ſecurely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as ſoon as they ſaw him, retreated, and none of them durſt ſtay to expect him, or to engage with him; but ſtanding at a diſtance they ſlew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very beſt ſhe had, ſhe buried it as decently and as honourably as her preſent circumſtances would allow. She buried him in a town called *Meliſſa*; and we learn from *Athenæus*, that the monument remained to his time, for he himſelf ſaw it. The emperor *Adrian*, in memory of ſo great a man, cauſed his ſtatue of *Parian* marble to be ſet up thereon, and ordered a bull ſhould be ſacrificed to him annually. *Ephorus* the hiſtorian, as he is cited by *Diodorus Siculus*, gives quite another account of his death, than that before recited from *Plutarch*. He ſays, that *Alcibiades* having diſcovered the deſign of *Cyrus* the younger to take up arms, informed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and deſired that he might carry this news to the king; but *Pharnabazus* envying him that honour, ſent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himſelf, which *Alcibiades* ſuſpecting, went to *Paphlagonia*, and ſought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which

to death. He was not only a philoſopher, or one who in words profeſſed the love of wiſdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent ſayings, demonſtrated that he was truly wiſe. As a ſoldier, he had been preſent in ſeveral engagements; in one he preſerved the life of *Alcibiades*, in another he carried off a friend of his who was wounded, upon his back, in a third ſhewed as much courage and conduct as the moſt experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he ſerved, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by enduring hardſhips with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was deſired of him; for though he was exceedingly temperate and ſtrictly ſober, yet if his company was deſired he refuſed not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refuſed to meddle at all with matters of ſtate, till he grew far in years, and was then elected into the ſenate by his tribe. He oppoſed, as we have already related, the judgment given againſt the generals for not burying the dead, though *Theramenes* his friend had promoted it; and when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office required, he ſaid he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed it. Afterwards he ſought to reſcue *Theramenes*, when he was accuſed by his colleagues; after his death, he continued to ſpeak his mind freely, which gave ſome umbrage to the thirty, who notwithſtanding ſuffered him to live, becauſe *Critias* was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from diſcloſing his mind to his aſſociates, particularly he ſaid one day to *Antiſthenes* on account of the eminent men who were daily taken up: "Doth it repent thee, that we have "done nothing memorable, or at all com-"parable to what thoſe monarchs have performed, who "are celebrated in tragedies, ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, "*Agamemnon*, and *Egiſthus?* They are in thoſe plays be-"headed, feaſted with their childrens fleſh, and ſome "way or other deſtroyed at laſt; but no poet had ever the "hardineſs to introduce the death of a hog upon the ſtage.". One of his friends complaining, that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no poſt or office, *Socrates* demanded tartly, Are you ſorry for it? At another time he delivered himſelf in a public converſation thus: "A herdſman "would be very diſingenuous, who, in caſe the cattle grew "worſe and the herd thinner by his management, would not

Pharnabazus underſtanding, hired people to murder him. He was deſtroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) *Plutarch. in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcib. Athen in Deipnoſ.*

"confeſs

" confeſs himſelf an ill herdſman; but the governor of a ci-
" ty would be yet more diſingenuous, if ſeeing his citizens grew
" worſe and thinner, he ſhould not own himſelf an ill go-
" vernor". Which being reported to the tyrants, *Critias* and *Charicles* ſent for him, and forbad him to converſe with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed ſomewhere elſe than upon his ſhoulders; but not being yet ſatisfied of his fidelity to their government, they ſummoned him to the ſenate-houſe, and ordered him to go with ſome other perſons, whom they named, to ſeize one *Leon*, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his eſtate; this commiſſion *Socrates* flatly refuſed, and not ſatisfied therewith, added alſo his reaſon for ſuch refuſal. *I will never willingly*, ſaid he, *aſſiſt an unjuſt act.* Charicles replied ſharply, *doſt thou think*, Socrates, *to talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer? Far from it.* added he, *I expect to ſuffer a thouſand ills, but none ſo great as to do unjuſtly.* Upon which he went directly home, where he would not have been long ſafe, if the tyrants had not ſhortly after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving of means for their own ſafety, rather than to project how to injure and deſtroy others. The cauſe of this great man's death was the pique one *Anytus* had taken againſt him, who drew in *Melitus*, a bold young man, and *Ariſtophanes* the comic poet. The laſt of theſe broke the ice firſt, brought *Socrates* upon the ſtage in a comedy of his called *the clouds*, wherein he repreſents him as a man given to a ſubtle fallacious manner of arguing, whereby he could make a bad cauſe ſeem good, an introducer of new gods, whilſt himſelf worſhipped none, and as a petulant railer at thoſe things which others held ſacred. *Socrates* himſelf went to the *Theatre*, where he ſat in the moſt conſpicuous place; and when one of his friends aſked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he anſwered, *Not at all; I fancy I am at a feaſt where every one enjoys me.* A long time after this *Anytus*, conceiving the ſeaſon now proper for the execution of that vengeance which he had ſo long meditated, engaged *Melitus* to prefer a complaint againſt him to the ſenate, which he did in theſe words: Melitus, *ſon of* Melitus, *a* Pythian, *accuſeth* Socrates *ſon of* Sophroniſcus, *an* Alopetian. Socrates *violates the law, not believing the deities whom this city believeth, but introducing other new* gods. *He violates the law likewiſe in corrupting youth, the puniſhment death.* When the day of trial came on, *Melitus* opened the proſecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get through it. The crimes he therein alledged were, that So-

crates perſuaded his ſcholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of *Critias* and *Alcibiades*; that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, by telling them, that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, *Anytus* began a long and malicious harangue, wherein he was favourably heard; and after him *Lyco* in a ſet rhetorical ſpeech ſupported the accuſation. When theſe had done ſpeaking, *Socrates* went up into the orators deſk, and from thence ſpoke after this manner to the people; "I am ſurpriſed, O *Athenians*! how *Melitus* came "by this extraordinary piece of knowledge, that I do not "worſhip the gods the city worſhips. Others have ſeen me, "and ſo might *Melitus* too, if he had pleaſed, ſacrifice at com-"mon feſtivals on the public altars; how do I introduce "new deities, when I profeſs in all my actions to be directed "by the voice of God? they who obſerve the notes of "birds or the anſwers of men are guided by the voice. "None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from the ſupreme "power, and is oraculous. That the prieſteſs on the tripod "conveys to us by her voice what ſhe receives from the god, "who doubts? and that he foreknows future events, and "communicates them to whom he pleaſes, all men believe "and confeſs as well as I. Many call ſuch as foretel future "things, ſoothſayers and diviners. I aſcribe theſe things to "the dæmon, and I conceive, ſpeak more religiouſly therein, "than they who fancy I know not what divine power in "birds; that I am no impoſtor herein, many can atteſt, "who have aſked my advice, and never found it fail; let "ſuch as are incredulous hear this alſo to confirm their opi-"nions; as to my being favoured of the gods, when *Chæ-"rephon*, in the preſence of many witneſſes, inquired of "the oracle at *Delphos* concerning me, *Apollo* anſwered, "that no man was more free, more juſt, more wiſe; yet the "ſame god ſaid more of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* law-gi-"ver, that he knew not whether to call him a god or a man. "Me he compared not with the gods, though he gave me "the priority amongſt other men, but truſt not the gods "herein, conſider me exactly yourſelves, whom have you leſs "a ſlave to ſenſual pleaſures? Whom more free? I accept "neither ſtipends nor gifts. Whom more juſt than him who "conforms himſelf ſo to the preſent time, as that he ſtands "not in need of the defence of any other? who will ſay "that he deſerves not the title of wiſe, who ſince he was able "never loſt any opportunity of learning, by inquiry, all the "good poſſible? And that I took not the pains in vain, is e-

"vident

" vident from hence, that citizens and ſtrangers, ſtudious of
" virtue, have preferred my converſation to that of other men.
" Why do you think ſo many deſire to oblige me by gifts,
" whom they know to have no capacity of requiting them?
" or how can you account for my engaging ſo many, with-
" out requiring any return from them? that when the city
" was beſieged, and every one lamented the wretchedneſs of
" his condition, I ſhewed no alteration of temper, but re-
" mained the ſame as before; that while others lay out their
" money on exterior things to pleaſe themſelves, I furniſh
" myſelf from within, with ſuch things as pleaſe me better.
" If none can controvert what I ſay, how comes it to paſs,
" that I deſerve not commendation both of gods and men,
" inſtead of being charged, as I am now by you, *Melitus*,
" that with theſe inſtructions I corrupt youth? Every one
" knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one
" whom I of religious have made impious, whom from a
" modeſt deportment I have rendered impudent, of a frugal
" diſpoſition prodigal, of a ſober habit debauched, of a har-
" dy way of life effeminate? know ye any of theſe"? " I
" know thoſe, anſwered *Melitus*, whom you have perſuaded
" to be more obedient to you than to their own parents".
" With reſpect to inſtruction, I confeſs I have, anſwered
" *Socrates*, for that was my ſphere, not theirs. In regard
" to their health, men conſult phyſicians before their parents;
" in law-ſuits they apply to council, not to couſins; and in
" war you inquire as to your general's ſkill in arms, not who
" are his allies". " With good reaſon, cryed *Melitus*, and
" fit we ſhould". " Is it ſo, ſaid *Socrates*: If others are pre-
" ferred for ſuch things as they excel in, and with reaſon
" too, can you think it fit, becauſe in the opinion of ſome
" I have an advantage beyond others in educating of
" youth, which is a matter of the greateſt conſequence to ſo-
" ciety, that therefore I ought to ſuffer death? *Anytus* and
" *Melitus*, O my judges, may procure that judgment, but
" hurt me they cannot: to fear death is to ſeem wiſe and not
" to be ſo, for it is to pretend to underſtand what we really
" underſtand not; no man knows what death is, or whether
" it be not the greateſt happineſs which can arrive to us, yet
" all fear and ſhun it, as if they were ſure it would be the
" greateſt misfortune". *Plato* would alſo have ſpoke in his
defence, and going up into the deſk, opened his ſpeech thus: *Though I*, Athenians, *am the youngeſt of thoſe that come up into this place.* The people immediately cried out, *of thoſe which go down*, which they conſtrained him to do without ſpeaking another word; then proceeding to vote, it was carried

ried againſt *Socrates* by a majority of 281 one voices. He might, however, have eſcaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a proſecution againſt him deſerved rather the higheſt rewards, and a maintenance out of the public ſtock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were ſo much incenſed, that they judged him to a capital puniſhment by an additional majority of 80. He might eaſily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed upon him to have made his eſcape; but he refuſed, drank the poiſon in their preſence, praying to God to make his paſſage from this life happy, and ſhewed the ſame calmneſs and reſolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

It

(O) *Socrates* happened to be condemned the very day after the ſacred ſhip ſet ſail for *Delos*. The reader muſt obſerve, that this ſhip went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of *Theſeus* in *Crete*, and in conſequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ſhip from the port of *Athens* to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death; this ſometimes, by means of contrary winds, occaſioned the intervention of a conſiderable ſpace, as happened in the caſe of *Socrates*, who was in priſon thirty days before his death; in this time he was viſited by his friends, ſome of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed. *Why*, ſaid he, *do you know any place out of* Attica *where death never comes?* *Plato* hath wrote a long diſcourſe concerning the manner of his death; we will from thence tranſcribe only ſo much as relates immediately thereto, though indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. "It was now ſun-
"ſet, for he had ſtaid long within, when the officer entered, and
"after a little pauſe, ſaid, I have not, *Socrates*, obſerved that car-
"riage in you which I have found in others; but as I thought you
"the moſt generous, the mildeſt, and beſt of all men, that ever
"came into this place, ſo I now ſee you hate me not, for that
"whereof others are the cauſe: you know the meſſage I bring,
"farewel; bear what you cannot remedy. With that he departed
"weeping; and fare thee well, ſaid *Socrates*, I am well: how ci-
"vil is this man? I found him the ſame all the time of my im-
"priſonment, he would often viſit and diſcourſe with me, uſed me
"always courteouſly, and now ſee how kindly he weeps for me:
"but come, *Crito*, let us do as he bids us, if the poiſon be ready
"let it be brought. The ſun is yet ſcarce ſet, anſwered *Crito*,
"others take it late after a plentiful ſupper and full cups; make
"not ſo much haſte, there is time enough. He replied, they who

"do

IT is eaſy to judge that, from the uſage they gave the worthieſt men amongſt them, the *Athenians* leaſt deſerved to meet with

" do ſo think they gain time, but what ſhall I gain by drinking it
" late, only deceive myſelf, as covetous of life, and ſparing of that
" which is no longer mine? Pray let it be as I ſay; then *Crito* ſent
" one of the attendants, who immediately returned, and with him
" the man that was to adminiſter the poiſon, bringing a cup in his
" hand. To whom *Socrates*; Prithee honeſt friend, for thou art
" well verſed in theſe buſineſſes, what muſt I do? nothing, ſaid he,
" but as ſoon as you have drank, walk till you find your legs begin
" to fail, then lie down, and in ſo ſaying he gave him the cup.
" *Socrates* took it chearfully, not changing either countenance or
" colour; and, looking pleaſantly upon him, demanded whether
" he might ſpill any of it as a libation, who anſwered, he had
" made no more than would juſt ſerve. Yet, ſaid *Socrates*, I may
" pray to God, and will, that my paſſage hence may be happy,
" which I beſeech him to grant, and in that ſame inſtant drank it
" off eaſily, without any diſturbance. Many of us, who till now
" had refrained from tears, when we ſaw him put the cup to his
" mouth and drink off the poiſon, were not able to contain any
" longer; which *Socrates* obſerving, *Friends*, ſaid he, *what mean*
" *ye? for this reaſon I ſent away the women, leſt they ſhould be ſo*
" *unquiet: I have heard we ſhould die with gratulation and applauſe,*
" *be quiet then and take it patiently.* Theſe words made us with
" ſhame ſuppreſs our tears; when he had walked a while, per-
" ceiving his legs to fail, he lay down on his back as the execu-
" tioner directed him; who, looking on his feet pinched them
" hard, aſking him if he felt it; he anſwered no; he did the like
" to his legs, and ſhewing us how every part ſucceſſively grew cold
" and ſtiff, told us when that chillneſs came to his heart he would
" die; not long after he ſpake theſe his laſt words, *O* Crito, *I*
" *owe* Æſculapius *a cock, pay it, neglect it not.* It ſhall be done,
" ſaid *Crito*; will you have any thing elſe? He made no anſwer,
" lay ſtill a while, then ſtretched himſelf forth; with that the
" executioner uncovered him, his eyes were ſet, *Crito* cloſed
" them. This was the end of the beſt, the wiſeſt, and moſt juſt of
" men". Tho' *Leo Allatius* and ſome others have endeavoured to repreſent the time of the death of *Socrates* as a point not eaſily ſettled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, ſince there is ſcarce a great event in the whole *Greek* hiſtory, the time of which is more unqueſtionably ſettled. The *Arundelian* marbles, and many other authorities, ſhew that it happened when *Laches* was archon, in the firſt year of the ninety fifth olympiad, that is 2599 years after the flood, and four hundred before the birth of Chriſt. The reader may poſſibly be deſirous to know what became of his enemies: and becauſe we ſhall have no opportunity of inſerting it in the hiſtory, we will add it in this note. The *Athenians* grew very quick-

ly

with patriots; yet ſo it was, that, notwithſtanding her ill uſage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. *Conon*, who, after the misfortune which befel him at the battle of the *Helleſpont*, which was followed by the deſtruction of *Athens*, had kept himſelf cloſe in *Cyprus* and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no leſs than the reſtoring of the *Athenian* affairs to their antient ſtate, and beſtowing once more upon that city the empire of the ſea. With this view he cauſed a project to be tranſmitted to the *Perſian* king, wherein he endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the pride of the *Lacedemonians* would be extremely detrimental to his affairs; that their dominion once thoroughly ſettled in *Greece*, they would preſume to give laws to *Aſia* alſo, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Greek* cities therein; and that therefore it would be expedient for the *Perſians* to conſider of ſome means for putting it once more in the power of *Athens* to check the inſolence of that aſpiring ſtate, and thereby preſerve the great king's dominions in peace and ſafety. *Conon*'s memorial was quickly ſupported by facts; two *Lacedemonian* armies, within the compaſs of a few years, paſſed over into *Aſia*, the laſt under *Lyſander* and *Ageſilaus*, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the *Perſian* king had not, by ſending ſome of his agents with vaſt ſums of money into *Greece*, raiſed ſo many and ſo powerful enemies againſt *Sparta*, that ſhe was conſtrained to recal *Ageſilaus* to her aſſiſtance. The expediency of *Conon*'s advice being ſo fully made known, he, as a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the *Perſian* fleet; the *Athenians* in the mean time had the courage to join with the *Argives*, and other ſtates, in a war againſt the *Lacedemonians*, which they purſued with variety of fortune. *Conon* attacked the *Lacedemonian* fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the *Perſians*, which conſiſted of ninety ſail, and after an obſtinate engagement, wherein the *Spartan* admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking

ly ſenſible of the miſchief they had done, and becauſe it was irreparable, they ſo hated its authors, that they would not ſuffer them to light fire at their houſes. They would not anſwer them a queſtion. They would not bathe with them; and if they were ſeen to touch ever ſo large a veſſel of water, they threw it away as impure, until theſe men, unable to bear this uſage longer, hanged themſelves; and for the ſame reaſon the *Athenians*, that they might blot from their minds the memory of ſo black an action, forbad the name of *Socrates* to be mentioned in the *Theatre* (2).

(2) *Plato in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.*

fifty

fifty ſhips and five hundred priſoners. Afterwards he and *Pharnabazus* obliged moſt of the ſtates, dependent on *Lacedemon*, to change ſides, particularly thoſe of *Coos*, *Niſæa*, *Teos*, and *Chios*; *Mitylene*, *Epheſus*, *Erythrea*, and other places followed their example, and thus the *Lacedemonians* at once loſt the empire of the ſea. *Conon* determined after this unexpected ſucceſs to return to *Attica*, and in his way thither brought over the *Cyclades*, reduced *Cythera*, put a gariſon therein, and, after having confirmed the *Corinthians* in their league with the *Athenians*, ſailed from thence to *Athens*, where he promiſed the citizens to rebui d the long walls and to re-fortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great body of men from the fleet; the *Thebans* alſo ſent five hundred carpenters and maſons, and other cities did the like; but *Tiribazus*, who commanded the *Perſian* armies in *Aſia*, envying *Conon*'s great ſucceſs, gave out, that he made uſe of the *Perſian* power merely to get towns and countries for his own citizens. To anſwer which charge he ſent for him to *Sardis*, where upon his firſt appearance he threw him into priſon *.

THE diſturbances in *Greece* gave the *Athenians* an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, and making themſelves once more conſiderable; the *Corinthian* war particularly, as it laſted a conſiderable time and with various ſucceſs, ſerved as a kind of ſchool to the *Athenian* youth who addicted themſelves to arms; and it ſerved the better, becauſe the *Athenian* general, who then commanded, was *Iphicrates*, not only the beſt officer of *Greece* in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had ſtudied it from the glory reſulting therefrom, *Iphicrates* looked upon it as a ſcience, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was the ſon of a ſhoe-maker, but *Cornelius Nepos* does not mention any thing of his family; the firſt exploit by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf was in a ſea-fight, where finding himſelf wounded and unable to remain on board the enemy's ſhip, he catched up one of the ſoldiers in his arms and carried him on board his own, which ſhews, that he had great ſtrength of body, as well as mighty preſence of mind. We are told further with reſpect to his perſon, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he ſtruck with awe all ſuch as

* XENOPHON. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. CORN. NEPOS in vita Cononis.

converſed with him. He ſhewed his good ſenſe in altering the habit and arms of the *Athenian* ſoldiers which had been uſed to his time; inſtead of large heavy ſhields, he gave them light ones; inſtead of ſhort ſpears, long ones; and inſtead of little ſtabbing ſwords, weapons of a more uſeful ſize. In this war of *Corinth* he gained by his ſkill great advantages over armies, more numerous, and compoſed of better ſoldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp, though it was in the country of his allies; and when ſome of his officers, who thought he gave the ſoldiers needleſs trouble, aſked him, who he was afraid of; I am afraid, anſwered he, of being forced to uſe that expreſſion, which of all others leaſt becomes a general, *I did not think of it.* *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta*, whoſe troops had been elſewhere always victorious, were notwithſtanding beaten with great loſs by this *Athenian*, which exceedingly grieved *Ageſilaus*, and made him abate ſomewhat of that haughtineſs he had hitherto ſhewn upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace. Abroad the affairs of the *Athenians* went but ill; the exiles from *Rhodes*, which was now under a democratic government, went to *Sparta*, and boaſting there of their great intereſt, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change ſides and join with the *Lacedemonians*, two fleets were ſent to that iſland. The *Athenians*, greatly alarmed at this, diſpatched the famous *Thraſybulus*, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the deſigns of the *Lacedemonians* from taking effect. When this great captain came into theſe ſeas, he received ſuch intelligence from *Rhodes*, as thoroughly convinced him, that any attempt he made there-upon would be fruitleſs; he therefore ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, where he reconciled two *Thracian* princes, and made them confederates with the *Athenian* ſtate; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing ſuch cities as, taking advantage of the bad ſtate of the *Athenian* affairs, had revolted from them. In purſuance of this ſcheme, he reduced *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, and afterwards ſailing over to *Leſbos*, where all the cities had revolted except *Mitylene*, he brought them again under the obedience of *Athens*, and levied conſiderable ſums of money, by way of fine for the revolt; after theſe victories he ſet ſail for *Rhodes*, hoping, that the fame of them would awe the people of that iſland, and contribute to the end for which he had been ſent thither. Firſt of all he exacted a ſum of money from *Aſpendus*, but after it was paid him, his ſoldiers having plundered ſome of the inhabitants without his knowledge, it ſo much provoked them, that in the night, when *Thraſybulus* thought himſelf ſafe, and expected

pected no harm, they ſuddenly entered his camp, where they committed great ſlaughter, and in the beginning thereof ſlew him, which ſo terrified his ſoldiers, that, making what haſte they could to their ſhips, they withdrew without attempting to proſecute further the expedition on which their general had been ſent. This end had *Thraſybulus*, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune ſuperior to moſt, and in the glory of freeing his country from ſervitude, without any view to his own intereſt, ſcarce equalled by any. The *Athenians* to ſupply his place were conſtrained to ſend *Iphicrates*, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their inſolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguiſhed all their great men. *Iphicrates* had only with him eight gallies and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of *Thraſybulus*'s fleet, hitherto commanded by one *Argyrius*; he having intelligence, that *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedemonian* admiral, proud of ſome ſmall ſucceſſes he had obtained, lay very careleſly at *Abydos*, immediately ſailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and ſlew them, after which *Iphicrates* ſailed to *Cherſoneſus*. Shortly after this *Ægina*, at the motion of *Eteonicus*, revolted, whereupon the *Athenians* ſent one of their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the iſland, as ſoon as the *Athenian* fleet was withdrawn, began to infeſt the coaſt of *Attica*, which vexed the *Athenians* exceedingly, and conſtrained them to keep a ſquadron continually at ſea, to protect as well the villages on the ſhore, as their ſhips employed in trade, an evil they had not experienced ſince the cloſe of the *Peloponneſian* war. The affairs of the *Lacedemonians* obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of *Ægina*, the *Athenians* ſent *Timotheus* with a ſtrong ſquadron to keep in *Gorgopas*, who was left to command there. *Gorgopas*, finding his much outnumbered by the *Athenian* gallies, retired into port and landed his troops, which when the *Athenian* admiral perceived, he put to ſea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the reſt of his ſhips might ſteer after him. *Gorgopas* inſtantly reimbarked his men, and ſtood away after the *Athenian* fleet, keeping aloof, till *Timotheus*, entering a port of *Attica*, began to land his men, which when he had half finiſhed, *Gorgopas* fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obſtinate fight carried off four gallies to *Ægina*; this loſs was a little after repaired by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* general; for he ſailing to *Cyprus*, with a fleet which had a body of land-forces on board, landed in *Ægina* in the

night-time, and having poſted the major part of his forces in a valley near the temple of *Hercules*, ordered the reſt to advance towards a place called the *Three Towers* at break of day; *Gorgopas*, as ſoon as he had intelligence of the *Athenians* landing in the iſland, marched with what forces he could to oppoſe them, and ſent orders to all who were on board the fleet, to haſten to him with the utmoſt ſpeed, which accordingly they did; and theſe ruſhing all by the ambuſcade where *Chabrias* lay, he ſuddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other *Athenians* fell upon them in front; *Gorgopas* with eight *Spartans* being quickly ſlain, the reſt betook themſelves to flight, of whom *Chabrias* cut off near four hundred men, which with the want of the ſubſidies they expected from *Sparta*, ſo broke the ſpirits of the inhabitants of *Ægina*, that they undertook nothing for a conſiderable time after. At length *Teleutias* being ſent from *Sparta* to command the gallies in that iſland, he ſo wrought upon the people by his fair ſpeeches, that they went on board the ſhips, and offered to follow him where he pleaſed. He, having ſacrificed, and taken a day's proviſion on board, put out to ſea, and having in the night rode very near the port of *Athens*, as ſoon as it was day, he ſailed ſtrait into the *Piræus*, where he took ſeveral gallies and a great number of priſoners. Theſe he ſent preſently away to *Ægina*, and afterwards cruizing along the coaſt, carried off ſeveral trading veſſels and an immenſe booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an *Athenian* ſquadron of eight gallies and took them; after which drawing together a fleet of eighty ſail, with twenty gallies of *Syracuſe*, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the ſea for the *Lacedemonians*[t].

Peace of Antalcidas. Year of the Flood, 3612. Before Chriſt, 387.

The *Spartans*, willing to ſecure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered *Antalcidas* their admiral to ſettle with the miniſters of the king of *Perſia* the terms of a general peace in *Greece*; for, on account of the *Corinthian* war and the vaſt expence of keeping ſo many fleets at ſea, *Sparta* was grown weary of fighting, though ſhe had the better of her rival. The *Athenians* on the other hand, wearied out with continual misfortunes, were far from being averſe to the putting an end to the war; for which the reſt of the cities of *Greece*

[t] Xenophon. lib. iv. v. Diodor Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphic. Thraſyb. & Chabr.

were

were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their intereſts; they therefore ſent all of them agents to *Tiribazus* to know what terms the king his maſter would propoſe. The *Perſian*, having firſt ſhewn them the great king's ſeal, opened his diſpatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it juſt the cities in *Aſia* ſhould belong to him, and remain under his juriſdiction, and that all the reſt, little and great, ſhould remain free; of the iſlands, however, he claimed *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus*; *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Sciros*, he left to the *Athenians*, becauſe they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the *Greek* ſtates rejected theſe terms, he and the reſt of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by ſea and land. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* accepted them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was ſtiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, which in the mean was very ſcandalous to *Sparta*, who, after ſo long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, now delivered them up to the king [u].

THE deſign of this peace was evidently the raiſing *Sparta* to an uncontroulable dominion over the *Grecian* ſtates, which ſhe began to exerciſe immediately after it took effect, falling firſt on the *Mantineans*, and afterwards on other little ſtates, at laſt on *Thebes* itſelf, where, without the leaſt provocation, the *Lacedæmonians* ſeized the citadel, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to *Athens*, which city was far from making the ſame figure now as formerly; the *Grecians* remembering with averſion her cruelty when in power, and ſeeing with diſdain her indolence under the affronts of *Sparta*. The *Theban* exiles, however, found here not only a ſafe place of refuge, but all the kindneſs and aſſiſtance they could reaſonably expect from the principal men of *Athens*, who laboured hard to perſuade the people, that it was both ſafe and honourable for them to ſuccour theſe unhappy men. The exiles, unſatisfied with being ſafe abroad, longed to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* brought matters ſo to bear, that they got poſſeſſion of the city; but fearing leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould ſend mighty ſuccours to their garriſon in the citadel, they ſent deputies to *Athens*, beſeeching the people to call to mind with what kindneſs they had received the *Athenians*, who were baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, and

[u] XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. AGESIL. & ARTAX. CORN NEPOS, in vit. Iphicr.

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how far it was owing to their aid that the *Athenians* recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to desert them now, when the *Thebans* were ready to fight against *Sparta* for the liberty of *Greece*, but to afford them such succours as might enable them to fight with hope. The people, having heard the *Theban* deputies, came presently to a resolution of sending away such a body of auxiliaries, as might at once demonstrate their gratitude to the *Thebans*, and their care of the liberty of *Greece*; with this view they sent *Demophoon* at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, who marched with prodigious diligence to *Thebes*, where they enabled those of their party to take the citadel, which they effected before the *Lacedemonians* could relieve it; after which the *Athenians* returned home. From this time forward they fought by all means to raise a party against the *Spartans*, by putting themselves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their antient lustre. The forces, however, of the *Lacedemonians*, being as yet much greater than their own, made them sometimes obliged to dissemble their hatred to that state, and also to discountenance those orators who were notoriously enemies to *Sparta*. An accident happened at last which entirely changed the face of things, and constrained the *Athenians* to declare openly against *Lacedemon*. One *Sphodrias* a *Spartan*, who commanded at *Thespis*, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had succeeded, his countrymen must have been absolute lords of *Greece*; for he marched suddenly with a great body of troops towards *Athens*, and hoped to seize the fort of *Piræus* in the night; but when he had marched as far as *Eleusina*, the sun began to appear, upon which his soldiers refused to march any farther. That he missed his blow was far from being the worst consequence of his rashness; the *Athenians* were so much alarmed, that they seized certain *Spartan* ambassadors who were in their city, and made them prisoners, conceiving, that they were privy to this attempt; but they, asserting their innocence, assured the people of *Athens*, that *Sphodrias* should be called to a severe account, and pay with his life for this infamous attempt, whereupon they were released; but *Sphodrias* being brought to a trial and acquitted, the *Athenians* instantly declared war, accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their houses by such sudden expeditions. They named on this occasion three generals, *Timotheus*, *Chabrias*, and *Callistratus*, directing them to levy an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse; they likewise ordered a fleet to be fitted out of two hundred sail. To shew that they did not intend to fight for themselves only, but that they would

would do juſtly by all their confederates; they reſtored all the lands, which had been divided among their citizens, out of *Attica*, to their antient proprietors, and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city, at that they preſently drew over a great number to their ſide, and exceedingly alarmed the *Lacedemonians*. The fame alſo of the *Athenian* generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their country, for *Timotheus* was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father *Conon*'s merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; *Chabrias* was reputed one of the firſt generals of his age, and *Calliſtratus* was a man of great worth and high accompliſhments; as for *Iphicrates*, the king of *Perſia* had begged him of the *Athenians*, and they held the friendſhip of that prince, in conſideration of the great ſervices he received from that experienced general. In the mean time the *Lacedemonians* invaded *Bœotia* under the command of their king *Ageſilaus*, who with a mighty army braved the *Thebans* and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city. *Chabrias*, who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when *Ageſilaus* led the *Spartan* army in battalia towards them, *Chabrias* ordered his ſoldiers to lean one knee on the ground, to let their ſhields hang careleſsly on their arms, but to keep their ſpears extended as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect the *Spartans* without putting themſelves into any hurry. *Ageſilaus* having weighed within himſelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. Afterwards the *Athenians* obtained ſome advantages, and in conſequence of them obliged *Cleombrotus* king of *Sparta* to retire without entering *Bœotia*. *Chabrias* in the interim was recalled to take upon him the command of the *Athenian* fleet which was to go againſt *Naxus*; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but in vain, *Pollis* the *Lacedemonian* coming with a great fleet to its relief. *Chabrias* deſirous to regain the honour of his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the *Lacedemonians* battle; the engagement was long and obſtinate, at laſt, however, he gained an abſolute victory, though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the *Lacedemonians* loſing twenty four, beſides eight that were taken with all their men. But *Chabrias* did not purſue this victory as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals, who had ſuffered for not ſuccouring the wounded and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the *Athenian* reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory, which, with their own proper forces, the *Athenians* had acquired ſince the *Peloponne-*

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ſian war. Afterwards he ſailed againſt the *Thracians*, and delivered the *Abderites* whom they had treated with great cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city and providing againſt the return of the barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew by whom, or for what reaſon. The *Athenians* ſent *Timotheus* to ſupply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the *Lacedemonians* in his ſingle perſon, than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he drew many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great ſkill in maritime affairs, he vanquiſhed them in a ſea fight at *Leucades*, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the *Athenians* on this ſide. *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* endeavoured all this time to reconcile the *Grecians* among themſelves, becauſe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in a war he intended againſt *Egypt*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* themſelves were weary of war, and therefore ſuffered themſelves to be the more eaſily intreated; beſides, they were both apprehenſive, that the *Thebans* would at length run away with that authority for which they had ſo long contended; they therefore clapped up a ſudden peace, which was ill kept, upon theſe terms, that all cities ſhould be free; to which the *Thebans* would by no means yield, for they would never conſent, that all the little cities of *Bœotia* ſhould be freed from their dominion. *Iphicrates*, much about this time, quitted the *Perſian* ſervice, where he had been entruſted with the command of twenty thouſand *Greeks*, eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to *Athens*. The reaſon of this was, that *Pharnabazus* and he had differed, whereupon the *Athenian*, fearing that this *Perſian* general would ſerve him as he had *Conon*, that is clap him into a priſon and put it out of his power to defend himſelf, choſe rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner before mentioned; he was quickly followed to *Athens* by *Perſian* ambaſſadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earneſtly deſired that he ſhould be puniſhed; to which the *Athenians* anſwered, that they would puniſh him when he was proved guilty; but in the mean time, having occaſion for his ſervice, they made him admiral of their fleet. The late peace having given the *Grecian* cities a juſt title to freedom, diſputes aroſe in many of them, whether ariſtocracy or democracy ſhould prevail, and theſe diſputes not being accommodated by words, ſedition and civil war enſued in ſeveral places, eſpecially in *Zacynthus* and *Corcyra*; the *Lacedemonians*, notwithſtanding the peace, aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power ſuch as were for oligarchy, and the *Athenians*, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government.

Timoſippus

Mneſippus the *Lacedemonian* general blocked up *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; *Timotheus*, who had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, having found it neceſſary to ſail to *Thrace*, preferring the ſervice of his own country to the neceſſities of its allies, for which the *Athenians* rewarded him and *Iphicrates* after the old manner, that is to ſay they condemned them both. But when the former brought along with him many ambaſſadors, who deſired to renew the antient leagues between their conſtituents and *Athens*, and alſo proved that he had encreaſed the fleet with thirty gallies and brought mighty ſums into the public treaſury, the *Athenians*, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls had made *Athens* once more a city, reſcinded their former decree, and reſtored *Timotheus* to his command. In the mean time *Cteſides* was ſent with five hundred men to *Corcyra*, where he was ſo fortunate as to kill the *Lacedemonian* general, and to leave very little to be done by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who came at length with the fleet. *Artaxerxes* ſtill labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* ſtates, and the *Athenians* having conceived a violent antipathy againſt the *Thebans* for deſtroying *Platæa* and *Theſpis*, ſent deputies to *Sparta* with *Calliſtratus* at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, to which, as before, the *Thebans* refuſed to conſent; this happened in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond *olympiad*, *Alciſthenes* being archon at *Athens* [u].

THE *Athenians*, now perceiving that they were become very inconſiderable, endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves, by propoſing an oath to the cities of *Greece*, that they would obſerve the truce eſtabliſhed by the king, and in caſe any injury was offered to one city, that ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by all; this was readily yielded to by all, except the *Eleans* and *Thebans*: between the latter and the *Spartans* a new war broke out, in which the latter was ſo diſtreſſed, that they demanded aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition loſt ſome part of his reputation. Some negociations for a general peace being ſet a-foot at the court of the *Perſian* king, the *Athenians* amongſt the reſt ſent deputies, and amongſt them one *Timagoras*; the *Thebans*, who now aimed at the dominion of *Greece*, ſent *Pelopidas*, a man of ſuperior abilities, who drew to himſelf the confidence of the *Perſian* king, and having found a way to bring over *Timagoras* to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was

The Athenians declare for, and aſſiſt the Lacedemonians.

[u] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib vi. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Timoth. JUSTIN.

agreed, that *Messene* should be exempted from the *Lacedemonian* government; that the *Athenians* should no more pretend to the sovereignty of the sea; that the cities should be governed by their own laws, and the *Thebans* be esteemed the king's chief friends and allies. *Timagoras* on his return was accused to the *Athenian* people of having betrayed his trust, upon which he was condemned and put to death. The *Argives* falling upon the *Phliasians*, on account of the remarkable fidelity to the *Lacedemonians*, and bringing them to great straits, the latter desired aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent *Chares* to their assistance, who behaved himself with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories against the *Argives*. After this the *Athenians* entered into a strict league with the *Arcadians*, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities, as the times offered for maintaining themselves in any show of power. *Timotheus* their last great commander gave, however, some degree of credit to their arms, by reducing *Torone* and *Potidæa* in *Macedonia* under their obedience, and raising the siege of *Cyzicum*. The war still continuing between the *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*, *Epaminondas*, desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at *Mantinea*, against the *Lacedemonians*, *Arcadians*, *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*; of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing, where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the *Thebans*; however, they rallied again and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the *Thebans* had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for they lost here *Epaminondas* their glorious general, who first inspired them with the thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of *Greece* both by land and sea. Some stirs in *Arcadia* engaged the *Athenians* to send thither a great army under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home with honour. *Alexander*, prince or tyrant of *Phærea*, having undertaken an expedition against the *Cyclades*, met with some opposition therein from *Leosthenes* the *Athenian*, whereupon he attacked some gallies belonging to that state and took them; upon which the *Athenians* being angry with *Leosthenes*'s bad success, condemned him, and sent *Chares* with a fleet into those parts, who was so far from repairing the disasters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the *Athenians*, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions wherever he came,

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and ſeeming to have nothing elſe in view but to enrich himſelf [x].

The firſt Macedonian war. Year of the Flood 2639. Before Chriſt, 360.

WE are now come to thoſe times in which the *Athenians* came to contend with *Philip* of *Macedon*, unluckily for them, when all their great captains were exhauſted, and when this prince appeared with a genius ſuperior to all the politicians and chieftains of his time. The *Athenians* were very early apprehenſive of his abilities, and therefore they eſpouſed the cauſe of *Argius* his competitor, to whoſe aſſiſtance they ſent *Mantias*, at the head of three thouſand men, with a great fleet. This *Mantias* put things into a good poſture at his firſt arrival; for beſides the *Macedonians*, who adhered to *Argius*, the *Pæonians* and the *Thracians* were of his party. King *Philip* advanced, however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an aſſured victory, rather than to a doubtful engagement. Firſt, he took off the *Pæonians* and *Thracians*, by giving them a prodigious ſum of money, and as ſoon as they were retired, he fell upon *Argius* and *Mantias*, who ſtill lay with their army at *Methone*, and thoroughly routed them. The *Macedonians* of *Argius*'s party he purſued, but ſuffered the *Athenians* to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the ſpirits of that people, and readily diſpoſed them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly ſought to make themſelves maſters of *Amphipolis*, to which *Philip* quitted his claim, the ſituation of his affairs requiring it, and in conſequence thereof a peace was concluded. However, he took it ſhortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled ſuch of its citizens as had given him offence; the *Athenians* not being able to relieve it, on account of the many troubleſome affairs in which they were now engaged, and of which we are next to give an account [y].

The ſocial war. Year of the Flood 2643. Year before Chriſt, 356.

THE *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, growing weary of the *Athenian* yoke, reſolved to throw it off and ſet themſelves free. The *Athenians* on the firſt notice thereof ſent *Chares* with a land army to beſiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias* (whom, as we obſerved, *Diodorus* affirms to have been ſlain long before,) was to block up the place by ſea. *Cornelius Nepos*, who expreſly wrote the life of that general, ſays, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the ſoldiers and ſeamen, having a better opinion of his ſkill than of their general's, in a manner forced on him the command, which reſpect of theirs proved his deſtruction;

[x] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vii. viii. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. & CORN. NEP. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. vi. [y] DIODOR. lib. xvi PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi ſupra.

for endeavouring firſt to enter the haven where he had broke in, nobody followed him, ſo that, being encompaſſed by the enemy, his galley was ſunk, out of which caſting himſelf he might eaſily have eſcaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was ſlain. If we may credit the author beforementioned, the *Athenians*, doubting whether *Chares* with his fleet of ſixty ſail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, diſpatched away ſixty other ſhips under the command of *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, making them all equal in commiſſion. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infeſted *Imbros* and *Leſbos*, taking all ſhips that fell into their hands, and raiſing contributions wherever they landed their troops, ſo that by theſe methods they acquired mighty ſums of money, wherewith they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards beſieged *Samos* both by land and ſea. The *Athenian* generals, to conſtrain them to abandon this deſign, went and beſieged *Byzantium*, which had the effect they propoſed, for immediately the confederates raiſed the ſiege of *Samos*, and with their utmoſt force bore away for *Byzantium*. When they came before the port, they offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great ſtorm ariſing, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it improper to fight, though *Chares* vehemently preſſed it; and becauſe he could not carry his point, he ſent home to *Athens* and accuſed his collegues, at which the people were ſo incenſed, that they caſhiered and fined them; *Timotheus*, being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to *Chelos* broke his heart. Such was the end of the great *Conon*'s ſon, a man no-way inferior to his father, either in military ſkill or in love to his country; the *Athenians*, when they hard of his demiſe, remitted the greateſt part of his fine to his ſon, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they moſt unaccountably appropriated to the reparation of thoſe walls, which had been built by his grandfather. *Philip* of *Macedon* in the mean while took *Pydna*, which he afterwards delivered up to the *Olynthians*, after which he beſieged and took *Potidæa*, which had ſo long been under the power of the *Athenians*, and which was of vaſt advantage to them in all their *Thracian* war. *Chares* the *Athenian* admiral, having now no-body to check him, raſhly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to ſerve his country. *Pharnabazus* having revolted from the king of *Perſia*, a mighty army was ſent againſt him by the king; *Chares*, hoping that the *Perſian* would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved

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[a]n over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally rou-[t]ed. The *Athenians*, as their cuſtom was, ſtruck with the firſt news of the victory, cried up *Chares* as one of the greateſt patriots that could be; but afterwards, when the *Perſian* king by his ambaſſadors complained of the act, as contrary to the amity which ſubſiſted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the *Perſians* intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the *Athenians* treated *Chares* as a traitor, and cryed out vehemently againſt that action, which they had as vehemently commended, and, in the firſt tranſports of fear, reſolved to make a peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them, almoſt upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, tho' little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had laſted four years [z].

THE *Phocian* war broke out the ſame year, in which the *Athenians* made peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them; this war concerned all *Greece*, and particularly the *Athenians*, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the beginning of it, yet it is requiſite we ſhould give an account thereof here. The *Phocians* had plowed ſome of the lands dedicated to the *Delphian Apollo*, for which they were fined by the *Amphictyons* or ſtates general of *Greece*, but, inſtead of ſubmitting to the judgment of that court, the *Phocians*, at the motion of *Philomelus*, a bold and daring ſpeaker, carried their inſult on *Apollo* yet farther, and ſeized on the temple and all its riches; this put all *Greece* into a flame, the *Locrians* and *Bœotians* made war on the *Phocians*, and to countenance their cauſe ſtiled it *ſacred*; the *Phocians*, on the other hand, pretended, that they were far from being ſacrilegious perſons, for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only reſumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their anceſtors; but knowing that an army could better ſupport their pretenſions than fine ſpeeches, they applied themſelves to the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war laſted a long time and with various ſucceſs, ſometimes the *Phocians*, and at other times the *Thebans*, prevailing; however, it was conceived, that the *Athenians* acted unworthily in ſending ſuch great ſupplies as they did to the *Phocian* commanders, at one time no leſs than five thouſand foot and three hundred horſe; becauſe it was certain, that the chief reaſon which induced them thereto was the high pay given to their troops, and as the money expended on this occaſion was raiſed, either by the coinage, or ſale, of the dedicated things

Phocian *War* Year of the Flood 2644. before Chriſt, 355.

[z] DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi ſupra.

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in the temple of *Delphos*, it was considered as a sacrilege to receive any part of this theft, especially for defending the robbers. But indeed the *Athenians* were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to these sort of proceedings may pass for a manifest proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wise and free people to run, as the *Athenians* had formerly done, into gross and cruel superstitions, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain sign of corruption and degeneracy, when people lose all sense of religion, and openly affront those powers they pretend to worship. It is true, the *Athenians* pretended to colour the assistance afforded by them to the *Phocians*, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raise up their power to ballance that of the king of *Macedon*; but even at this distance of time we may conclude, that these were merely pretences, since it is certain, that when *Iphicrates* intercepted some statues of gold and ivory, sent by *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, they sent him orders to sell them publicly, nothwithstanding they were dedicated to the *Olympian Jupiter* and to the *Delphian Apollo*. But it must be owned, that not *Athens* only, but all *Greece*, was at this time governed by money; the *Persian* king, who had always made use of gold to preserve himself from the unwelcome visits of the *Greeks*, and to purchase their assistance when he found it necessary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater sums in *Greece* than any of his predecessors; because bribery, like other vices, rises higher by degrees, and when men have been accustomed to take money, they require larger wages than those which contented them at first. *Philip* of *Macedon*, having found a way to render the gold mines in *Thrace* infinitely more beneficial to him, than they had been to the *Athenians*, openly practised the same art, maintaining pensioners in all the states of *Greece*, and in *Athens* among the rest. The *Phocian* chiefs had nothing else to support their cause but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may guess from what *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* tell us; that in a few years they squandered ten thousand talents, which falls little short of two millions of our money. The orators, or, as the *Athenians* stiled them, the *Demagogues*, that is, such as led the people by their speeches, were most of them retained by some or other of these parties. *Demosthenes* himself, who was by far the most worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of accepting *Persian* gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our custom of giving the characters of *Athenian* statesmen, it is necessary, that we should here draw his, since he was the *Pericles* of his time, and in right of his eloquence

eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow citizens. He was the ſon of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raiſed a great fortune from the manufacture of ſword-blades, but was far from being a blackſmith, as *Juvenal* would have us believe. *Demoſthenes* himſelf ſeemed leaſt of all deſigned by nature for an orator, his perſon was far from being handſome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his geſture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young and his own conſtitution being weak, his mother indulged him to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender years, impoſed on him to the prejudice of his fortune; theſe unforeſeen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was ſeventeen years old in ſeveral law-ſuits, he pleaded his own cauſe, which no law forbad, and having from thence attained an ability of ſpeaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he ſucceeded ſo ill, that it had like to have diſcouraged him from ſpeaking more; but his paſſion for becoming an orator enabled him to get the better of nature and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak with ſtones in his mouth; to raiſe his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the ſea ſhoar; to repreſs a habit he had got of ſhrugging his ſhoulders, he hung a ſword drawn in his chamber, at ſuch a height, that when he practiſed his orations it pricked his ſhoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice ſupplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to truſt to but his merit, he by ſtudy and patience acquired a manly ſolid eloquence, not only ſuperior to that of his contempotraries, but alſo excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonſtrate beyond a queſtion. He declared himſelf, in loud terms, againſt the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their fickleneſs, faithleſſneſs, and want of true regard for the public intereſt. He exclaimed againſt their vanity, in attributing to themſelves the merit of their anceſtors, and fancying that the reputation of the antient *Athenians* would ſupport the vices of their poſterity. He expatiated on the neceſſity of purſuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he adviſed them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occaſions to aſſiſt them, whereby they might keep war at a diſtance, enure their ſubjects to marital toils, and revive the glory of the *Athenian* name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the *Perſian*, becauſe it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will,

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to think of conquering them ; but, on the contrary, it was his intereſt to preſerve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preſerve the independency of all the ſtates of *Greece*. Above all, he cautioned them againſt the growing power of the *Macedonian*, he obſerved, that the dominion of republics ſeldom laſted long, whereas monarchies laſted the longer for being powerful ; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear *Philip* more than the *Thebans*, and not ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed, either by his ſpecious pretences of loving peace, or of his affection to the *Athenian* ſtate ; but in theſe diſcourſes, as he ſhewed himſelf a true patriot, ſo there wanted not many pretended ones, who ſtrenuouſly pleaded the cauſe of *Philip*. But the *Macedonian* in the mean time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchaſed by his money, but endeavoured by force to eſtabliſh himſelf in that abſolute power over *Greece* which he affected. He made uſe of the war then raging between the *Phocians* and the *Bœotians* to march into *Greece*, and though he had ill ſucceſs in two engagements, yet he overcame at laſt, and, partly by force, partly by fraud, gained poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* ; then it was that *Demoſthenes* endeavoured to rouſe the *Athenians* to a proper ſenſe of their danger, and to that end compoſed the firſt of thoſe orations which bear the title of *Philippic*, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind ; he ſhewed the *Athenians*, with great perſpicuity and candor, that it was to no purpoſe to make uſe of palliations in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that to apply a remedy to this evil and that, would preſerve them from ruin. He proved to them, that *Philip*'s plain and ſettled deſign was to advance himſelf to the ſovereignty of *Greece*, in conſequence of which they muſt become his ſubjects, tho' he might perhaps call them his allies. He therefore adviſed them to think of forming a plaiſter as broad as the ſore, and inſtead of oppoſing *Philip* here and there, in ſending ſuccours as they had two or three times already done to places taken before they could arrive, to begin a war in earneſt, to excite all their confederates to riſe in arms, and concur with them in deſtroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor ſuffer other people to enjoy their poſſeſſions in quiet. He concluded with aſſuring them, if they truſted any longer to expedients they would be ruined, becauſe *Philip* would every day grow ſtronger, and they weaker ; whereas, by following vigorous and uniform counſels, they might poſſibly retrieve all things, and reduce *Philip* and his *Macedonians* to their primitive obſcurity.

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The *Athenians* liſtened, as they were wont to do, attentively to his diſcourſe, and came to ſome reſolutions which were ſuitable thereto; but contented themſelves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To ſay the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was *Chares*, a man of great vices, and ſmall abilities; it is true, *Phocion* was then in their ſervice, but they employed him in a trifling war in *Cyprus*, where it was not in his power to do them much good; beſides he was ſo modeſt that he never ſought command, nor inſtigated wars that he might raiſe his authority by them, though, taken as a ſoldier and an orator, as a ſtateſman and a general, he was by far the greateſt *Athenian* of his time. As he was a moſt diſintereſted patriot, he could have no great affection for *Philip*, but as he perfectly well knew the diſpoſition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to ſupport long ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to pull down the *Macedonian* power, he did not expreſs himſelf vehemently, but choſe rather to cultivate the eſteem which on all occaſions *Philip* ſhewed for the ſtate of *Athens*, as a means of preſerving her, when things ſhould be in that ſtate which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will eaſily diſcern, that *Demoſthenes* and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his deſigns vaſt and ſurprizing; *Phocion* on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himſelf in very few words, and propoſed things at once fit and eaſy to be done; yet he ſeldom or never concurred with the people, but ſpoke as poignantly againſt their vices as *Demoſthenes* himſelf, inſomuch, that this orator once told him, *The* Athenians, Phocion, *in ſome of their mad fits will murder thee. The ſame*, anſwered he, *may fall to thee*, Demoſthenes, *if ever they come to be ſober*. At this ſeaſon ſuch of the *Athenians* as had a competent ſhare of eloquence and knowledge in ſtate affairs, applied themſelves to the management of the aſſemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; ſuch again as had ſpent their time in the army, addicted themſelves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain ſuch commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, ſeldom aſpiring to the ſupreme magiſtracy, but confining themſelves wholly to what they conceived their ſphere. *Phocion* was too wiſe not to diſcern how dangerous ſuch a conduct muſt in the end prove to the ſtate; he ſaw that their ſpeakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become

become ſoldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himſelf therefore alike to both, he ſpoke frequently in the aſſemblies, but in few, plain, and ſignificant words; he refuſed no commands that were aſſigned him, never canvaſſed for any, and lived and died poor. The *Chalcidian* cities fell moſt of them into the hands of *Philip*, in the laſt year of the hundred and ſeventh *olympiad*, and the year following he made war on the *Olynthians*, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an overmatch for his predeceſſors. When the news of this expedition was ſpread through *Greece*, *Demoſthenes* exerted his utmoſt eloquence to engage the *Athenians* to aid the people of *Olynthus* to the utmoſt of their power, and there are ſtill remaining three excellent orations on this ſubject. The reaſons offered by him appeared ſo clear, and the neceſſity of ſending ſuccours to *Olynthus* was made ſo evident, that relief was decreed. The ſupplies ſent were ſmall, but they came ſo opportunely, that the *Olynthians* received great advantages from them; which being reported at *Athens*, the people became inſolent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the *Athenians* had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the ſide they favoured; but *Demoſthenes* ſhewed them the vanity of theſe light conceits in his third oration on the *Olynthian* war, wherein he told them, that there was indeed ſome merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of loſing even this, if they did not proceed with the ſame ſpirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulſe the invaſion of *Philip*, but alſo to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into *Macedon*, which of late years *Philip* had ſtruck through all his neighbours. But the *Athenians* were not able to reliſh ſuch high-ſeaſoned diſcourſes, they were content to ſend a ſquadron now and then to the coaſts of *Thrace* with a ſmall body of land troops on board; but to think ſeriouſly of a war like that which their fore-fathers had ſuſtained againſt the *Peloponneſians*, and for it to forego all their public diverſions, and relinquiſh all the donatives which they at preſent received from the revenue of the ſtate, was what the *Athenians* of thoſe times could not be brought to endure; what therefore *Demoſthenes* had predicted came exactly to paſs, *Olynthus* could not long reſiſt the power of *Philip*'s armies and his bribes; on the contrary, two of its citizens betrayed the place into his hands, where having exerciſed all that his cruelty and his avarice could dictate, he marched away, big with

with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire and ruining his neighbours †.

THE *Phocion*, or, as the friends of *Philip* affected to call it, *the sacred war*, was open yet, and the *Bœotians* and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, entreated the king of *Maccdon* to come down into the heart of *Greece*, and put an end thereto. But *Philip*, being at that time intent on his conquests in *Thrace*, did not listen so readily to this proposal as was expected; the true reason was, that he grew apprehensive of the *Athenians*, and was in some doubt whether, considering their great interest in *Thrace*, they might not be able to stir up much mischief in his absence. He therefore proposed to make peace with them, and, his party in *Athens* having drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their republic, *Æschines* with some other deputies were sent to treat with him. He made these ambassadors wait his leisure, until he had finished his affairs in *Thrace*; then he came suddenly down into *Thessaly*, proposing to pass immediately into *Phocis*, which grievously alarmed the *Athenians*, notwithstanding their ministers had concluded a peace for seven years. *Demosthenes* advised them to send and demand a ratification of the treaty before he passed the *Pylæ*, as also to persuade him not to undertake a war against the *Phocians*. On the other hand, the *Bœotians* sent to intreat him to continue his march and come speedily to their assistance. *Philip* heard all the ambassadors, and though their demands were diametrically opposite, he promised them all to do as they desired, and thereby kept them in a state of dependence, till he seized the post of *Thermopylæ*; then coming down with a mighty army into *Locris* in the third year of the hundred and eighth *olympiad*, he put an end to the sacred war by his presence only; for the *Phocians*, finding themselves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave to march away with such as would follow him; the rest were left to the mercy of *Philip*, who referred them to the *Amphictyons*, which great council, in return for this eminent service, took from the *Phocians* their double voice, and gave it to *Philip* and his subjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he bent his arms first against the *Illyrians*, and soon after, when he conceived the *Athenians* unable to help them, he attempted to bring the *Perynthians* under his dominion. *Perynthus* was seated on

* DIODOR. lib. xvi. PLUT. in vit. DEMOST. & PHOCION. JUSTIN. lib. ix. DEMOST. Olynth. & Philip.

the ſhore of *Propontis*, and as it always favoured the *Athenians*, had incurred the *Macedonian*'s high diſpleaſure. The inhabitants, however, were not eaſily ſubdued, they had learned from the *Athenians* to ſet a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themſelves valiantly, when they heard that *Philip* was marching againſt them. The *Perſian* king beginning to doubt the deſigns of the *Macedonian*, whoſe anceſtors had been his tributaries, gave inſtructions to his lieutenants, who were neareſt *Perynthus*, to favour the inhabitants as much as poſſible; the *Byzantines* alſo, doubting much the intentions of *Philip*, ſent *Perynthus* a very great ſupply, inſomuch, that they not a little weakened their own forces, of which *Philip* having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up *Perynthus*, and marched at the head of the reſt to ſurprize or beſiege *Byzantium*; at the news of this the *Athenians* were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed, that ſuccours ſhould be immediately ſent, and with more than ordinary care put it in the power of *Chares*, who was elected general, to ſail with a good fleet and a numerous army to the aſſiſtance of the *Byzantines*; yet this effected nothing, for when the fleet appeared off of *Byzantium*, the inhabitants of that city refuſed to let it enter their port, having before experienced the worth of the *Athenian* admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pirate with a commiſſion. *Chares*, having dreſſed this refuſal in the worſt colours poſſible, diſpatched advice of it home, where it put the *Athenians* into a mighty chafe, and cauſed many of them to ſay in the aſſembly, that it was a pity they had aſſiſted the *Byzantines* at all; upon which *Phocion*, riſing up, addreſſed them in the following conciſe terms: *My maſters, you ought not ſo much to blame the jealouſy of your allies, as the baſe behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you ſuſpected even to thoſe who are unable to ſupport themſelves without your aſſiſtance.* Upon this the people, with their uſual inconſtancy, dropped their former opinion, and unanimouſly choſe *Phocion* general, who, immediately ſailing to the *Helleſpont*, received the command of the fleet from *Chares*, and again appeared before *Byzantium*, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the *Byzantines* would by no means permit it, ſetting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the *Athenians* when they had *Phocion* for their general; who quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ſhips, recovered ſeveral places into which he had put gariſons, and exceedingly harraſſed the frontiers of his kingdom. So that it appeared, that the *Macedonian* was

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not invincible, when oppoſed by a man of probity as well as of abilities [a].

SOMETIME after this the *Megarians* privately fought the friendſhip of the *Athenians*. *Phocion*, being apprehenſive that the *Bœotians* would exert themſelves to prevent this union, cauſed an aſſembly to be called very early in the morning; where having preſented the petition from *Megara*, and backed it with great warmth, the *Athenians* came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all ſuch as would go on this expedition ſhould immediately aſſemble in arms, and a great number preſenting themſelves very readily, he without more ado put himſelf at their head, and marched directly away to *Megara*, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port *Niſæa*, and thereby effectually ſecured it to the *Athenians*; after this he was ſent again among the iſlands, to regulate all things for the intereſt of his country. *Philip* in the mean time neglected nothing which might either tend to the raiſing of his own power, or depreſſing that of the *Greek* ſtates; but, above all, deſiring to humble the *Athenians*, he came ſuddenly down to *Phocis*, and having ſeized *Elatæa*, he there aſſembled a mighty army with a reſolution to invade *Attica*, for which purpoſe there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing through *Bœotia*; the *Athenians* upon this were in the utmoſt confuſion, ſo that *Demoſthenes* had need of all his eloquence to keep up their ſpirits; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon them to declare war againſt *Philip*, and to ſend to the *Bœotians* to intreat them to ſtand faſt for the liberty of *Greece*; he alſo engaged them to raiſe a very conſiderable army in an inſtant, and to chooſe *Chares* and *Lyſicles* generals, who without more ado marched into *Bœotia*, where they were kindly received, and promiſed all things. *Philip*, however, reſolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, ſent *Python* into *Bœotia* to perſuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the *Athenians* oppoſed *Demoſthenes*, whoſe eloquence prevailing, the *Bœotians* joined their utmoſt force with the *Athenians*, and reſolved to hazard all in a general engagement. *Demoſthenes* magnified this at *Athens* as a mighty ſtroke of policy, becauſe he put the war at a diſtance from *Attica*, to which *Phocion* ſhrewdly replied: *Let us not be ſo careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a diſtance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worſt of calamities will be ſoon at our doors.* *Phocion* had the

[a] DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

reſolution

resolution also to express at the same time a dislike of the war, and a doubtfulness of its event, nay even to propose an accommodation, and the renewing of the peace with *Philip*, when an *Athenian* of very bad character cried out, *Darest thou*, Phocion, *think of dissuading the* Athenians *from the war, now the sword is drawn? Yes, I dare*, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy master, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.* The event shewed how just a notion *Phocion* had of things; for *Philip* coming down at last with an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* met him at *Cheronæa*. In this battle, which began at the rising of the sun, *Alexander* commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it consisted, the *Athenians* having the right, and the *Bœotians* the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon *Stratocles* an *Athenian* commander cried out, *Come on, brother soldiers, let us drive them back to* Macedon; which king *Philip* hearing, said very coolly to one of his officers, *These* Athenians *do not know how to conquer*. Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be straightened, and drawing his men up very close, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the *Athenians* were eager in their pursuit, he came down like thunder, broke, and routed them with prodigious slaughter. *Demosthenes* acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled. *Philip* did not preserve that wisdom after his victory which he had shewn in the fight; for he danced about like one distracted with joy, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* prisoners, treated them with scoffs and ill language; upon which *Demades*, who was one of them, could not help reproving him: *Since fortune, O* Philip, said he, *seems to have assigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *why wilt thou play* Thersites? At which *Philip* blushing ordered him to be immediately released, and discharged likewise the rest of the *Athenian* captives, who sending afterwards to demand their baggage, *Philip* said laughing, *I believe these people don't think we beat them in earnest*. He ordered it, however, to be given them; he likewise sent ambassadors to *Athens* to renew the peace; which was done. After this *Philip* convoked a general assembly of the *Greeks*, into which *Demades* persuaded the *Athenians* to insist on being received. *Phocion* opposed it, alledging that they ought first to be informed what *Philip* would demand in that assembly; however, it was carried against him; but when it afterwards appeared, that the *Athe-*

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nians were by this raſh ſtep obliged to furniſh the king with a body of horſe and a ſquadron of ſhips, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the aſſembly *Demades* and the other orators, who were ſo forward in the buſineſs, expreſſing at the ſame time a doubt, whether they ought to comply with articles ſo unworthy of the *Athenian* ſtate. *Phocion* upon this ſtood up again, *I foreſaw, gentlemen*, ſaid he, *what would happen, and therefore I was againſt this ſtep when it was firſt propoſed; but ſince it is once taken, I am for it, and adviſe you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your anceſtors, who ſuited their behaviour to their fortune, ſometimes giving laws, ſometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preſerved their own city, but alſo all* Greece. The kindneſs expreſſed by the king towards the *Athenians* was not over ſincere, ſince he doubted ſo far of them as to require, on the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*, that a deputy ſhould be ſent from them with a gold crown, as from the reſt of the cities, which was accordingly done, and preſented to him in the midſt of the marriage ſolemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conſpirator againſt *Philip* fled to *Athens*, he ſhould be delivered up. At this marriage, however, *Philip* was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at *Athens*; *Demoſthenes* and his party making great rejoycings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory; which *Phocion* reprehended, bidding them remember, *that the army, which had* beat *them at* Cheronæa, *was leſſened but by one.* This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put *Lyſicles* their general to death, merely becauſe he was ſo unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed *Demoſthenes* to exalt the memory of thoſe who fell therein in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to theſe meaſures had juſt now flattered the king by ſending him a crown of gold, ran again into the ſame extravagancies, and heard with pleaſure all the harſh things the orators could ſay of the young *Alexander*, whom they repreſented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to graſp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing: But he ſoon gave them occaſion to underſtand, that they were mightily miſtaken, by his quick diſſolution of that confederacy which they formed, not only for depriving him of the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions; for *Demoſthenes* taking pains to inſpire all the ſtates with high notions of liberty, the *Ætolians* firſt of all made a decree to recal the exiles whom *Philip* had driven out of their country. The *Arcadians* have

drove out the *Macedonian* gariſon, the *Thebans* caſt out that which had been eſtabliſhed in the citadel, the *Arcadians*, as they had refuſed to give their votes for *Philip*'s becoming general of *Greece*, ſo they now rejected *Alexander*; the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Lacedemonians*, and others in *Peloponneſus*, all ſpoke the ſame language, and all determined to throw off that yoke which the *Macedonians* had impoſed; they likewiſe treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander*'s uncle, who aſpired to the kingdom, to favour his pretenſions; ſo that if the ſon of *Philip* had really been as weak as the *Athenian* orators would have repreſented him, he muſt have been cruſhed by ſuch a load of oppoſition; but he, far from being diſmayed, came firſt into the council of the *Amphictyons*, where he procured himſelf to be recognized general of *Greece*. He then marched immediately towards *Thebes* with a numerous army, ſacked and plundered it, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt of the confederates, that nobody durſt oppoſe him. As to the *Athenians*, he refuſed to admit them into his favour, unleſs they delivered up to him *Demoſthenes*, and, as ſome ſay, nine more of their orators; other hiſtorians ſay, but ſeven. This ſtruck the aſſembly with the utmoſt terror, none knowing what to ſay, or what to propoſe; at laſt they called upon *Phocion* and deſired his opinion, upon which, ariſing up and pointing to his friend *Nicocles*, *Theſe perſons*, ſaid he, *whom* Alexander *demands of you, are they who have brought you into theſe miſerable circumſtances; circumſtances ſo miſerable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I ſhould adviſe you to deliver him, innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchaſe your ſafety, I would reſign it chearfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that thoſe who have fled for ſuccour from the deſolation of* Thebes, *ſhould have ſo little hopes of ſafety here; ſurely it would be more for our intereſt to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle.* Demoſthenes contented himſelf with ſaying, *that once on a time the wolves offered to make peace with the ſheep; but firſt*, ſaid he, *they would have them give up their dogs.* The ſtream, however, was too ſtrong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way. The firſt decree which the *Athenians* paſſed for making peace, and which they ſent to *Alexander*, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the ambaſſadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when *Phocion* preſented the ſecond decree, he received him very graciouſly, and not only granted him his requeſts, but liſtened to his advice, nay he had the complaiſance to tell him at parting, *Your* Athenians *ought to have their eyes about them, for, if I ſhould miſcarry, they only are worthy to command.*

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The friendſhip, which *Alexander* contracted with this general, was not broke off or interrupted by his expedition into *Aſia*; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty preſents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was ſtill a greater mark of his regard, when he no longer uſed in his letters the phraſe of *Alexander wiſhes health*, he preſerved it to him and *Antipater*, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occaſion for gallies to compleat his fleet, he ſent to demand thoſe which had been promiſed him by the *Athenians*: the orators, as they were wont, oppoſed this as derogatory to their freedom; at laſt *Phocion* being required to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments freely, which were, that the gallies ſhould be immediately ſent; *For*, ſaid he, *till you can put yourſelves at the head of* Greece, *I would have you the friends of thoſe who are at the head of it*. *Harpalus*, one of *Alexander*'s commanders, having in ſeveral reſpects failed in his duty, and dreading the reſentment of his prince, fled with an immenſe quantity of treaſure, which he had amaſſed together out of the ſpoils of *Aſia*. *Athens* was the city of *Greece* he thought the moſt proper place for his retreat; and therefore thither he came and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that, ſince he came laden with wealth, he ſhould meet with friends enough to be purchaſed. Accordingly moſt of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be ſerviceable, and upon what terms; as for *Demoſthenes*, his good ſenſe engaged him to make a warm oration againſt receiving a perſon who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the commonwealth in a war, at once dangerous and unjuſt; but a few days after, when the treaſure was publicly brought aſhore and laid up, *Demoſthenes* being preſent took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon *Harpalus* deſired him to poize it in his hand, and conſider its weight; which he did, and then aſked the price of it; *To you Sir* (ſaid *Harpalus*), *it ſhall come with twenty talents*; at night accordingly it was ſent, and *Demoſthenes*, when he was called upon the next day in the aſſembly to deliver his opinion, ſhewed his neck, which was ſwathed round with ſeveral rollers, and made ſigns, that he was unable to ſpeak; upon which ſome of the wits ſaid, *The orator had got a ſilver quinſey*. As for *Phocion*, *Harpalus* knew well that he was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſent him no leſs than ſeven hundred talents, and offered to commit himſelf and all his affairs to his diſpoſal; but *Phocion* treated thoſe who came to him very roughly, and threatened not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the laſt time in the aſſembly,

those who had received his money railed most at *Harpalus* to conceal their own guilt, whereas *Phocion* expressed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in such gentle terms, that *Harpalus* again offered him money; but he was impregnable, and in the end the *Athenians* expelled the *Macedonian* the city, and ordered the court of *Areopagus* to take cognizance of such as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very severely with them, and particularly fined *Demosthenes* fifty talents, and ordered him to be imprisoned till it was paid, but he shortly after made his escape from thence and fled to *Ægina*, where he remained till after the death of *Alexander*, which was no very long time [a].

THIS great event altered all the affairs of *Greece*; the *Athenians* had been much dissatisfied with him, for designing to take from them *Samos*, in order to restore it to its antient inhabitants; and therefore, when *Asclepiades*, the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first news of it to *Athens*, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what *Asclepiades* had related was true. *Phocion*, fearing they would do some mad action or other, cried out, *Well, suppose it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow, ay, and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate coolly.* The orators unanimously concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all *Greece* was in commotion; so that at length it was carried by a great majority, that the *Athenians* should take upon them the defence of the common liberty, should free all the cities from their garisons, should fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, and that all men under forty years old should take up arms. *Leosthenes* was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched against the *Macedonians*. *Antipater*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, sent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia* to come to his assistance, but in the interim he marched into *Thessaly* himself with 13000 foot, and 600 horse. The *Thessalians* joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when *Leosthenes* approached, and it appeared, that the *Athenians* and their confederates were by far more numerous, the *Thessalians* deserted to them; yet *Antipater* had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himself constrained to fly; but he shewed himself a great general in his flight, for arriving with some foot at *Lamia* a city in *Thessaly*, he caused the place to be fortified, and received into it all his

[a] Diodor. lib. xviii. Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xi. & xii.

troops

troops as faſt as they came up, ſo that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. *Leoſthenes*, coming up with the confederate army, inveſted and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by ſtorm, he was conſtrained to make a regular ſiege: *Antipater* watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by freſh troops, made a ſally upon the workmen, and put them in great diſorder. *Leoſthenes*, coming to encourage them, was unfortunately killed with a ſtone, which greatly diſpirited the *Greeks*; however, they choſe *Antiphalus* their general, and continued the war, notwithſtanding *Antipater* had eſcaped out of *Lamia*; not long after they routed the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Leonatus*, which victory was their ruin; for flighting the *Macedonians*, many returned home to their reſpective cities. *Antipater* having joined the remains of *Leonatus*'s army, and being joined afterwards by *Craterus*, who yielded to him the command, he ſoon after fought and routed the *Greeks* under the command of *Antiphalus* and *Menon*: though there were but five hundred men ſlain in this battle, yet the confederates were ſo diſpirited that they ſent to *Antipater* to treat of peace; but *Antipater* refuſed to treat at all of a general peace, profeſſing at the ſame time, that he was willing to hear and receive ambaſſadors from each of the cities, and to conſider their reſpective demands. At firſt the *Grecians* rejected this with ſcorn, but when ſeveral of the *Theſſalian* cities were taken by ſtorm, they were glad to treat upon the terms preſcribed, upon which *Antipater* received the ambaſſadors very kindly, and granted almoſt every thing they deſired; thus the *Athenians* were deprived of all their confederates, and in a ſhort time reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this diſtreſs *Phocion* with ſome of the orators were deputed to go to *Cadmæa*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to procure from him, if poſſible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, *Phocion* intreated that the terms might be adjuſted there, whereas *Craterus* was for marching into *Attica*, and treating with the *Athenians*, as it were, at their own doors; ſaying it was unreaſonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. *Antipater* replied, that what he ſaid was juſt; But yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to *Phocion*. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather *Antipater* impoſed upon the *Athenians* theſe conditions; that *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* ſhould be delivered up, that the antient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored, that they ſhould receive a garriſon into *Munychia*, defray the charges of the war, and ſubmit to ſome other taxes. *Phocion* was very deſirous that

they might be ſpared the gariſon; but *Antipater* anſwered, *I will deny thee*, Phocion, *nothing*, *but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own.* In conſequence of this treaty, *Menyllus*, a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and one of *Phocion*'s friends, was ſent to command the gariſon, which entered *Munychia*; *Demoſthenes* in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to *Antipater*; and being purſued by ſome perſons in that nobleman's ſervice, poiſoned himſelf (P).

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(P) As to the character and eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, we have ſpoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greateſt part of which have eſcaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elſewhere; in this note we have nothing in view but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length would have broke in on the thread of our hiſtory, and to have paſſed over in few words, muſt have offended the peruſer. When he was baniſhed, that is voluntarily, by flying from priſon, ſome of his enemies followed him out of town; from theſe he endeavoured to hide himſelf, but they having him in view, kept cloſe to him, and at laſt coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and preſented him with a ſum of money for his ſupport; whereupon *Demoſthenes* broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, *Alas, how ſhall I ſupport myſelf under ſo heavy an affliction, ſince I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elſewhere?* To ſay the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greateſt part of which he ſpent either in *Ægina* or *Træzene*, from whence he could ſee the coaſt of *Attica*, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes; he had a juſt ſenſe, however, of the dangers to which wiſe men are expoſed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; *O Goddeſs* Minerva, *whence comes it, that thou delighteſt in three ſuch fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people!* When *Leoſthenes* led the *Greeks* againſt *Antipater*, and endeavoured to prevent ſlavery from being induced by all the commanders of *Alexander* the Great, *Demoſthenes* exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in ſtirring up all the little ſtates to remain firm in their confederacy for ſupporting the *Grecian* liberty. Amongſt the reſt, he travelled to the *Arcadians*, among whom one *Pytheas* an agent of the *Macedonians* was very busy; this Man, ſeeing the *Athenian* ambaſſadors and *Demoſthenes* with them at a public aſſembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain ſign there is ſome diſeaſe in the family where aſſes milk is brought, ſo the coming of an *Athenian* embaſſy was a never-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indiſpoſed. *Demoſthenes* immediately retorted this compariſon: As aſſes milk, ſaid he, is never carried into

The *Macedonian* garison being settled in *Athens*, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchised and sent into

into a house, but with intent to restore the health of those who dwell therein, so the *Athenians* never send their ambassadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of those distempers with which it is afflicted. On the report of this the *Athenians* instantly recalled him, found a means to satisfy his fine, and paid him the highest honours they could invent. But his prosperity was of a very short continuance; for in *September* the *Greeks* lost the battle of *Cranon*, in *October* the *Macedonian* garison entered *Athens*, in *November Demosthenes* fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him in the same month; for one *Archias* a player, having undertaken to *Antipater* to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* in the little island of *Calauria*, he passed over thither with a small detachment of *Thracian* guards. When he found *Demosthenes*, he would fain have perswaded him to go with him to *Antipater*, assuring him, that he would receive no harsh treatment, which was very improbable, because most of his friends were already murdered. To these fine speeches therefore the orator answered: O Archias, *I was never much pleased with you as a Player, and now I am as little moved by you as a Negociator. Archias* beginning at this to grow angry and to threaten him; *Now*, said Demosthenes, *thou speakest like the oracle of* Macedon; *before thou didst but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family.* Having thus spoken he withdrew himself farther into the temple, and taking some paper as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The soldiers who stood at the door, supposing all this to proceed from pusillanimity, in derision called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And *Archias* drawing near desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had said before, he once more promised to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demosthenes*, perceiving that now the poison had pierced and seized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon *Archias*, *Now*, said he, *as soon as you please you may act the part of* Creon *in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied; but*, continued he, turning towards the altar. O *gracious* Neptune, *I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, arise and depart out of this sacred place, without profaning it; but* Antipater *and the* Macedonians *have not left so much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death* After he had thus spoken, he desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward and passing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost (3).

(3) *Plutarch. in vita Demosthen. prope fin.*

Thrace,

Thrace, where *Antipater* assigned them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better sort, and especially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding still on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the *Athenians*, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually repining at the loss of that power, which they knew not how to manage; abhorred the sight of the *Macedonian* garison, which they knew not how to remove; and earnestly longed for an alteration of circumstances, though there was no reason to hope that such an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually pressing *Phocion* to apply to *Antipater* for removing the garison, and at last finding all their solicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on *Demades* the orator, who was also in the *Macedonian* interest, and had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*. This man, willing to do the people a pleasure, and at the same time to make a display of his interest, readily undertook the proposed embassy. This *Athenian* was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and disinterestedness were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may guess from this saying of *Antipater*'s, *That he had two friends at* Athens, Phocion *and* Demades, *the former a man who would receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be satisfied how much soever he received.* Whether *Antipater* had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether *Demades* had reason to hope greater appointments from *Perdiccas*, who was *Antipater*'s mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but so it was, that *Demades* had entered into a correspondence with *Perdiccas*, and had put him upon invading *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and assuming the government of them himself, making use in one of his letters of this expression, *That at present they leaned on an old rotten staff*, meaning *Antipater*. It so fell out, that all these transactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out, while *Demades* and his son *Demias* were soliciting the recal of the garison; upon which *Antipater* ordered the son to be put to death, not only in the presence of the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this *Demades* himself was put to death, and the *Athenians* left without hopes of ever seeing this bit taken out of their mouths [b].

[b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Plut. in vita Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xxvi.

ON the death of *Antipater* two factions ſprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Polyperchon*, who had the cuſtody of the perſon of the king*, and the other by *Caſſander* the ſon of *Antipater*; the latter ſent *Nicanor* to command the gariſon in *Athens*, a man of great art and a good ſoldier; with him *Phocion* often converſed, labouring all he could to perſuade him to uſe the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the ſame condition in which he found it; *Polyperchon*, on the other hand, deſiring to recover the *Greek* cities from his rival *Caſſander*, publiſhed a decree in the king's name, reſtoring them all to freedom, particularly *Athens*, directing the gariſon immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be reſtored. This had its effect, for it put the *Athenians* all into confuſion; *Nicanor* refuſed to obey the decree, and becauſe *Phocion* correſponded with him afterwards, the people accuſed him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he deſired nothing more than to ſee their liberty reſtored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unſupported by arms, *Nicanor* paying no reſpect to *Polyperchon*'s orders. Not long after *Polyperchon* came with the king and a great army into *Attica*, or at leaſt to the borders of *Attica*, whither *Phocion* was ſent, and deputies from the *Athenians* to accuſe him; *Polyperchon*, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had publiſhed, ſent back *Phocion* and his friends chained in carts, with this meſſage, *That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the* Athenians *as a free people.* As ſoon as there was ſilence made that he could be heard, *Phocion* demanded, whether they intended to proceed againſt them by form of law; and ſome crying out that they would, *Phocion* demanded, how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no ſuch thing was to be expected, he cried out, *As for myſelf, I confeſs the crime objected to me, and ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of the law; but conſider, O ye* Athenians, *what have theſe poor innocent men done, that they ſhould be involved in the ſame calamity with me?* The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, *viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Thendippus, Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*; theſe were preſent; *Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles*, and others, were condemned in their abſence. Some moved, that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the aſſembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to

Caſſander *ſeizes* Athens. Year of the Flood, 2681. Before Chriſt, 318.

* This was *Aridæus*, the natural ſon of *Philip*, who, upon the death of *Alexander*, had the title of king given him,

death,

death, for which the decree was carried unanimouſly, ſome putting on garlands of flowers when they gave their votes. As he was going to die, a perſon who was his intimate friend aſked him, if he had any meſſage for his ſon, *Yes*, replied *Phocion*, *tell him it is my laſt command, that he forget how ill the* Athenians *treated his father.* The ſpleen of his enemies was not extinguiſhed with his death, they paſſed a decree, whereby his corps was baniſhed the *Athenian* territories, they likewiſe forbad any *Athenian* to furniſh fire for the funeral pile. One *Conopion* an undertaker took up the corps and carried it beyond *Eleuſina*, where he borrowed ſome fire of a *Megarian* woman and burned it. A *Megarian* matron, who attended with her maids, raiſed on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the ſame time thus to the *Penates*. *To you, O ye* gods, *guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the moſt excellent* Phocion; *protect them, I beſeech you, from all inſults, and deliver them one day to be depoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, when the* Athenians *ſhall become wiſer.* It was not long before this came to paſs: when the *Athenians* began to cool a little, and remember the many kindneſſes they had received from *Phocion*, they decreed him a ſtatue of braſs, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence, and decreed that his accuſers ſhould be put to death; *Agnonides*, who was principally concerned, ſuffered; but *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were alſo concerned in it, fled; however, *Phocion*'s ſon met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almoſt the only good action he ever did, he having a very ſmall ſhare of his father's *abilities*, and none at all of his *virtues*. It was not long, however, before *Caſſander* came with a great fleet into the port of *Athens*, and by the help of *Vicanor*, who commanded in the fort *Munychia*, reduced the city into ſuch ſtraits, that the *Athenians* were contented to ſubmit to him upon theſe terms: that he ſhould leave a garriſon in the fort, and appoint ſome *Athenian* to preſide over the city. He accordingly placed *Demetrius Phalereus* in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being deſcended from *Conon*, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had ſtudied under the philoſopher *Theophraſtus*, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as a contemplative philoſopher; he treated the *Athenians* with the utmoſt kindneſs, and made uſe of that power, which he might eaſily have improved into a tyranny, to do thoſe things for them which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themſelves. He encreaſed their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent

ſtructures,

ſtructures, reſtored ſuch as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other reſpect gave ſuch ſignal teſtimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* ſet up no leſs than three hundred ſtatues to his honour, moſt of them equeſtrian; but becauſe he derived his power from *Caſſander*, and they were not able to depoſe him at their pleaſure, they ſecretly hated him, of which we ſhall ſee many inſtances hereafter [c].

Demetrius Poliorcetes frees Athens. Year of the flood, 2692. Before Chriſt, 307.

Antigonus, the moſt magnanimous of *Alexander*'s captains, and his ſon *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, i. e. *the city-taker*, having reſolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Caſſander*, determined to begin with *Athens*. The young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handſomeſt, and at the ſame time one of the braveſt men of his time, took upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoiſting falſe colours he ſailed, without the leaſt oppoſition, into the port of *Athens*, where a multitude of people were aſſembled on the ſhore, who, when they diſcovered their miſtake, armed themſelves in haſte; but *Demetrius* quickly diſarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he cauſed a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other deſign than to deliver them from the oppreſſion of *Caſſander*, to expel the gariſon which he had placed in the fort, and to reſtore to them their antient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud ſhouts, beſtowing on him the title of *deliverer* and *benefactor*. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, he was in a moment deſerted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of ſuffering death. He thereupon ſent one *Ariſtodemus* to *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to *Thebes*: *Demetrius* received this meſſenger very reſpectfully, ſaid he came not to injure perſons of worth, and granted *Demetrius* both his requeſts; after this he blocked up the fortreſs of *Munychia*, and then departed to *Megara*, where *Caſſander* had alſo a gariſon; having ſet this place at liberty, he returned to *Athens*, and attacked *Munychia* ſo briſkly, that he took it by aſſault; after which at the earneſt intreaty of the *Athenians* he entered the city in great pomp, and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he therein publickly declared, that he did not only freely reſtore them to their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to beſtow on them fifteen thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ſuch a quantity of timber as would enable them to build

[c] DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN.

a hundred gallies for the defence of their city. Theſe mighty favours the *Athenians* repaid with moſt unmanly flattery, for they beſtowed on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* not only the title of *kings*; which hitherto they had not taken, but alſo ſtiled them *tutelar deities* and *deliverers*; they appointed a prieſt to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the firſt archon, they decreed, that for the future it ſhould be deſigned by the name of this prieſt. They cauſed the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods; they erected an altar where *Demetrius* firſt alighted from his chariot, and ſtiled it *the altar of the deſcent of Demetrius*; they added two new tribes to the ten which already ſubſiſted, and called them *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. To ſum up all, *Stratocles* propoſed and had it decreed, that, as often as they ſent ambaſſadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they ſhould be ſtiled *ambaſſadors of the gods*; they changed the name of the month *Munychion* into *Demetrion*. It would be tedious to dwell on the reſt of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the ſame time that they paid all this court to *Antigonus* and his ſon, paſſed a decree, whereby they adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death; ordered all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and even ſent perſons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give thoſe whom they now flattered to underſtand, that they would be ſure to deſert them, when they were deſerted by fortune. The democratic government was no ſooner reſtored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accuſations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of *Sophocles* the people decreed, that no philoſopher ſhould teach unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people; which occaſioned *Theophraſtus* the ſucceſſor of *Ariſtotle*'s breaking up his ſchool. It is likely, that they were diſpleaſed with this great man, becauſe he was much in favour with *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, and becauſe their late governor *Demetrius Phalereus* had been his ſcholar; however, their reſentment did not laſt long, for they afterwards reſcinded this decree, and recalled the philoſophers; but their protector *Demetrius* being engaged with all his force in the ſiege of *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* took this opportunity of vindicating his title to *Greece*, and coming with a powerful army to ſupport it, many of the cities revolted to him, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he penetrated as far as *Attica*, and laid ſiege to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, thus diſtreſſed, ſent for aid to *Demetrius*, who came ſpeedily to their relief; and after obliging *Caſſander* to raiſe the ſiege,

ſtript

ſtript him in a very ſhort time of all his conqueſts. After this ſucceſs he put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good turns, as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The *Athenians* in return racked their wits to deviſe new compliments and acts of flattery, ſtill ſuperior to thoſe which they performed before. They aſſigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her ſervice; this was a ſcandalous inſult on religion, becauſe *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with reſpect to women. But the *Athenians* were ſo corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural luſts, which afforded an inſtance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to lateſt times. There lived now in *Athens* a young gentleman ſo remarkably handſome, that he was ſtiled the beautiful *Damocles*; him *Demetrius* purſued where ever he appeared, ſo that the poor young man was conſtrained to avoid the public bathing-places, and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither *Demetrius* came, and ſurpriſed him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never enough to be commended, threw off the cover of the cauldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it was ſtifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on ſuch particulars as theſe in any other period of the *Athenian* hiſtory; but the *Athenians* having now forgot to act, we are conſtrained to entertain the reader with what they ſaid, and having no more victories to ſpeak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, *Demetrius* had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the prieſts of *Ceres*, and admitted to all the myſteries. Now the conſtant practice in this caſe was, that he who deſired ſuch admiſſion was introduced as a novice in the leſſer myſteries in the month of *November*, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of *Auguſt* following; but when *Demetrius* ſignified his deſire it was the month of *March*. *Stratocles* furniſhed them with an invention which ſet all things to rights, and which ought everlaſtingly to be remembred to the diſhonour of this ſervile flattering people. He propoſed a decree and procured it to be paſſed, that the month of *March* ſhould become *November*; in conſequence of which, *Demetrius* was admitted to the leſſer myſteries: when this was over, *Stratocles* had it decreed, that the month before called *November* ſhould now be called *Auguſt*; and by virtue of this decree, *Demetrius* aſſiſted at the greater myſteries. *Philippides* the comedian could not help ſtigmatizing theſe mean compliances in the following diſtich:

What miracles by flatt'ry wrought are here,
Which in one month hath crowded all the year !

THE pride with which the *Athenians* inſpired *Demetrius* and his father, drew upon them firſt the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the reſt of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* againſt them; this obliged *Demetrius* to quit *Greece* and go into *Aſia*, where in one battle his father *Antigonus* loſt his empire and his life, and *Demetrius* was conſtrained to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips from *Epheſus* towards *Athens*, where he had left his queen *Deidamia*, and great part of his navy: but in the iſlands called *Cyclades* he met with ambaſſadors from that city, who informed him, that the *Athenians* had made a decree, that no crowned head ſhould enter their city; a moſt grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for their ſaviour and their god! *Demetrius* did not, however, reſent this uſage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only deſired, that his ſhips and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done. However, the *Athenians* were ſhortly after ſeverely puniſhed; for their ſeditions among themſelves encouraged one *Lachares* to ſeize the ſovereignty, and to reduce the people to ſubmit to him, who was but an obſcure perſon, rather than live under the protection of ſo great princes: but when the affairs of *Demetrius* were a little reſtored, he began to think of humbling this inſolent and inconſtant people, who to ſhew their ingratitude and contempt, paſſed a decree in full aſſembly, whereby they made it death for any perſon to propoſe a treaty or intercourſe with *Demetrius* on any pretence whatſoever. This rather irritated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aſide his firſt deſign. He therefore firſt began to interrupt the trade of *Athens*, and to ruin its territories, at laſt he cloſely beſieged the city; *Lachares* in the mean time applied to *Ptolemy*, beſeeching ſome relief, for the *Athenians* were almoſt ſtarved, *Demetrius* puniſhing capitally ſuch as attempted to bring them proviſions; by degrees their diſtreſs grew ſo great, that a buſhel of ſalt was ſold for forty drachms, and a buſhel of wheat for three hundred. At laſt a hundred and fifty ſhips laden with corn came from *Egypt*, and anchored at *Ægina* in ſight of *Athens*; but *Demetrius* being at the ſame time reinforced with three hundred ſail from *Cyprus* and other places, the *Egyptians* cut their cables in the night and ſteered away. *Lachares*, as ſoon as he was acquainted with this misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the *Athenians*, who had no choice but ſtarving or yielding, ſurrendered at diſcretion to *Demetrius*, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He firſt of all commanded, that the *Athe-*

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nians ſhould all inſtantly aſſemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he ſurrounded it with his guards, and ſo brought in a body of armed men, who were poſted round the ſtage. The people trembling with fear, expected every moment when the ſignal ſhould be given for putting them to the ſword, when through the door made for the actors, *Demetrius* came upon the ſtage, where in a ſhort oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the ſame time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as an inſtance of which he preſented them with an hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, and named ſuch magiſtrates as were agreeable to the people. The *Athenians* immediately relapſed into their old ſtrain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine ſpeeches to celebrate the generoſity, and extol the clemency, of this great prince, whoſe valour had acquired, whoſe abilities deſerved, and whoſe gentleneſs adorned the diadem he wore. *Dromoclides*, one of the ſpeakers on this occaſion, did him a much more acceptable ſervice than the reſt; for he beſides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of *Piræus* and the caſtle of *Munychia* were given to the king, who was far from ſlighting ſo acceptable a preſent: he knew too well the ficklenеſs of that people to truſt them again, without taking ſome ſecurity for their behaviour; in *Pyræus* and *Munychia* therefore he placed gariſons by virtue of the decree, and in the *Muſæum*, becauſe it was convenient and fit for his purpoſe; thenceforward the *Athenians* were exceedingly faithful, eſpecially when *Demetrius* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Macedon*; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into ſuch circumſtances that he did not preſume to wear the habit of a king, the *Athenians* exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the prieſt of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old maſter getting together an army, came and beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtraights; they had then recourſe to *Craterus* the philoſopher, who went out to *Demetrius*, interceded with him, and ſo fully perſuaded him, that it would be more for his intereſt to paſs over into *Aſia*, that he left them in that liberty to which *Olympiodorus* had reſtored them [d].

WHILE *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Soſthenes* held by turns the *Macedonian* kingdom, the *Athenians* remained free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus* threatened the diſtruc-

Condition of Athens *till freed by* Aratus.

[d] PLUT. in vit. Demet. DIOGEN. LAER. in vit. Theoph. Epicur. & Crat. ATHEN. in Deipnoſoph.

tion

tion of the *Greeks* in general, the *Athenians* for a time exerted ſomewhat of their antient magnanimity, and under their general *Calippus* did great things; for then the common danger uniting all the *Greeks*, and even the king of *Macedon* himſelf, they had nothing to fear but the common enemy; but theſe dangers over, and the affairs of *Antigonus Gonatus* the ſon of *Demetrius* once in a proſperous way, the *Athenians* felt the weight of his power; for he remembering how they had dealt with his father, reſolved to puniſh them for their former behaviour; and to make ſure of them for the future, he firſt waſted their territories, and afterwards cloſely beſieged *Athens*; at laſt unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the beſt treaty with him they could, and in conſequence thereof admitted a gariſon, whereby, though they flattered themſelves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his ſubjects, and after his death were left as ſuch to his ſon *Demetrius*. About this time a ſpirit of liberty revived in *Greece*, and the *Acheans*, who were far from being a conſiderable people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their buſineſs to free others, in which they were exceedingly aſſiſted by the mighty genius of *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, one of the ableſt, and in all reſpects one of the honeſteſt men, that *Greece* or any other country produced; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the vaſt riches which the fame of his virtue procured him, in doing good to others, without having a view to any other reward than the ſatisfaction of doing good; this diſpoſition of his, co-operating with the inclination of the *Acheans*, put him on two or three ſudden expeditions in order to ſurprize *Athens*, not with any intent to ſeize and keep it, but to ſet the people free; all which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it ſo happened, that in the laſt of them, his forces being diſperſed, he wandered about in the night, and with much ado got back to *Corinth*, while a report prevailed he was dead, whereupon the *Athenians* in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became citizens to rejoice for the death of their beſt friends; ſometime after, when *Aratus* was ſick in his bed, the *Athenians* ſuddenly reſolved they would be free, and, as if the greateſt men, and even nature herſelf, muſt ſubmit to their deſires, ſent for *Aratus* to come to their aſſiſtance; he thinking only of the merit of ſuch an action, and forgetting their former ingratiude, cauſed himſelf to be carried thither in a litter; and having prevailed on *Diogenes*, the *Macedonian* governor, to give up the three fortreſſes, *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Muſæum*, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them out of his own pocket, and then left the *Athenians* abſolutely free, having

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alſo the protection of the *Acheans* to guard their freedom. This happened in the beginning of the hundred and thirty ſecond olympiad, two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty ſeven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty two years before Chriſt. Thus we have traced the hiſtory of the *Athenians* in a continued ſeries from their becoming a free people to their junction with the *Acheans*, which hitherto hath not been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other[e].

[e] PLUT. in vit. Arat. ATHEN. in Deipnoſoph. JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The History of SPARTA, *from* Lycurgus *to its being joined by* Philopœmen *to the* Acheans.

The ſcope of this chapter.

WE are in this chapter to give the hiſtory of the *Lacedemonians*, from the time of *Lycurgus* till they ceaſed to be an independent ſtate; that is, for a long ſeries of years, while they were the moſt conſiderable people in *Greece*, not from extent of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their ſituation, or in ſhort from any other accidental or external cauſe, but from their wiſdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their ſtrict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various diſguiſes. The ſtability, as well as glory, of the *Lacedemonian* government was derived from the wiſe inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, the celebrated law-giver of *Sparta*, with whoſe adminiſtration we are to begin this chapter; but, previous thereto, it will be neceſſary to continue the liſt of the kings of *Sparta* begun in our former ſection relating to the *Lacedemonian* affairs, that we may preſerve the ſame order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A TABLE

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A TABLE of the *Lacedemonian* Kings.

The *Agidæ*, or family of *Agis*.			The *Proclidæ*, or family of *Procles*.		
xviii	*Archelaus*	60	xviii	*Charilaus*	64
xix	*Teleclus*	40	xix	*Nicander*	
xx	*Alcamenes*	37	xx	*Theopompus*	
xxi	*Polydorus*		xxi	*Zeuxidamus*	
xxii	*Eurycrates*		xxii	*Anaxidamus*	
xxiii	*Anaxander*		xxiii	*Archidamus*	
xxiv	*Eurycrates*		xxiv	*Agasicles*	
xxv	*Leon*		xxv	*Ariſto*	
xxvi	*Anaxandrides*		xxvi	*Dæmaratus*	
xxvii	*Cleomenes*		xxvii	*Leotychides*	22
xxviii	*Leonidas*		xxviii	*Archidamus*	42
xxix	*Pliſtarchus*	1			
xxx	*Pliſtonax*	68	xxix	*Agis*	42
xxxi	*Pauſanias*	14	xxx	*Ageſilaus.*	41
xxxii	*Ageſipolis*	14			
xxxiii	*Cleombrotus*	9	xxxi	*Archidamus*	23
xxxiv	*Ageſipolis*	1	xxxii	*Agis*	9
xxxv	*Cleomenes*	61	xxxiii	*Eudamidas*	
xxxvi	*Areus*	44	xxxiv	*Archidamus*	
xxxvii	*Acrotatus*		xxxv	*Eudamidas*	
xxxviii	*Areus*	8	xxxvi	*Agis*	
xxxix	*Leonidas*				
xl	*Celombrotus*	40	xxxvii	*Eurydamidas*	
xli	*Cleomenes*		xxxviii	*Epiclidas*	

Lycurgus at firſt held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his ſiſter-in-law the relict of *Polydectes* was with child; *Lycurgus* then declared, that he acted only as his guardian or protector who ſhould be born of the queen (in caſe ſhe ſhould be delivered of a ſon), which was a thing already common among the *Spartans*. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to *Lycurgus*, that ſhe would make uſe of means to make herſelf miſcarry, if he would promiſe to marry her. *Lycurgus* returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her propoſal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any ſuch violent method, aſſuring her, that for her ſake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himſelf. The queen, amuſed by his fair ſpeeches, reckoned on her project as already accompliſhed when ſhe fell in labour, of which ſhe immediately gave notice to *Lycurgus*, who

The wiſe conduct of Lycurgus, *protector of* Sparta.

who ſent ſome of his confidents to be preſent with inſtructions, if it was a ſon, to bring it to him, wherever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at ſupper with ſome of the principal perſons of the city. *Lycurgus*, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, *My Lords of* Sparta, ſaid he, *here is a king born unto us*; then laying the child down on the chair of ſtate, when he obſerved that all who were preſent were extremely overjoyed at the ſight of ſo worthy and diſintereſted an action, he called the young prince *Charilaus*, i. e. *the joy of the people*. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exerciſed for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, ſo it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; inſomuch, that they immediately began to calumniate *Lycurgus*, and to alledge, that notwithſtanding all this fair ſhow, he intended nothing leſs than to reſign the crown to his nephew; nay, *Leonidas*, the brother of the queen, had the aſſurance to tell him in a diſpute which happened between them, *that he was confident it would not be long before he ſhould ſee him king*. The queen too pretended much concern on the ſame account, and bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. *Lycurgus*, greatly alarmed at theſe practices, and deſiring to avoid not only evil, but the very ſuſpicion of evil, reſolved to ſtifle the voice of malice itſelf by going into a voluntary exile; which reſolution he carried into execution ſoon afterwards, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of the people.

The injuries which he had received, and the baſe conſtructions which had been put on his beſt actions, did not hinder *Lycurgus* from applying himſelf, with the ſame diligence abroad, to the ſtudy of that ſcience which might render him uſeful to his country, that he was wont to practiſe while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot was careful, that neither time nor place ſhould alter his attachment to his fellow-citizens. Full of theſe noble conceptions he firſt viſited *Crete*, an iſland famous in the moſt antient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been eſtabliſhed there in the moſt early ages. As far as can be gathered from *Plutarch*, it was at this time governed by ſeveral princes, or was at leaſt cantoned into various independent ſtates, through all which *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himſelf the acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge

ledge of their laws; ſome of which he greatly approved, others he ſlighted. Amongſt all the friendſhips which he contracted in *Crete*, that which ſtood him in moſt ſtead was his intimacy with *Thales* the *Lyric* poet, whom he perſuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to *Sparta*; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken ſongs, but one who made uſe of the ſweetneſs of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modeſty, obedience, and civil harmony; and whoſe ſongs paved the way to the admiſſion of *Lycurgus*'s Laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous diſpoſition to which the *Lacedemonians* had till then been addicted. From *Crete Lycurgus* paſſed over to the continent of *Aſia*, that he might philoſophize on the *Ionian* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. Here, as *Plutarch* conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of *Homer*, which he eagerly tranſcribed, and brought over with him into *Greece*, whereas yet they had only ſcattered epiſodes of that famous author's poems, which were, however, highly eſteemed. From *Ionia* *Lycurgus* went into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by ſuch as went in queſt of wiſdom; and there he met with that method of diſtinguiſhing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* ſays, the credit of them reſts ſolely upon one author; at this diſtance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Inſtead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will paſs to the affairs of *Sparta* during his abſence [a].

THE inhabitants of *Lacedemon*, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, or treſpaſſing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, ſometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practiſed a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to ſupport a legal authority; theſe confuſions were greater or leſs, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwiſe. At this time neither of the kings had any ſhining genius, *Archelaus* had the moſt wit, but *Charilaus* was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people, however, regarded neither of them ſo much as they did *Lycurgus*: wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in ſhort the whole frame of the government was out of order ſince this great man's departure, they ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit him to return, which

[a] PLUTARCH. in vit. Lycurg.

ambaſſadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, ſhewed to be ſuch, yet as to royal qualities, and that diſpoſition of the mind which deſerves to rule, they had obſerved nothing among them ſince his departure of that kind. We uſe the words of *Plutarch*, who obſerves further, that though this language ſeemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averſe to his return, hoping that his preſence would ſerve as a bulwark to ſkreen them from the growing inſolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, *Lycurgus* ſhaped his courſe homewards, in order to put in practice that wiſdom, which with ſo much induſtry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at *Sparta* he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durſt interpoſe between them. He acted in this caſe like a great phyſician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he reſolved to alter the whole political conſtitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties and no leſs dangers! To ſurmount thoſe, and to avoid theſe, he endeavoured firſt to gain the confidence of the moſt eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his ſcheme, and ſhewing them the reaſons upon which it was founded; and ſecondly, he ſought to ſecure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the ſanction of divinity, and aſcribing all he did to the counſels of the *Delphian Apollo*. Having made a journey to *Delphi*, and there offered ſacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which ſtiled him, *Beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promiſed to make the commonwealth, wherein they were obſerved, the moſt famous in the world.* This divine manifeſto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publiſh theſe laws; which that he might perform with ſecurity, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day armed in the market-place; but of theſe twenty eight only appeared. At the news of theſe preparations, *Charilaus*, who though honeſt was very timid, fled to the temple of *Minerva the protectreſs*, fearing that it was ſome conſpiracy againſt his perſon; but when *Lycurgus* ſent to inform him of his real deſign, the king not only quitted the ſanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The firſt ſtep taken was the eſtabliſhing a ſenate conſiſting of twenty eight perſons, or of thirty, including the two kings; this alone was of very great conſequence, ſince it fixed the form of the govern-

ment,

ment, which had hitherto fluctuated between *tyranny* and *democracy*; the ſenate poiſing the authority both of the kings and of the people, ſiding with the former, if the latter were ſeditious, and with the latter if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worſe than it was before, *Lycurgus* allowed them to meet in a general aſſembly, which was to be held *ſub dio*, and wherein they were not allowed to *deliberate*, but had barely a power of *aſſenting* or *diſſenting* to or from what the kings and ſenate propoſed.

WHEN *Lycurgus* by conſtituting a ſenate had ſecured to himſelf an acceſſion of power, he proceeded intirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjuſt all things to the ſcheme he had formed, without any reſpect whatſoever to their former ſtate and condition; a mighty project, which if we conſider, and take at the ſame time a ſtrict view of thoſe laws which he introduced, we ſhall have a juſt idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the *Spartan* government, and of the means whereby a ſtate, which was not conſiderable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itſelf ſo long in the ſovereignty of *Greece*. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a diſtinct detail of the laws of *Lycurgus*, becauſe hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the *Spartan* republic have been inſerted in our hiſtories of *Greece*, and even in books relating more ſtrictly to politics; whereas we ſhall make it evident, that theſe ſuperficial draughts of a conſtitution, are by no means ſufficient to give us a juſt idea of its force and effects. The laws of *Lycurgus* may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the ſubjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of theſe tables, we ſhall come at that perfect notion of *Lycurgus*'s ſcheme, which is abſolutely neceſſary for the thorough underſtanding of the *Lacedemonian* hiſtory.

IN the firſt table we ſhall comprehend ſuch of the *Spartan* laws as regarded religion. The ſtatues of all the gods and goddeſſes worſhipped by this people were repreſented armed, even to *Venus* herſelf; the reaſon of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the moſt noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, ſloth and luxury to the gods. As to ſacrifices, they conſiſted of things of very ſmall value; for which *Lycurgus* himſelf gave this reaſon, that want might never hinder them from worſhipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or raſh prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to aſk no more than that they might live honeſtly and diſcharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city,

contrary

contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of the *Greek* nations; nay, they buried cloſe by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it ſuch a dreadful thing as it was generally eſteemed elſewhere; on the ſame account the touching of dead bodies, or aſſiſting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was alſo rendered ſimple and unexpenſive by law; there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body, *magnificent ſepulchres were forbidden*, neither was there ſo much as an inſcription, however plain or modeſt, permitted. Tears, ſighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, becauſe they were thought diſhonourable in *Spartans*, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were ſtinted to eleven days, on the twelfth the mourner ſacrificed to *Ceres*, and threw aſide his or her weeds. In favour of ſuch as were ſlain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themſelves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules beforementioned, for ſuch had a ſhort and decent inſcription on their tombs. When a number of *Spartans* fell in battle at a diſtance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own ſtate, then their bodies were carefully carried back to *Sparta*, and interred in their family ſepulchres.

Under the ſecond table let us place the ſtatutes relating to the lands and to the city; *Lycurgus* divided all the country of *Laconia* into thirty thouſand equal ſhares; the city of *Sparta* he divided into nine thouſand, as ſome ſay, into ſix thouſand, as ſay others; and, as a third party will have it, into four thouſand five hundred. The intent of the legiſlator was, that property ſhould be equally divided amongſt his citizens, ſo that none might be powerful enough to oppreſs his fellows, or any be in ſuch neceſſity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption; with the ſame view he forbad the buying or ſelling of theſe poſſeſſions; if a ſtranger acquired a right to any of theſe ſhares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he ſubmitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* truſting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of maſons. As to the houſes, they were very plain, for their cielings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the ſaw, and their uteniils were to be of a like ſtamp, that luxury might have no inſtruments among them.

As to the third table, it ſhall conſiſt of the laws regarding citizens. In the firſt place they were to be neither more nor leſs

leſs than the number of city-lots; and if at any time there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies: as to children, their laws were equally harſh and unreaſonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born ſon to a certain place, where the graveſt men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs ſtrait and thought it had a wholeſome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwiſe it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain *Taygetus*. This law ſeems to have had one very good effect, *viz*, making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exerciſing to exceſs; it made them alſo excellent nurſes, for which they were in mighty requeſt throughout *Greece*. Strangers were not allowed to reſide long in the city, that they might not corrupt the *Spartans* by teaching them new-fangled cuſtoms. Citizens were alſo forbid to travel for the ſame reaſon, unleſs the good of the ſtate required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, becauſe they held it unreaſonable, that one who had not ſubmitted to the laws in his youth ſhould receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any ſtranger to a public office but if at any time they had occaſion for a perſon not born a *Spartan*, they firſt made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

THEIR laws relating to marriage ſhall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and puniſhed in a moſt extraordinary manner; for, in the firſt place, the old batchelor was conſtrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place: Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to ſing a ſong in diſparagement of himſelf; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwiſe belonged to old age, it being held unreaſonable, that the youth ſhould venerate him, who was reſolved to leave none of his progeny behind him to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was alſo fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were ſuch alſo as married above or below themſelves; ſuch as had three children had great immunities; ſuch as had four were free from all taxes whatſoever. Virgins were married without portions, becauſe neither want ſhould hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the huſband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Huſbands went for a long time ſecretly, and by ſtealth, to the beds of their wives,

wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings, however, were forbid to take this liberty; some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on, because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends for which *Lycurgus* designed them; since, though the men of *Sparta* were generally remarkable for their virtue, the *Spartan* women were as generally decried for their boldness and contempt of decency.

Under the fifth table shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of *Lycurgus*, that from their very nonage and infancy the *Lacedemonians* should be enured to conquer their appetites, for this reason he directed, that nurses should accustom their children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting; that they should carry them when twelve or thirteen years old to those who should examine their education, and who should carefully observe, whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way, and that none should be more favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals and even as brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who through the course of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh, older men eat their black broth and pulse, the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner somewhat resembling that still in use in *Turky* for the *Janizaries*; their beds in the summer were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the *Eurotas*; in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy or fit to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat all together in public, and in case any abstained from coming to the tables they were fined. *Xenophon* seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do; for, whereas the rest say, that this was only intended to repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation therefrom to perform great things also. It was also strictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home, before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be

be done there with gravity and decency; the black broth was the great rarity of the *Spartans*, which was compoſed of ſalt, vinegar, blood, *&c.* ſo that in our times it would be eſteemed a very unſavoury ſoop. If they were modeſt in their eating, they were ſo alſo in their drinking; thirſt was the ſole meaſure thereof, and never any *Lacedemonian* thought of drinking for pleaſure; as for drunkenneſs it was both infamous and ſeverely puniſhed; and that young men might perceive with how great reaſon, ſlaves were compelled to drink to exceſs that the beaſtlineſs of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, becauſe it was expected, that men, who were perfectly ſober, ſhould be able to find their way in the dark; and beſides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing wonderfully uſeful to them in time of war.

THE laws relating to their habit fall under the ſixth table. As the poor eat as well as the rich, ſo the rich could wear nothing better than the poor; they neither changed their faſhion, nor the materials, of their garments; they were made for warmth and ſtrength, not for gallantry and ſhow; and to this cuſtom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented that their virtue ſhould diſtinguiſh them rather than robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloke given them, which was to ſerve them a year; and their cloathing was in general ſo thin, that a *Lacedemonian veſt* became proverbial. Boys were always uſed to go without ſhoes, but when they grew up they were indulged to them, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as alſo to climb up and ſlip down ſteep places with bare feet; nay the very ſhoe they uſed was of a particular form, plain and ſtrong, and from the place of its invention called *Laconic*. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in uſe among the *Lacedemonians*; the river *Eurotas* ſupplied the former, and exerciſe the latter. In the field, however, their ſumptuary laws did not take place ſo ſtrictly as in the city: for when they went to war they wore purple habits; they put on crowns when they were about to engage the enemy; they had alſo rings, but they were of iron, which metal was moſt eſteemed by this nation. Young women wore their veſts or jerkins only to their knees, or, as ſome think, not quite ſo low, which beyond queſtion was indecent, and as ſuch it is cenſured both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. Gold, precious ſtones,

and other coſtly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permiſſion was the ſtrongeſt prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without vails, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked on, but not the other; in certain exerciſes and ſhows both the young women and men were naked, a thing for which *Plutarch* endeavours to apologize, as if there could be no nakedneſs where the mind was in the *habit of virtue; this is evidently playing with words,* for without queſtion there never was a more immoral, impudent practice than this. The truth is, *Lycurgus* had nothing in view but the rendering the common-wealth of *Sparta* powerful and laſting; and that he might do this, he ſought by all means to eradicate the ſeeds of civil diſſenſions; hence the equal diviſion of eſtates; hence the baniſhment of wealth; and hence the accuſtoming men to bear with the wantonneſs of women, that birth, riches, jealouſy, which, in other countries and in other ſtates, produced ſuch ſtirs and tumults, might be able to effect little or nothing in *Lacedæmon*.

Discipline and manners, that is the rules regarding theſe, ſhall fall under the ſeventh table. Though the *Spartans* were always free, yet it was with this reſtriction, that they were ſubſervient to their own laws, which bound them as ſtrictly in the city, as ſoldiers in other ſtates were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the firſt place, ſtrict obedience to their ſuperiors was the great thing required in *Sparta*; this they looked upon as the very baſis of government, without which neither laws nor magiſtrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in *Sparta*; to the old men the youth roſe up whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the ſtreets, and were ſilent whenever their elders ſpoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the ſtate, ſo all the old men had the authority of parents; they reprehended whatever they ſaw amiſs, not only in their own, but in other people's children, and by this method *Lycurgus* provided, that as youth are every where apt to offend, ſo they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went ſtill farther; if an old man was preſent where a young one committed a fault and did not reprove him, he was puniſhed equally with the delinquent. Amongſt the youths there was one of their own body, or at moſt two years older than the reſt, who was ſtiled *Iren*; he had authority to queſtion all their actions, to look ſtrictly to their behaviour, and to puniſh them if they did amiſs, neither were their puniſhments light,

but

but on the contrary very ſevere, whereby the boys were made hardy, and accuſtomed to bear ſtripes and hard uſage. Silence was a thing highly commended, and greatly valued at *Sparta*, where modeſty was held to be a moſt becoming virtue in young people; nor was it reſtrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and geſtures, *Lycurgus* having particularly directed that they ſhould look forward, or on the ground, and that they ſhould always keep their hands within their robes. A ſtupid inconſiderate perſon, one who would not liſten to inſtruction, but was careleſs of whatever the world might ſay of him, the *Lacedemonians* treated as a ſcandal to human nature; with ſuch an one they would not converſe, but threw him off as a rotten branch, and worthleſs member of ſociety.

THE ſtudies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. The plainneſs of their manners, and their being ſo very much addicted to war, made the *Lacedemonians* leſs fond of the ſciences than the reſt of the *Greeks*; they meaſured the worth of all things by their uſefulneſs, and, therefore, if they wrote to be read, and ſpoke to be underſtood, it was all they ſought. For this the *Athenians*, who were exceſſively vain of their learning, mightily contemned them, inſomuch, that *Thucydides* himſelf, in drawing the character of *Braſidas*, ſays, he ſpoke well enough for a *Lacedemonian*. Theſe, on the other hand, valued themſelves no leſs on their roughneſs, and their ſteady adherence to the maxims of their anceſtors, as, amongſt other inſtances, appears from this anſwer of a *Spartan* to one of the learned *Athenians*, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you ſay may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongſt the* Greeks *have learned no evil cuſtoms from you.* Arts were in no greater credit with them than ſciences, a ſoldier was the only reputable profeſſion in *Sparta*, a mechanic or a huſbandman was thought a low fellow; the reaſon of this was, that they imagined profeſſions which required much labour, ſome conſtant poſture, being continually in the houſe, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depreſſed the mind; whereas a man free from theſe incumbrances was at liberty to attend the ſervice of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such profeſſions as were neceſſary the *Helotes* exerciſed, but for curious arts, and ſuch as ſerved only to luxury, they would not ſo much as ſuffer them to be practiſed in their city; in conſequence of which, rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were ſhut out; neither tragedy, nor comedy could obtrude itſelf on the *Spartans*, they would not bear

the repreſentation of evil, even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magiſtrates had the peruſal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of ſpeech, and accuſtomed their children from their very infancy never to expreſs themſelves in more words than were ſtrictly neceſſary, whence a conciſe and ſententious oratory is to this day ſtiled *Laconic*. In writing they uſed the ſame method, of which we have a ſignal inſtance in a letter of *Archidamus* to the *Eleans*, when he underſtood that they had ſome thoughts of aſſiſting the *Arcadians*; it ran thus: Archidamus *to the* Eleans. *It is good to be quiet.* And therefore *Epaminondas* had reaſon to glory in having forced the *Spartans* to abandon their monoſyllables, and to lengthen their diſcourſes. We need not wonder, that people, ſo much removed from their neighbours in their cuſtoms and manners, ſhould not be deſirous of having the cuſtoms and laws of ſtrangers publiſhed or diſcourſed of in their city; this therefore was a law given by *Lycurgus*, and ſtrictly adhered to; but ſome, who have inferred from thence that the *Lacedemonians* were equally cautious to prevent ſtrangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and cuſtoms, are ſomewhat miſtaken; for in this point they were not ſo ſtrict. The greateſt part of their education conſiſted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things; the *Iren* or maſter propoſed queſtions, and either commended the anſwers that were made him, or reproved ſuch as anſwered childiſhly; theſe queſtions did not relate either to trivial or to abſtruſe matters, but to points of the higheſt importance in civil life; ſuch as, Who was the beſt man in the city? wherein lay the merit of ſuch an action, and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmleſs raillery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their ſhort manner of ſpeaking, rendered *Laconic* replies univerſally admired. Muſic was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their anceſtors; nay, they were ſo ſtrict therein, that they would not permit their ſlaves to learn either the tune or the words of their moſt admired odes, or, which is all one, they would not permit them to ſing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at *Sparta*, but it was a virtuous and modeſt affection, untinged with that ſenſuality which was ſo ſcandalous at *Athens*; female friendſhips were no leſs frequent, and no leſs warm; it is likely, that *Lycurgus* introduced theſe things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we conſider, that neither in one caſe, nor in the other, rivals

were

were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other; but on the contrary, their love to the ſame perſon begat a ſecondary friendſhip among themſelves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the perſon beloved. There is but one thing more, in reſpect to their education, which deſerves mention, and it is this; that theft, if it was handſomely concealed, was not held ſcandalous amongſt them; a moſt abſurd inſtitution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to *Lycurgus*. When theft was diſcovered, however, it was ſeverely puniſhed, and what between this practice and the former, the *Spartan* youth were ſo hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than ſuffer it to be known. It would be eaſy to alledge inſtances, but to what end? to prove, that in defence of vice men will dare to ſuffer pain? We ſee it every day, and therefore they are needleſs; it was an error in the *Lacedemonian* policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuſe.

THE exerciſes inſtituted by law fall under the ninth table; in theſe all the *Greeks* were extremely careful, but the *Lacedemonians* in a degree beyond the reſt; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for theſe exerciſes, he fell into public contempt at leaſt, if not baniſhment. Hunting was the uſual diverſion of their children, nay, it was made a part of their education, becauſe it had a tendency to ſtrengthen the limbs, and to render thoſe who practiſed it ſupple and fleet; they likewiſe bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men; indeed in all their ſports girls were allowed to divert themſelves with the youths, inſomuch, that at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and ſuch like robuſt diverſions, the women were as dexterous as the men; for the manifeſt oddity of this proceeding *Lycurgus* aſſigned no other reaſon, than that he ſought to render women as well as men ſtrong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be ſo too; violent exerciſes, and a laborious kind of life were only injoined to the youth; for when they were grown up to men's eſtate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themſelves wholly either in affairs of ſtate or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar, which, however palliated, was certainly

certainly unnatural and cruel. It was eſteemed a great honour for lads to ſuſtain theſe flagellations without weeping, groaning, or ſhewing any ſenſe of pain; and the thirſt of glory was ſo ſtrong in theſe young minds, that they very frequently ſuffered death without ſhedding a tear, or breathing a ſigh. A deſire of overcoming all the weakneſſes of human nature, and thereby rendering his *Spartans* not only ſuperior to their neighbours, but to their ſpecies, runs through many of the inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impoſſible to give any account of them at all.

The tenth table ſhall comprehend their laws reſpecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and ſilver were by the conſtitutions of *Lycurgus* made no value in *Sparta*; he was ſo well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very poſſeſſion of them penal; but as there was no living without ſome ſort of money, that is, ſome common meaſure or ſtandard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the *Spartans* were ſupplied with the uſeful money, and had at the ſame time no temptation to covetouſneſs afforded them; for a very ſmall ſum was ſufficient to load a couple of horſes, and a great one muſt have been kept in a barn or warehouſe; the coming in of all foreign money was alſo prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The moſt antient method of dealing, *viz.* by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another, was preſerved by law in *Sparta* long after it had been out of date everywhere elſe. Intereſt was a thing forbid in the *Spartan* commonwealth, where they had alſo a law againſt the alienation of lands, accepting preſents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well ſeem to excuſe them; thus by all poſſible methods *Lycurgus* ſought to ſhut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live ſimply and innocently, without admitting amongſt them thoſe ſeeds of luxury and diſſenſion, which he ſaw had produced ſuch fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

Some of the laws of *Sparta* as related to courts of juſtice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years muſt have paſſed over the head of him who had a right to concern himſelf in juridical proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondneſs for law-ſuits, or to be buſying himſelf at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by theſe rules *Lycurgus* thought to ſhut out litigiouſneſs, and to prevent that multiplicity of ſuits which is always

always ſcandalous in a ſtate. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, ſo they were likewiſe forbidden to aſk any queſtions about, or to endeavour to diſcover the reaſons of, the laws by which themſelves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriouſly of ill fame, loſt all right of giving their votes in reſpect of public affairs, or of ſpeaking in public aſſemblies; for they would not believe, that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

THE military laws of *Sparta* ſhall compoſe the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of ſerving in the army, as the beſt authors agree, tho' ſome think, that the military age is not well aſcertained by antient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reaſon of which law is very hard to be diſcovered, if indeed it had any reaſon at all, or was not rather founded on ſome ſuperſtitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewiſe forbidden to fight often againſt the ſame enemy, which was one of the wiſeſt maxims in the political ſyſtem of *Lycurgus*; and we ſhall ſee, that *Ageſilaus*, by offending againſt it, deſtroyed the power of his country, and loſt her that authority which for ſo many ages ſhe maintained over the reſt of *Greece*; for by continually warring againſt the *Thebans*, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at laſt beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under the command of *Epaminondas* to maintain for a time the principality of *Greece*. Maritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the neceſſity of things compelled them in proceſs of time to tranſgreſs this inſtitution, and by degrees they transferred to themſelves as well the dominion at ſea as land, as the reader has already ſeen in the *Athenian* hiſtory; but after the *Peloponneſian* war they again neglected naval affairs, from a perſuaſion that ſailors and ſtrangers corrupted thoſe with whom they converſed. As they never fortified *Sparta*, ſo they were not ready to undertake ſieges; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war they relaxed ſomewhat of their ſtrict manner of living, in which they were ſingular; the true reaſon for this was, in all probability, that war might be leſs burdenſome to them; for, as we have more than once obſerved, a ſtrong deſire to render them bold and warlike was

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the reigning paſſion of their legiſlator. For they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the ſame place, as well to hinder their being ſurpriſed, as that they might be more troubleſome to their enemies, by waſting every corner of their country. They ſlept all night in their armour, but their outguards were not allowed their ſhields, that being unprovided of defence they might not dare to ſleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the ſoldiers ſang toge-ther hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the king ſacrificed to the muſes, that by their aſſiſtance they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to lateſt times; then the army advanced in order to the ſound of flutes, which played the hymn of *Caſtor*; the king himſelf ſung the pæan, which was the ſignal to charge; this was done with all the decorum imaginable, and the ſoldiers were ſure either to die or conquer; indeed they had nothing elſe to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being ſlain, even by their own mothers, for diſgracing their families. Hiſtory informs us, that a *Spartan* lady, on the news of her ſon's having fled from a battle, wrote him this ſhort letter, *Fame ſpeaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more.* In this conſiſted all the excellency of the *Spartan* women, who, if it were poſſible, excelled in bravery their men, never lamenting over huſbands or ſons, if they died honourably in the field, but deploring the ſhame brought on their houſe, if either the one or the other eſcaped by flight. The throwing away a ſhield alſo induced infamy, and with reſpect to this, mothers, when they embraced their departing ſons, were wont to caution them, that they ſhould either return armed as they were, or be brought back ſo, that is, when they were dead; for, as we have before obſerved, ſuch as were ſlain in battle were nevertheleſs buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies fly, they purſued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, becauſe they would ſeem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their enemies to death. According to their antient rules of war, they were bound not to ſpoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in proceſs of time this, and indeed many other of their moſt excellent regulations, fell into diſſuetude. He who overcame by ſtratagem offered up an ox to *Mars*, whereas he who overcame by force offered up only a cock, the former being eſteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years ſervice a man was diſcharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law to go into the field, and conſequently, if the military age was thirty, the *Spartans* were not held invalids, till

they were seventy. Thus we have comprized the most considerable of the *Spartan* laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted, because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere [b].

Lycurgus did not put any of his laws into writing; because he would have them written in the hearts of the people; and to impress them the more strongly there, he took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by *Apollo*, wherefore he stiled them *Rhetræ*, i. e. *divine sanctions*. It is not clear, whether or not *Lycurgus* was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed amongst his countrymen, for lessening the number of their slaves whenever they grew dangerous to the state, and which was stiled *Cryptia*, i. e. the *ambuscade*. Such as had the care of educating the *Spartan* youth picked out the stoutest of them, and, having armed them with daggers, sent them out to destroy their unhappy slaves, which they did, either by surprising them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended against them, and for no other reason than that the state might be safe from their attempts by this reduction of their number. *Plato* greatly condemns this law, for which reason *Plutarch* denies that it was made by *Lycurgus*; but when, or however, it was made, it was indubitably against natural equity, or, to speak with greater propriety, against humanity; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people [c] (A).

The Cryptia what, and how published.

IT

[b] PLUT. in vit. Lycurg. & in Instit. Lacon. ARIST. Polit. PLAT. de Legib. & de Repub XENOPH. Inst. Lac. ÆLIAN. var. Hist. HERAC. PONT. in Fragm. [c] PLUT. in vit. Lycurg. PLATO de Legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the *Lacedemonians* towards their slaves, or *Helotes*, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though *Plutarch*, who was a great admirer of the *Spartans*, endeavours every-where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a distinct account of this matter, we must first acquaint him who these *Helotes* are: *Helos* was an antient city in *Laconia*, against which on some pretence or other the *Lacedemonians* made war, and having subdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent district, slaves (1). And in process of time, when they had enlarged the number of persons in this unhappy condition by subjugating other places, they still kept up

(1) *Homer. Iliad. B. v.* 585. *Strabo, Geogr. lib.* viii. *p.* 363. *Pausan. Lacon.* 201.

Sedition in Sparta. Lycurgus *wounded in the eye.*

It is not to be conceived, that such mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any opposition, neither indeed were they; for when he proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, wherein at last the people proceeded

the old name, and called them all *Helotes*, which, ceasing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this state of servitude. As to the terms of it, they were these: First, their lords could not set them free; and secondly they had no power to sell them, so as that they might be transported out of the *Lacedemonian* dominions (2). Hence it came to pass, that they were prodigiously numerous, which sometimes alarmed the *Spartans*, and made them devise the law above recited to keep them under. *Aristotle* expressly affirms, that it was devised by *Lycurgus* (3). *Plutarch* would gladly have this disbelieved, merely because he thinks it injurious to that legislator; for he offers no other reason for it whatsoever, and at the same time owns, that *Plato* himself had been displeased with *Lycurgus* for the cruelty and injustice of this law (4). *Plutarch* elsewhere informs us, that the *Helotes* were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a small settled rent, which their lords could not raise without incurring public censure (5). This is *Plutarch*'s account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that these *Helotes* were a kind of bailiffs, stewards, or lower sort of farmers. But other authors speak a quite different language; they tell us, that liberty and slavery were in their extremes at *Sparta*, that none were so perfectly free as the citizens of *Lacedemon*, nor any such despicable slaves as these *Helotes*; they were distinguished, that is, marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and in short in every thing; they wore dog-skin bonnets, sheep-skin vests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters; when their lords were so disposed, these poor men were obliged to drink themselves drunk, that the free-born *Spartans* might see the beastliness of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves; and to crown all they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen (6). To take off somewhat from the horror and scandal of such a practice, the ephori, after they were instituted, at their coming into office declared war against them (7); against whom? why against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for

(2) *Strabo, lib.* viii. *Pollux. lib.* 3. *c.* 8. (3) *Polit. lib.* ii. (4) *In vit. Lycurg.* (5) *Instit. Lacedem.* (6) *Miron. Prien. ap. Athen. Deipnos. lib.* xiv. (7) *Arist. Polit. lib.* ii.

themselves.

proceeded to blows, and *Lycurgus* found himself obliged to quit the assembly in order to fly to a sanctuary; some of them, however, closely pursued him, and amongst the rest one *Alcander*, a young nobleman of a generous, but too hasty, disposition, who, on *Lycurgus*'s looking back, struck him on the eye, and as some say, beat it out; the legislator then stopped, and shewing his face all covered with blood, the people were so struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up *Alcander* into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* accepted the proposal, and carried *Alcander* home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his person; this mildness was of great service to them both; for *Alcander* perceiving that *Lycurgus* was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a harsh and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and affable temper, he became from his fiercest enemy his greatest admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the instructions of *Lycurgus*. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, no not so much as a staff, was brought into their assemblies or public councils [d].

Method taken by this legislator to settle his laws.

WHEN *Lycurgus* had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the consideration of the nature of men and of the different effects of va-

[d] PLUT. ubi supra.

themselves. *Plutarch* according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of *Lycurgus*, and alledges, that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the *Messenians* after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of *Lacedemon* was overthrown (8); but *Ælian* tells us expressly, that it was the common opinion in *Greece*, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the *Spartans* for treating these *Helotes* with such inhumanity (9). *Thucydides* gives us a glaring instance of the jealousy of the *Lacedemonians* on account of these poor men; he says, that about two thousand of them, being manumitted by law for their great service in the *Peloponnesian* war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with shows; after all which they disappeared on a sudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(8) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (9) *Hist. Var. lib.* iii. (10) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib.* iv. *vide etiam Ubb. Emm. de Repub. Lac. Crag. de Repub. Lac. lib.* i. *c.* 11. *Meurs. Misc. Lacon. lib.* ii. *c.* 6.

rious governments upon them, he thought moſt eligible; his next care was to render this fixed and ſtable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that ſtructure which he had raiſed, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After ſome time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: He called a general aſſembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be ſettled, which was indeed of the higheſt importance, and what he could not acquaint them with, till he had conſulted the oracle at *Delphi*; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themſelves to obſerve his *Rhetræ* inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily aſſented, and to bind their aſſent, *Lycurgus* took an oath upon the ſpot from the two kings, the ſenate, and the commons; after which he departed, as he had propoſed, and went to *Delphi*. There he propoſed this queſtion to the oracle; *Shall the laws eſtabliſhed in* Sparta *make that city virtuous and happy?* The reſponſe was, *The laws given to* Sparta *are excellent, and the city ſhall continue in the higheſt renown while it obſerves the polity of* Lycurgus. This he took in writing and ſent to *Sparta*, after which he ſacrificed a ſecond time to *Apollo*, and having ſolemnly taken leave of his friends and of his ſon, he determined with himſelf to put an end to his life by faſting, that the *Lacedemonians* might never have it in their power to free themſelves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch* expreſſes himſelf in very high terms in reſpect to the death of *Lycurgus*, he commends it as one of the nobleſt inſtances of patriotiſm, which is to be met with in antient hiſtory; becauſe, ſays he, the legiſlator ſecured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a moſt honourable end to a virtuous and well-ſpent life, and he affixed his death as a ſeal to his laws, which he left as his laſt will and teſtament to his country. He tells us likewiſe, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he ſays, was afterwards blaſted with lightning, an accident peculiar to *Lycurgus* and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans*, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and ſacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account, *Plutarch* himſelf acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how, or where, this great man died; ſome ſay, he ended his days at *Cirrha*, *Apolothemis* affirmed, that he died at *Elis*, *Timæus* and *Ariſtoxenus* agree, that he finiſhed his days in *Crete*, the latter ſays the inhabitants ſhewed his tomb. *Ariſtocrates* the ſon of *Hipparchus* wrote likewiſe that he

he died in *Crete*; but he added, that by the direction of *Lycurgus* the perſons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and ſcattered the aſhes thereof in the air, and on the ſea, that they might never be tranſported to *Lacedemon*, to prevent the people apprehending themſelves releaſed from their oath. He left behind him one ſon, whoſe name was *Antiorus*, who dying without iſſue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of the deceaſed, and that they might therein diſcourſe of, and exhort each other to the imitation of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legiſlator ſtiled *Lycurgides* [c] (B).

FROM

[c] PLUT. in vit. Lycurg.

(B) The life of *Lycurgus* was the firſt which *Plutarch* publiſhed, as he himſelf obſerves (11). He ſeems to have had a mighty liking to the *Spartans* and their cuſtoms; for, beſides this life and thoſe of ſeveral other *Spartan* chieftains, we have a treatiſe of his on the laws and cuſtoms of the *Lacedemonians*, and another of *Laconic* apophthegms; he owns notwithſtanding, that with reſpect to the family and the time of the birth of this legiſlator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things a perfect hero, and alledges his behaviour as a proof that the wiſe man ſo often deſcribed, and ſo much commended by philoſophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the ſalutation of the propheteſs at *Delphi*, which, he ſays, ran in theſe words: *Welcome, beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man* (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in *Greece*, and generally ſpeaking believed, otherwiſe *Socrates* would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or *Plutarch* have ſo often urged it as a full anſwer to all the calumnies raiſed againſt his hero. Yet ſomething may be ſaid, not greatly to the reputation either to the oracle or *Lycurgus*, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about what could otherwiſe never have been brought about, the impoſing his harſh laws upon the *Spartans*. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver, who aſcribed all his laws to *Jupiter*; but from whomſoever he took it, an antient author of great note affirms, that the reſponſes of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has ſeen in the *Athenian* hiſtory many inſtances of a like nature, and we ſhall hereafter ſhew, that *Lyſander* knew how to make *Apollo* ſpeak kindly in his favour, as well as *Lycurgus*. It is clear, that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his inſtitutions to be divine; for this cauſe

(11) *In vit. Theſei.* (12) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (13) *Xenophon. de Reb. Memor.* (14) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c.* 16.

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The reigns of Charilaus *and* Teleclus. Year of the Flood, 2095. Before Christ. 904.

FROM the death of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* history is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials

he would never suffer his laws to be put into writing, but trusted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. *Plutarch* affords us an instance of this; he says, that by a *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus* the people had power to assent or dissent from what was proposed to them by the kings and senate; but when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloss upon the laws, to assent to one part of them and to dissent from another, the kings and senate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the *Rhetra* to this purpose, that if the people should offer any cross proposal, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of their legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction, and thereby strengthened their own authority at the expence of the peoples (15). Most politicians have held *Lycurgus*'s invention of a senate to have been a most excellent contrivance: *Plato* was so much charmed with it, that from thence he stiles its author a divine spirit residing in a human nature (16): yet *Aristotle*, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that institution; he thought it unreasonable, that senators should be made for life, because frequently mens abilities decay, so that instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to transact those of their own family. He was likewise offended, that they were left without controul, for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them, especially if their errors might any way affect the state (17). The last act of *Lycurgus*, of which we have any certainty, is his sending the oracle from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, signifying the approbation given by *Apollo* to all his laws; that he starved himself there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour; and his life could never have been closed by any act more shining than this of quitting supreme power, when his countrymen unanimously desired that he should retain it. This shewed, that he was truly disinterested, and did not seek any other reward for the services he rendered *Sparta*, than the glory of having served her. *Solon*, though a person of a different temper, was as disinterested as he; he settled the *Athenian* commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain went into voluntary exile. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* were both great men, but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder, genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

(15) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (16) *Plato de Legib. lib. iii.* (17) *Arist. lib. ii. & lib. vi.*

from

from whence it may be collected, than ſcattered paſſages of antient authors, which, as well as we are able, we ſhall put together. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*, but with little ſucceſs; afterwards he fell on the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*; but in this war alſo he had very bad fortune, for he was taken priſoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and to purchaſe his liberty, he was conſtrained to take a ſolemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more; which oath, however, he kept very indifferently [f]. He then turned his arms againſt the *Acheans*, who had taken from the *Lacedemonians* ſeveral frontier towns, which he and his collegue *Teleclus* recovered. Among theſe were *Amyclas*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra*; the firſt they raſed, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of *Peloponneſus*; ſuch were the military exploits of *Charilaus* or *Charillus*; he retained always a great reſpect for his tutor *Lycurgus*, as appears from ſeveral of his ſayings which have reached our times: for being once aſked, why *Lycurgus* had made ſo few laws, he anſwered, *Men of few words need but few laws*; and it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be moſt complete, *That*, ſaid he, *wherein moſt of the citizens contend in virtue without diſturbing each other* [g]. His collegue of the other regal houſe was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he ſucceeded to the crown, by ſome who ſought to flatter him, that his father had ſpoke ſlightingly of him, he anſwered, *That he was ſorry for it, becauſe he would not have done it, if himſelf had not deſerved it* [h]. His death gave occaſion to the *Meſſenian* war, but after what manner cannot eaſily be determined. There was, it ſeems, a temple of *Diana* ſeated on the marches between *Laconia* and *Meſſenia*, to which the inhabitants of both regions reſorted; ſome *Spartan* virgins repairing thither were violated by the *Meſſenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was ſlain; the women alſo famiſhed themſelves to death. This is the *Spartan* ſide of the ſtory; the *Meſſenians* reported it thus: That *Teleclus* intending to ſurprize ſome of the principal perſons of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with poignards under their cloaths, and that, a fray happening, *Teleclus* and ſome of his aſſociates were ſlain. But there wanted not other cauſes of ill-will among theſe people; for the *Spartans* entertained an opinion, that their kings *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* were cheated by their un-

[f] PAUSAN. in Arcad.
[g] PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.
[h] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

cle *Creſphontes* in the aſſignment of their territories, the moſt barren being given to them, and the beſt reſerved to himſelf. While things were in this ſituation, an injury done to a private perſon kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* intruſted *Euephnus* a *Lacedemonian* with ſome cows, on condition that he ſhould have a moiety of the profit ariſing from their milk. The *Spartan* ſold theſe cows to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdſmen who kep tthem, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force; as ſoon as this was done, *Euephnus* went to *Polychares*, and told him a melancholy ſtory of certain robbers, who had ſtolen the cattle and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midſt of his tale, came one or two of his herdſmen, who had made their eſcape, and falſified all he ſaid; upon this the *Lacedemonian* confeſſed the truth, and told *Polychares*, that if he would ſend his ſon home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the *Meſſenian* readily agreed. But when they were come to *Sparta*, *Euephnus* moſt perfidiouſly murdered the lad, and *Polychares*, coming ſeveral times to *Sparta* to demand juſtice, was forced to retire unredreſſed and unheeded. He, being exceedingly provoked with ſuch barbarous uſage, reſolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and, in conſequence of this reſolution, killed as many of the *Lacedemonians* as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly reſented by that people[1]. Theſe tranſactions we have thrown together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, becauſe we were willing to place all the cauſes or ſuppoſed cauſes of the *Meſſenian* war in the reader's view at once; we will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preſerve in its juſt order the ſucceſſion of the *Spartan* kings.

The reigns of Nicander *and* Alcamenes.

To *Charilaus* ſucceeded his ſon *Nicander*, who reigned thirty nine years, and in the thirty fourth year of whoſe reign was celebrated the firſt olympiad; he is ſaid to have carried on the war with the *Argives*, and to have done them a great deal of miſchief; but for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. *Teleclus* had for his ſucceſſor his ſon *Alcamenes*, who, with his collegue before-mentioned, ſent to the *Meſſenians* to demand juſtice againſt *Polychares*, and that he ſhould be delivered up; the *Meſſenians* were at that time governed by *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, brothers; the former was much againſt yielding on any terms to the requeſt of the *Lacedomonians*, alledging, that they were the aggreſſors, and therefore ought to do juſtice firſt; the

[1] Pausan. in Meſſen. Strab. lib. vii. viii. Justin, lib. iii. c. 5.

latter was againſt hazarding the public ſafety on account of a private perſon, and therefore declared that he would give up *Polychares* rather than break with the *Spartans*; the diſputes on this occaſion roſe ſo high, that from words they came to blows, wherein *Androcles* was ſlain. *Antiochus*, now reigning alone, ſent immediately ambaſſadors to *Sparta*, beſeeching the king and ſenate to conſider, that they were originally of the ſame ſtock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the preſent caſe to leave the deciſion of this matter either to the *Argives*, who were their common allies, to the *Amphictyonian* council, or to the ſenate of *Arcopagus* at *Athens*. The *Spartans* gave no anſwer to theſe deputies, and while things were in this ſituation, *Antiochus* died, and was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon *Euphaes*; to him the *Lacedemonians* made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correſpondence with the *Meſſenians*; yet were they all this time providing ſecretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the leaſt notice. Before they proceeded to hoſtilities, the kings and ſenate called a general aſſembly, in which the troops appointed for the war took a ſolemn oath never to return home till they had intirely conquered *Meſſenia*; which ſhewed, that this was a war of ambition rather than juſtice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours [k].

Alcamenes king of *Sparta*, at the head of a complete army, entered the *Meſſenian* territory ſuddenly, and by night, in conſequence of which he eaſily ſurpriſed the city of *Amphea*, the gates of which were open as uſual, the inhabitants not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards happened. The *Spartans* behaved on this occaſion very cruelly, they ſlew without diſtinction all who came in their way, nor did even temples or altars afford a ſanctuary to ſuch as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the *Lacedemonians* knew would ſerve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability engaged them to treat the people thus harſhly, that they might make themſelves abſolute maſters of it and its dependencies. *Euphaes* the *Meſſenian* king, on the firſt news of this extraordinary ſtroke, aſſembled his people, and encouraged them to keep up their ſpirits, and not to believe that all was loſt, ſince the *Lacedemonians* was in the hands of the *Lacedemonians*; he likewiſe gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might beſt carry it on; he obſerved to them that the *Lacedemonians* [illegible]

The Meſſenian war commences. Year of the Flood 2256. Year before Chriſt, 743.

[k] *Pauſan. & Iuſtin.* ubi ſupra.

were not only brave, but were also bred up to war as to a trade, nay, were indeed bred up to nothing else; whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with such an enemy. Wherfore his counsel was, that they should carry on a defensive war in the best manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the *Spartans* upon equal terms. The *Messenians*, following his advice, maintained a defensive war for three years, in which they suffered the *Spartans* to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year *Euphaes* ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumspection, for, having intrenched his best troops, he drew out his horse and light-armed forces skirmishing with these; and when the *Spartans* drew nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his retrenchments; and as the *Spartans* had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were constrained to retire, and shortly after returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced *Messenia* [l]. A very short time after this both the kings died. As to *Nicander*, we find little of him in antient authors more than has been already mentioned; with respect to *Alcamenes*, *Plutarch* hath preserved some passages of his life, which shew that he was a wise and gentle prince [m]. Being once asked how a prince might best secure his government, he answered, *By despising gain*. When the *Messenians* sought by presents to have gained him to their interest, he refused them; and the reason of this being demanded, he readily answered, *If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed.* He inherited, it seems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and increased it by his own management, living still in a plain parsimonious manner; for which being reproached, he said, *Is it not a mark of virtue and good sense, when he who has abundance chooses to live, rather according to reason than appetite?* It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before mentioned copied these sayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuse us, if, finding little to say of their deeds, we entertain him sometimes with the sayings of those *Spartan* kings.

Polydorus and Theopompus

Polydorus succeeded his father *Alcamenes* in the kingdom, and *Theopompus* his father *Nicander*. With these princes the *Spar-*

[l] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 4. [m] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

tans

tans intrusted a new army, with express instructions not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in possession of a prize which she had so long desired. The *Messenians*, under the command of *Euphaes* their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont: but prepared to give them battle, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour; the *Lacedemonians* then marched towards the enemy in battalia, *Theopompus* commanding the right wing, and *Polydorus* the left; the *Messenians* disposed their army so as best to oppose the *Spartans*, *Antander* and their king *Euphaes* commanding their left, and *Pytharatas* their right; the engagement was very obstinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the *Spartan* army was routed by *Euphaes*, as was the right wing of the *Messenian* army by *Polydorus*, *Pytharatas* their general being slain. These advantages, however, were so inconsiderable, that neither party durst pursue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw and bury their dead; after which the *Spartans*, notwithstanding the instructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conquest of *Messenia* appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the present [n]. The reader will observe, that we have ascribed this war to motives of interest, which at first sight may seem to clash with what the historians, whom we have mentioned, have said about it; but that the fact was so, putting all circumstances together, is indubitably true; nay, *Polydorus* the *Spartan* king openly professed as much when he went to this war; for some of the *Messenians* having demanded of him, *If he would fight against his brethren*, alluding to their and the *Lacedemonians* descent from the same parents, the king readily answered, *No, but I will put in my claim to an estate, to which as yet no body has any good title* [o]. The great resistance the *Messenians* made on this second invasion, determined the *Spartans* not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harassing and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the *Messenians* worn out and destroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the *Spartans*, that war was their business, in which if they were not engaged they were idle, whereas the *Messenians*, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and destroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garisons, besides a standing body of troops in the field. To add to these misfortunes, which were already al-

[n] PAUSAN. ubi supra. [o] PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

moſt inſupportable, a diſtemper raged in *Meſſenia*, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not ſweep off ſuch numbers. Theſe misfortunes produced a long and ſerious conſultation among the chief perſons in the kingdom, who at length came to a reſolution to abandon ſuch villages and little towns as were leaſt capable of defence, and to fortify a city which ſtood on the top of the mountain *Ithome*, to which the inhabitants of the demoliſhed places might repair: from this they promiſed themſelves two things; firſt, that they ſhould be releaſed from the expence of gariſons; ſecondly, that in time of diſtreſs this might be made a place of certain ſafety [p].

The Argive *or* Thyrean *war.*

THE *Spartans* were about this time called off from the *Meſſenian* war to engage with the *Argives*; the diſpute was about the city *Thyrea* and its diſtrict, which, lying on the borders of *Argolis* and *Laconia* had been an old bone of contention between thoſe ſtates [q]. To avoid a great effuſion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred *Argives* and as many *Lacedemonians* ſhould decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both ſides retireing. In conſequence of this agreement, theſe ſix hundred men engaged, and fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives*, *viz.* *Alcinor* and *Chromius*, and one *Spartan*, whoſe name was *Othryades*, left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. *Othryades* remained in the field of battle and erected a trophy; hence a new diſpute commenced; both parties claiming the victory; the *Argives*, becauſe two of their men were left; the *Spartans*, becauſe the *Argives* fled, and left *Othryades* in poſſeſſion of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the *Lacedemonians* were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of *Polydorus*, and that of the *Argives*, with a mighty ſlaughter of the latter. Some would have perſuaded the *Spartan* king to have purſued this victory, and to have attacked *Argos* itſelf; but he anſwered with a generoſity becoming his character, that the *Spartans* ſent him to aſſert their rights, and not to rob others [r]. Thus ended the *Argive* war, ſome circumſtances of which are variouſly reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the *Meſſenians* after their fortifying *Ithome*.

[p] Pausan. ubi ſupra. [q] Herod. lib. i. Pausan. in Argol.

[r] Suidas, in voce Ὀθρυάδης. Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

THE

(C) In the leſſer treatiſe of parallels between the *Greeks* and *Romans*,

THE deſire of freeing themſelves from this grievous war with *Sparta* engaged them to ſend a perſon to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*; the name of this man was *Tiſis*, who in his return was attacked by ſome of the *Lacedemonian* gariſon in *Amphea*, from whom, however, he eſcaped, though grievouſly wounded; of which wounds, having firſt revealed the oracle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unleſs a virgin of the houſe of the *Æpytidæ*, that is, the royal family, was ſacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation; this oracle, when reported, ſtruck the *Meſſenians*, and eſpecially the royal family, with the utmoſt terror. Lots, however, were caſt, and the daughter of *Lyſiſcus* taken; but when ſhe ſhould have been ſacrificed, *Epebolus* the ſoothſayer declared, that ſhe was not *Lyſiſcus*'s daughter, but impoſed upon him by his wife, who thereby ſought to eſcape the imputation of barrenneſs. While the ſoothſayer was ſetting forth this matter to the people, *Lyſiſcus* withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this *Ariſtodemus*, one of the royal houſe, freely offered his daughter; a young man, who was preſent, alledged, that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her, which plea being over-ruled, he ſet up another, that he had conſummated his marriage, and that ſhe was actually with child by him; *Ariſtodemus*, conceiving this to be a diſhonour to his family, ſlew his daughter inſtantly with his own hand, after which opening her womb, he ſhewed it to the people.

The Meaſures taken in this ſpace by the Meſſenians.

mans, generally aſcribed to *Plutarch*, the abovementioned fact ſtands thus: "The *Argives* and *Lacedemonians* being engaged in "a diſpute about the city and diſtrict of *Thyrea*, the *Amphictyons* "decreed, that it ſhould be decided by combat. The *Lacedemo-*"*nians* choſe for their captain *Othryades*; the *Argives Therſander*; "the battle being over, there remained only two *Argives*, whoſe "names were *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who ran ſtrait to the city to "carry the news of their victory. In the mean time, while all "was quiet, *Othryades*, who was not quite dead, roſe from the "ground, and having propped himſelf up with two pieces of bro-"ken lances, he drew together as many ſhields as lay within his "reach, and piling them up, wrote on the uppermoſt with his own "blood theſe words: *To Jupiter the conqueror, guardian of trophies.* "This creating a new diſpute, which was again brought before the "*Amphictyons*, they went to take a view of the place, and having "thoroughly examined all things, decreed in favour of the *Spartans*. "This is recorded by *Chryſermus* in the third book of his *Peloponne-*"*ſian* hiſtory (18).

(18) Plutarch. *in Paral. p* 606.

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The soothsayer insisted that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of *Aristodemus* having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a victim; but all the family of the *Æpytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus*'s daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the *Messenians* concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed they would be victors[r].

The Spartans *renew the war with the* Messenians.

Six years after the flight of *Lysiscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedemonians* entered *Messenia* again with a great army. The *Messenians* might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defensively; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which, suiting the *Spartan* method of making war, quickly fell out; this battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them; *Euphaes*, however, venturing too far against *Theopompus* the *Spartan* king, was mortally wounded, and fell down; this, far from checking the spirits of the *Messenians*, made them the more eager, insomuch, that a warm contest began about carrying off the dying king, in which the *Messenians* prevailed, though with the loss of *Antander*, one of their best captains; *Euphaes*, being carried back to *Ithome*, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon *Cleonnis*, *Damis*, and *Aristodemus* put in their claims; the people elected the last, notwithstanding the soothsayer's alledging he was incapable on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, in order to draw them to his assistance against the *Lacedemonians*; wherein he was very successful, almost all the *Peloponnesians* beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the same time *Aristodemus* laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether for the future they should be freemen or slaves; with this view he showered his favours upon all, he raised his competitors to the chief dignities in the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed money amongst the people. Such was the be-

[r] Pausan. in Messen.

ginning

ginning of *Ariſtodemus*'s reign, who was an avowed and moſt dangerous enemy to the *Spartans* [t].

The Ephori created at Sparta.

ABOUT this time, as the beſt authors agree, a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is aſcribed to *Theopompus*, who ſeeing the neceſſity of leaving magiſtrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the *Ephori*, who afterwards made ſo great a figure in the *Spartan* ſtate [u]. Some think, that they were at firſt the king's friends to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they ſoon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, choſen by the people out of their own body, ſometimes out of the very dregs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was moſt likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the ſenate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requiſite. As to their authority, it was in a manner boundleſs: they preſided in popular aſſemblies, collected their ſuffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that ſhould be raiſed, appointed the funds to maintain them, and diſtributed rewards and puniſhments in the name of the ſtate; they likewiſe held a court of juſtice, enquired into the behaviour of all magiſtrates, inſpected into the deportment and education of youth, had a particular juriſdiction over the *Helotes*, and in ſhort by degrees drew the whole adminiſtration into their own hands. This *Theopompus*'s queen is ſaid to have conjectured on their firſt appointment; which made her reproach her huſband with ſuffering the regal dignity to deſcend to his children mutilated and in a worſe condition than he received it from his anceſtors. *Theopompus* anſwered her with great prudence; that far from having leſſened or injured the regal authority, he had ſtrengthened and ſecured it, becauſe the people, being ſatisfied by this inſtitution, would have leſs inclination to run into tumults and ſeditions, in which princes are never ſafe [x]. One great privilege of the *Ephori* was, that they did not riſe up at the preſence of the kings, as all other magiſtrates did [y]: another, that from the firſt elected of theſe magiſtrates the year was denominated, as at *Athens* from the firſt of the archons

[t] PAUSAN. in Lacon. & Meſſen. [u] ARIST. Polit. lib. v. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Cleom. VALER. M. lib. iv. [x] ARIST. Polit. ii. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. PLAT de legib. lib. iii. POLYB. lib. iv. XENOPH. de Repub. Lacedem.

chons[z]; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended againſt the laws, or were guilty of any ſort of exceſs, the *Ephori* took cogniſance thereof, and puniſhed them[a]. Some diſputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be diſcuſſed in the notes, but it is now time to reſume the thread of the hiſtory. (D).

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[z] Pausan. Lacon. [a] Plut. Inſtit. Lacedem.

(D) We have in the text placed the inſtitution of the *Ephori* under the reign of *Theopompus*, though it muſt be owned, that not only *Herodotus* in his hiſtory (19), but *Xenophon* alſo, treating expreſly of the republic of *Lacedemon*, aſcribes the ſettling of the *Ephori* to *Lycurgus* (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our reaſons why we have rejected theſe authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other caſe and have placed the *Ephori* a hundred and thirty years lower than *Lycurgus*. Firſt then, we think, that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legiſlator's ſcheme of government, ſince he ſeems to have ſought, as far as in him lay, to ſupport the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwiſe, why did he inſtitute the ſenate? or why did he leave to the people in their general aſſembly nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that theſe arguments would be of no weight at all againſt ſuch authorities as *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, if there had not been writers of no leſs character on the other ſide. For ſecondly, *Ariſtotle* is expreſs in placing their inſtitution lower (21); *Plutarch* in his life of *Cleomenes* introduces that prince, aſſigning them the ſame inſtitution which we have done; beſides *Theopompus*'s anſwer to his queen is recorded by authors of the beſt credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reigns of *Theopompus* and his collegue, rather than under that of *Charilaus*. Undoubtedly their power grew by very ſlow degrees, and at their firſt inſtitution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exerciſed with ſo high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at firſt appointed by the kings at their pleaſure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, thoſe who have this notion have aſſigned the time, *viz.* in the fifty fifth olympiad, when *Chilo* was the firſt of the *Ephori*, that is the *Epynomos*, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any antient author offered in ſupport of this notion, and as it is founded only on the ſuppoſed ſenſe of a paſſage in *Diogenes Laertius*, it is ſufficient that we have mentioned it; nor are we bound to refute it. It is true, that *Cleomenes*, in his ſpeech reco-

(19) *Herod. lib.* i. (20) *Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedem.* (21) *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* v. (22) *Ariſt. ubi ſupra. Plutarch in vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib.* iv.

ded

THE adminiſtration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the *Spartan* kings renewed the *Meſſenian* war, and having engaged the *Corinthians* to lend them ſome aſſiſtance, they marched with a great army towards *Ithome*. *Ariſtodemus*, like a great captain, diſpoſed his own forces and thoſe of his confederates in the beſt manner poſſible; himſelf and *Cleonnis* commanded the heavy-armed forces, thoſe who were light-armed being committed to the care of *Damis*; the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* he oppoſed to the *Corinthians*; and the choiceſt of the *Arcadian* troops, with the flower of the *Meſſenian* infantry, he ranged againſt the *Lacedemonians*; the light-armed ſoldiers were poſted behind the hill, and all things thus diſpoſed, the battle began with great vigour on both ſides; the *Lacedemonians*, though hard preſſed, ſtood firmly in their poſts, and the *Corinthians* behaved very bravely for a long time; but when, on a ſignal given, the light-armed forces commanded by *Damis* took them in flank, and by a ſhower of miſſive weapons deſtroyed a great many men, they were at laſt conſtrained to betake themſelves to flight with very conſiderable loſs, tho' the number be not aſcertained. The *Spartans* were exceedingly afflicted at this miſcarriage, and the *Corinthians* were ſadly diſtreſſed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every ſide an enemy's country to paſs

The Spartans *again invade* Meſſenia. Year of the flood 2276. Before Chriſt 723.

ded by *Plutarch*, alledges the ſame thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not aſſign the time when their election was veſted in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known. The truth ſeems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king *Theopompus* firſt deviſed this expedient of creating *Ephori* for the preſervation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what *Cleomenes* ſays, as the opinion of *Plutarch*, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumſtances; for he delivered this diſcourſe to the people after he had taken away the *Ephori*, and therefore it is to be preſumed he would ſay any thing which might ſerve to colour his deſigns; but we find it elſewhere recorded by the ſame author that the *Ephori* gave this account of the inſtitution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their diſputes were likely to prove fatal to the ſtate (23). We ſhall hereafter have occaſion frequently to mention the conduct of theſe magiſtrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at preſent we have done all that was neceſſary, in producing the reaſons which have engaged us to believe, that the *Ephori* were ſet up under the reign of *Theopompus*, but were always elected by the people.

(23) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

through before they could reach home [b]. The *Lacedemonians* continued the war, and sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* on its event; the *Messenians* did so too: to the former the oracle answered to this purpose, *By fraud* (i. e. *of* Cresphontes) Messenia *was obtained, and by fraud it must be subdued.* To the latter the oracle also gave an answer, but so perplexed and obscure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the *Spartans*, in pursuance of their response, contrived many stratagems, and at last fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to *Ithome* as suppliants, from whence they might easily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's counsels; in this they followed the example of *Ulysses*, but not with the like success; for *Aristodemus*, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deserters to return home, and directed them to tell the *Spartans*, *that tho' their injustice was new, yet their trick was stale* [c]. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at *Ithome*, *Aristodemus* himself had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him and upbraided him with her death. They had recourse to the old remedy, sending deputies to *Delphi*, and these deputies brought them advice, that whoever first dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of *Jupiter at Ithome* should remain masters of the place. This raised the spirits of the *Messenians* again, who, having no money to make the tripods of brass, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being sent from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, one *Oebalus*, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, disguising himself like a fowler, got into *Ithome*, and having placed them in the temple of *Jupiter* escaped. The *Messenians* at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found the city invested by a great army from *Sparta*; *Aristodemus* encouraged them a while, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in spite of all his care would at last fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himself into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himself [d]. On his demise the *Messenians* did not elect any other king, but chose *Damis* their chief by the title of general only. He did for them all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, such of the *Messenians* as had any hopes of a good reception fled into the adjacent countries; the rest, together with the city of *Ithome*, were constrained

[b] Pausan. Messen. [c] Pausan. Lacon. [d] Pausan. Messen. & Lacon.

to

to ſubmit themſelves to the *Spartans*, who treated them with great rigour. *Polyænus* indeed tells us[e], that *Ithome* was taken by the following ſtratagem. *Theopompus* with part of the army pretended to deſert his collegue, actually removing from the camp, and pitching behind the city; the *Meſſenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*, with whom they were no ſooner thoroughly engaged, than *Theopompus* with his forces attacked the city and took it by ſtorm[e]. However this matter happened, *Ithome* was certainly raſed by the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Meſſenians*, who remained in their own country, were tied to theſe conditions; firſt, that they ſhould cultivate their lands with all diligence, and render half their fruits to the *Spartans*; and ſecondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral proceſſion in their weeds, on pain of ſuffering the higheſt penalties if they neglected. Beſides, the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the ſea to the *Aſinei*, and another part to the deſcendants of *Androcles*[f]; this was the end of the famous *Meſſenian* war, which makes ſuch a figure in the *Greek* hiſtorians; that is to ſay, at this time; for we ſhall ſee it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the *Spartans*.

Sparta loſes both her kings after the Meſſenian *war.*

SOME time after this war was over, the *Spartans* loſt both their kings, whoſe characters therefore we ſhall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. *Theopompus* was a wiſe and gentle prince, as in a great meaſure appears from an anſwer he made to the following queſtion: *By what means a monarch might live with the greateſt ſafety? Let him* (anſwered the king) *permit his friends to adviſe him freely, and be himſelf always ready to puniſh the wicked ſtrictly, and with a good will*[g]. He loſt his ſon *Archidamus* a little before the *Argive* war, which was the reaſon that the conduct thereof was committed to his collegue. It is very probable, that there were great ſtirs in *Sparta* during their reigns, for beſides eſtabliſhing the *Ephori*, theſe kings had recourſe to the contrivance before-mentioned, of ſubſtituting a new clauſe in the *Rhetra* concerning laws, whereby they reſtrained the power of the people[h]. The *Pylians*, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him exceſſive honours, which he declined by this ſhort meſſage: *Moderate honours time increaſes, but takes*

[e] Stratag. lib. i. c. 15. [f] PAUSAN. Lacon. [g] PLUT. Apophth. Lacon. & Inſt. Lacon. [h] PLUT. in vita Lycurg.

the immoderate away. He died in peace a natural death, after a long and glorious reign [i]. *Polydorus* was a prince of the moſt amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and juſt in both; he was prodigiouſly beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one *Polemarchus*, a *Spartan* of a conſiderable family, and who was himſelf eminent in the ſtate, killed him, for what reaſon is unknown [k]. The *Lacedemonians*, as a grateful teſtimony of their juſt ſenſe of his merit, honoured his memory with a ſtatue; and, which ſurpaſſed the uſual meaſure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the ſeal which their public magiſtrates were to make uſe of for the future, as if they were deſirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble inſtance ſurely of their gratitude, and his virtues [l].

Eurycrates *and* Zeuxidamus.
Year of the Flood 2290. Before Chriſt 709.

Eurycrates ſucceeded his father *Polydorus*, and *Zeuxidamus* the ſon of *Archidamus* his grandfather *Theopompus*: theſe princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the *Meſſenians* nor the *Argives* having yet recovered ſpirit enough to begin any new diſturbances; at home, however, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the ſtate. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it ſeems reaſonable, that the relation of *Ephorus* the hiſtorian ſhould be preferred [m]. The *Spartans*, when they were engaged in the *Meſſenian* war, having been ten years abſent from the city, becauſe of the oath they had made not to return till they had entirely ſubdued that country, the women ſent to them to put them in mind, that while they were ſo careful to ſubdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that ſuch young men amongſt them as came out of *Sparta* under age, and ſo were not obliged by the oath, ſhould return, and aſſociating themſelves promiſcuouſly with the unmarried women, preſerve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, ſuch as were born of theſe young women were ſtiled *Partheniæ*, i. e. *ſons of virgins*. When the *Lacedemonians* returned after the reduction of *Meſſenia*, they viſibly neglected theſe young men, who at the ſame time found themſelves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritances to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the *Helotes*, who were as unhappy as they could be, de-

[i] Pausan. Lacon. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Pausan. in Lacon. Herodot. hiſt. lib. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. [m] Apud Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

termining

termining to fall upon the citizens at a general aſſembly, and to open to themſelves a path to riches and honours with their ſwords. They went ſo far as to appoint the ſignal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but ſome of the *Helotes*, dreading the conſequences, diſcovered the whole matter, and when the time was come for the aſſembly, in which the conſpiracy was to be executed, the cryer by command of the *Ephori* made proclamation, that no man ſhould throw up his cap, whereby the *Partheniæ* underſtood that their deſign was diſcovered; the *Lacedemonians* did not, however, treat them harſhly, but weighing the hardſhips they were under, and conſidering at the ſame time their numbers, and their intrigues with the *Helotes*, they wiſely agreed to paſs the matter by, and by public decree permitted *Phalantus*, who had been the ringleader in this buſineſs, to ſail with them over into *Italy*, where they ſettled themſelves in *Tarentum* [n]. Such was the iſſue of a very dangerous buſineſs, and which fully proves the ſhallowneſs of human policy, which in this caſe was driven to undo what it had before brought to paſs, and which when it was brought to paſs, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary ſtroke of wiſdom. Farther particulars of theſe kings we have none, except a few ſayings of *Zeuxidamus*, which are of no great importance [o].

Anaxander and Anaxidamus.

Anaxander ſucceeded his father *Eurycrates*, as *Anaxidamus* did his father *Zeuxidamus*; in their reign the ſecond *Meſſenian* war began; for theſe poor people, having for a long time born the cruel treatment of their inſulting lords, became at laſt unable to ſuſtain it longer. *Ariſtomenes* the ſon of *Nicomedes* of *Andania*, deſcended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid, a man of ſtrong judgment, ſtrict honour, and enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty and his country. He perceived, that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force to the *Spartans*, wanting and wiſhing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To theſe *Ariſtomenes* applied, and receiving an anſwer more conformable to his wiſhes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimouſly to take up arms thirty nine years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pauſanias* relates, though *Juſtin* and *Euſebius* allow an interval of eighty years between the firſt and ſecond *Meſſenian* war [p], which is

Year of the flood, 2314. Before Chriſt, 685.

[n] STRABO, ubi ſupra. HERACL. de Polit. EUSEB in Chron. Can. [o] PAUSAN. in Lacon. PLUT. in Apophthegm. Lacon.
[p] PAUSAN. in Meſſen. JUSTIN. lib. iii. EUSEB. in Chron. Can.

for

far from being probable, though, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the *Spartans* and *Meſſenians* met at a village called *Deræ*, where an obſtinate engagement enſued; *Ariſtomenes* behaved himſelf ſo well therein, that he brought victory to his ſide, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal atchievements; in gratitude therefore, reſpect being alſo had to his deſcent from *Epytus*, his countrymen unanimouſly ſaluted him king, which title he modeſtly waved, alledging that he took up arms to ſet them free, and not to make himſelf great: He conſented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatſoever he thought requiſite for the ſervice of the public. Knowing well the ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived, he reſolved to intimidate the *Spartans*, by ſhewing them what he was ſure they would take for an ill omen. Diſguiſing himſelf therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a ſhield on the wall of the temple of *Minerva*, with this inſcription: Ariſtomenes *dedicates this of the ſpoils of the* Spartans *to the goddeſs*. It was eaſily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody; the *Lacedemonians* therefore ſent deputies to *Delphi* to inquire of the oracle concerning its event; the anſwer they brought was, *That it behoved the* Spartans *to ſeek a leader from* Athens. The *Athenians*, naturally envious of the *Spartans*, granted their requeſt indeed, but in ſuch a manner as manifeſted their ſpite; for they ſent them for a general *Tyrtæus* a ſchoolmaſter and poet, lame of one foot, and who was ſuſpected to be a little out of his wits. But here their ſkill failed them, for this captain, notwithſtanding his deſpicable appearance, proved of mighty conſequence to *Sparta*, teaching them how to uſe good fortune, and how to bear up under ill [q]. In the mean time *Ariſtomenes* had drawn together a mighty army, the *Eleans*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians*, having ſent troops to his aſſiſtance, the *Spartans* in this as in the former war having no ally but *Corinth*. The *Spartan* kings, according to the cuſtom of their city, no ſooner took the field, than, notwithſtanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle, which *Ariſtomenes* readily accepted; it was long, obſtinate, and bloody, but in the end the *Meſſenians* were victorious, and the *Lacedemonians* put to flight with a great ſlaughter; *Ariſtomenes* purſued them, notwithſtanding *Theocles* the ſoothſayer called him back, perceiving *Caſtor* and *Pollux* in a

[q] Strab. Geogr. lib. viii

tree,

tree, by which there was a neceſſity of paſſing in the purſuit; which he continuing notwithſtanding, when he came to that tree, loſt his ſhield, which gave the *Lacedemonians* an opportunity of withdrawing without further loſs. It is ſcarce to be conceived how much the *Spartans* were ſtruck with this defeat; they grew weary of the war, diſſatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power, and, in a word, ſunk into a ſtate of general uneaſineſs and want of ſpirit. It was now that the *Athenian* general convinced them, that he was capable of fulfilling all the promiſes of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counſels, and recruited their broken armies with choſen men from among the *Helotes*; he ſhewed them the folly of diffidence, and rouſed them to the practice of thoſe virtues for which *Sparta* had been famous. *Ariſtomenes*, on the other hand, acted with no leſs prudence and vigour, he thought it not enough to reſtore the reputation of the *Meſſenians*, if he did not alſo reſtore their wealth and power; he therefore taught them to act offenſively againſt their enemies, and entering the territories of *Sparta* he took and plundered *Pharæ*, a conſiderable borough in *Laconia*, putting all ſuch as made any reſiſtance to the ſword, carrying off at the ſame time an immenſe booty. This, however, was an injury which the *Spartans* could not brook with patience, they therefore ſent immediately a body of forces to overtake the *Meſſenians*, which accordingly they did, but little to their profit; for *Ariſtomenes* routed theſe purſuers, and continued to make a mighty ſlaughter of them, till ſuch time as he was diſabled by having a ſpear thruſt through his thigh, which occaſioned his being carried out of the battle[r]; his cure, which took up ſome time, being finiſhed, he reſolved to carry the war to the very gates of *Sparta*, and to that purpoſe raiſed a very great army; but whether he found his deſign impracticable, or was really diverted by ſome dream, he gave out that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* with their ſiſter *Helena* had appeared to him, and commanded him to deſiſt. A ſhort time after this retreat, going with a ſmall party to make an incurſion, and attempting to take priſoners ſome women, who were celebrating religious rites near *Egila*, a village in *Laconia*, thoſe zealous matrons fell upon him and his ſoldiers with ſuch fury, that they put them to flight and took him priſoner; however, he ſoon afterwards made his eſcape and rejoined his forces[s]. In the third year of the war the *Spartans* with a great force entered *Meſſenia*, whither *Ariſtocrates* king of

[r] PAUSAN. Meſſen. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 31. [s] Id. ibid.

Arcadia

Arcadia was come with a great body of troops to the assistance of his allies; *Aristomenes* therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the *Spartans* approached, but they entering privately into a negociation with *Aristocrates*, engaged him with bribes and promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful *Arcadian* represented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in case the battle should be lost; he then pretended, that the sacrifices were ominous, and having terrified his *Arcadians* into that disposition of mind fittest to serve his purpose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced through the *Messenian* ranks and put them too in confusion. *Aristomenes* and his troops, however, drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the best they could, and indeed they had need of all their valour and skill; for the *Lacedemonians*, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all sides. Fortune was on this occasion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the *Messenians*; so that notwithstanding their utmost efforts, most of their army were cut to pieces, and amongst them the chief of their nobility. *Aristomenes*, with the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the *Lacedemonians* upon equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount *Era*, and to make the best dispositions possible for a long defence; he likewise placed garisons in *Pylus* and *Methone* on the sea-coasts, and to these three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the rest of *Messenia* to the mercy of the *Spartans*. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finished, for which reason they divided the lands amongst their citizens, and caused them to be carefully cultivated, while they besieged *Era*; but *Aristomenes* quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He chose out of all the *Messenians* three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when *Messenia* would no longer supply the wants of his garison, he penetrated into *Laconia*, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary to the subsistence of his countrymen shut up in *Era*; so that at last the *Spartans* were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation not only of the *Messenian* territory in their hands, but also of *Laconia* in its vicinity, whereby they distressed themselves more than their enemies, inducing at last a famine in *Sparta* itself, which brought with it its u-

ſual attendant ſedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wiſdom of the poet *Tyrtæus* had not ſupported the *Spartan* courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of *Era*, and to maintain a flying camp for the ſecurity of the country [t].

The Meſſenian war continued with the utmoſt vigour.

Ariſtomenes, in ſpite of all theſe precautions, committed terrible depredations with his ſmall corps of three hundred men. Amongſt other places which he plundered, the city of *Amyclæ* was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but alſo many carriages laden with proviſions. The kings of *Sparta* lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as ſoon as they heard of this expedition, marched after *Ariſtomenes* with the utmoſt diligence, and as the *Meſſenians* were encumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach *Era*. In this ſituation of things, *Ariſtomenes*, prompted rather by deſpair than prudence, diſpoſed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithſtanding they were ſo few, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance againſt the whole *Lacedemonian* army. At length, however, numbers prevailed; the greater part of the *Meſſenians* were ſlain on the ſpot, and *Ariſtomenes* with about fifty of his men, who ſurvived the ſlaughter, were taken priſoners, that chieftain having received ſo many wounds that he was ſenſeleſs when they carried him away. The *Lacedemonians* expreſſed the loudeſt joy at the ſight of this illuſtrious captive, who for ſo many years by his ſingle abilities had enabled his exhauſted country to defend itſelf againſt the whole force of *Sparta*. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow-priſoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common puniſhment of the loweſt kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmoſt ſeverity, excepting that *Ariſtomenes* had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this diſmal place, lying upon, and covered over with dead bodies; the third day he was almoſt famiſhed through want of food, and almoſt poiſoned with the ſtench of corrupted carcaſſes, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him: upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox juſt by him, he with one hand ſeized its hind-leg, and with the other defended his face, by catching hold of the fox's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his ſtraggling guide, the fox at laſt thruſt his head into a little hole, and *Ariſtomenes* then letting go his leg, he ſoon forced his way through, and open-

[t] PAUSAN. in Meſſen.

ed a paſſage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble *Meſſenian* had been ſo long debarred. Feeble as he was, *Ariſtomenes* wrought himſelf an outlet with his nails, and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could, at length arrived ſafe at *Era*, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was firſt blazed abroad, the *Spartans* would have had it paſs for a fiction, but *Ariſtomenes* ſoon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the poſts of the *Corinthians*, who, as the allies of the *Spartans*, had a conſiderable body of troops before *Era*. Moſt of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he ſlew, pillaged their camp, and in ſhort did ſo much miſchief, that the *Spartans*, under a pretence of an approaching feſtival, agreed to a ceſſation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occaſion *Ariſtomenes* for the ſecond time celebrated the *Hecatomphonia*, or the ſacrifice appointed for thoſe who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands: he had performed the ſame before after his ſecond battle, when he loſt his ſhield; and he lived to do it a third time, which muſt appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that notwithſtanding this truce, certain *Cretan* archers in the ſervice of the *Spartans* ſeized *Ariſtomenes*, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away priſoner [u]. There were nine of them in all, two immediately ran away with the news to *Sparta*, and ſeven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lone cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It ſo fell out, that the young woman dreamt the night before, that ſhe ſaw a lion without claws, bound and dragged along by wolves, and that ſhe having looſed his bonds and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As ſoon as *Ariſtomenes* came into the cottage, and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, ſhe inſtantly concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore plied the *Cretans* with drink, and when they were aſleep took a poignard from one of them, cut the thongs with which *Ariſtomenes* was bound, and then put it into his hands: he preſently verified her viſion by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to *Era*, where, as a reward for her ſervice, he married the young woman to his ſon *Gorgus*, then about eighteen years of age. When *Era* had held out near eleven years, it fell into the hands of the

[u] Pausan. in Meſſen. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 31. ſect. 2. Steph an. in voce Ἀνδανία.

Spartans

Spartans by an accident; the ſervant of one *Empiramus* a *Spartan* commander, driving his maſter's cattle to drink at the river *Neda*, met frequently with the wife of a *Meſſenian*, whom he engaged in an amour; this woman gave him notice that her huſband's houſe was without the wall, ſo that he could come to it without danger when the good man was abroad, and ſhe likewiſe gave him intelligence when her huſband was upon duty in the gariſon. The *Spartan* failed not to come at the time appointed, but they had not been long *in bed before the huſband* returned, which put the houſe into great confuſion; the woman, however, ſecured her gallant, and then let in the good man, whom ſhe received with the perfidious flattery peculiar to her ſex, inquiring again and again by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with his return; the innocent *Meſſenian* told her, that *Ariſtomenes* being detained in his bed by a wound, and the ſoldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had a grant to retire to their houſes to avoid the bitter inclemency of the ſeaſon. The *Spartan* no ſooner heard this than he crept ſoftly out of doors, and ran poſt-haſte to carry the news to his maſter; it ſo fell out, that the kings were at this time abſent from the camp, and *Empiramus* had the chief command of the army: as ſoon as he received this information, he ordered the army to begin its march, though it rained exceſſively and there was no moon-light; the fellow guided them to the fort, and managed matters ſo well, that they ſeized all the *Meſſenian* poſts; yet after all they were afraid to engage; darkneſs, a high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of *Ariſtomenes*, kept them quiet on the places they had ſeized. As ſoon as it was light the attack began, and *Era* had been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it; but the women fought with ſuch fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought ſuch an acceſſion of numbers, as made the buſineſs doubtful; three days and two nights this deſperate engagement laſted; at laſt, all hopes of preſerving the city being loſt, *Ariſtomenes* drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth morning he diſpoſed the women and children in the centre, the *Meſſenian* youth in the front and rear, the leſs able men in the main body, himſelf commanded the van; the rear-guard was brought up by *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, the former the ſon of *Ariſtomenes*, the latter of *Theocles* a *Meſſenian* of great merit, who had fallen with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of his country. When all things were ready, *Ariſtomenes* cauſed the laſt barrier to be thrown open, and brandiſhing his ſpear marched directly

towards the *Spartan* troops in order to force a paſſage. *Empiramus*, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them a paſſage, ſo that *Ariſtomenes* marched off, in triumph as it were, to *Arcadia*. It ſhould ſeem that writing, as we do, the hiſtory of the *Lacedemonians*, we ſhould here have done with the *Meſſenian* captain, the war being now at an end; but it falls out otherwiſe, there is no keeping to the ſtory of *Sparta* without following this man to his laſt hour[x].

The end of the ſecond Meſſenian *war.* Year of the Flood 2331. Before Chriſt 668.

THE *Arcadians*, when they heard that *Era* was taken, were very deſirous of ſuccouring their old confederates in this their deep diſtreſs: they therefore intreated their king *Ariſtocrates* to lead them into *Meſſenia*; but he, corrupted by the *Lacedemonians*, perſuaded them that it was too late, that the *Meſſenians* were all cut off, and that ſuch a ſtep would only expoſe them to the fury of the conquerors. When the thing appeared to be otherwiſe, and it was known that *Ariſtomenes* was on the frontiers of *Arcadia*, they went in crowds to carry him proviſions, and to teſtify their readineſs to afford him and thoſe under his command all the aſſiſtance in their power. *Ariſtomenes* deſired to be heard before a general aſſembly, which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldeſt and beſt laid ſchemes recorded in hiſtory; he ſaid, that he had yet five hundred undaunted ſoldiers, who at his command would undertake any thing; that it was very probable moſt of the *Spartans* were employed in pillaging *Era*; and that therefore he was determined to march and ſurpriſe *Sparta*, which appeared ſo feaſible, that all the aſſembly loudly commended his great capacity and unſhaken courage; *Ariſtocrates*, however, took care to betray him, having by various pretences retarded the execution of the project. The *Arcadians*, who began to ſuſpect him, waited for and ſurprized his meſſengers as they came back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the aſſembly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindneſs both now and in the battle, and promiſed that the *Lacedemonians* would be grateful; as ſoon as the letters were read, the *Arcadians* fell to ſtoning their king, frequently calling upon the *Meſſenians* to aſſiſt them, which, however, they did not, waiting for *Ariſtomenes*'s orders, who, far from triumphing in this ſpectacle, ſtood ſtill with his eyes fixed on the ground, which he wet with his tears, his ſoul pierced with ſorrow to ſee a crowned head ſo ſhamefully and ſo deſervedly put to

[x] Pausan. in Meſſen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

death

death [y]. The *Arcadians* afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inſcription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the *Meſſenians* under the command of *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, they paſſed over into *Sicily*, where they founded the city of *Meſſene*, one of the moſt famous in the iſland. *Ariſtomenes* remained, however, in *Greece*, where he married all his daughters, except the youngeſt, to perſons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes* inquiring of the oracle at *Delphi* whom he ſhould eſpouſe, that his ſubjects might be happy under his poſterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the moſt worthy of the *Greeks*, which anſwer was immediately underſtood to point at the virgin daughter of *Ariſtomenes*; her therefore he demanded and received, *Ariſtomenes* accompanying him back to his dominions, where he formed a ſcheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* againſt the *Spartans*, reſolving with this view to go himſelf to *Media*, and to the court of *Sardis*; but while he meditated theſe great things, death ſurpriſed him, and thereby freed *Lacedemon* from the moſt inveterate enemy ſhe ever had. His ſon-in-law honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent tomb, and as for his fame, all hiſtorians have ſhewn the utmoſt regard in conſerving it (E).

Meſſenia

[y] PAUSAN. in Meſſen. POLYB. lib. iv. p. 301.

(E) The ſtory of *Ariſtomenes*, as we have related it from the beſt authorities among the *Greeks*, tho' it contains a great many wonderful circumſtances, hath not in it, however, any thing abſurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that ſuch as prefer the marvellous to conſiſtent hiſtory have laid hold of this great man's character, to give colour to ſome of their ſtrange ſtories. *Pliny* has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend antient or modern; he ſays, that when he was a third time taken, they were reſolved to ſee wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive, that, after ſo many accidents had befallen him, he could poſſibly keep up his ſpirits by the ordinary ſupplies of nature; they therefore cut open his boſom, and thereby diſcovered, as they conceived, the cauſe of his extraordinary courage; and what ſhould this be, but that his heart was hairy, a mighty probable cauſe truly (20)! In the beginning of the laſt *Meſſenian* war, or rather when *Era* was firſt beſieged, perſons were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi* concerning the event; the anſwer was very diſagreeable, being to this purpoſe:

(20) *Plin. hiſt. natur. lib. xi. c.* 37. *Stephan. Byzan. in voce* Αἰγιλία.

Thy

Meſſenia *divided by the* Lacedemonians.

Meſſenia once more reduced, the *Spartans* treated the remaining inhabitants with a ſeverity that became proverbial, making them all ſlaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the diſtrict of *Methone*, which they gave to the *Argives*, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the ſovereignty of *Greece*. We find nothing further which deſerves notice recorded of either of the *Lacedemonian* kings, unleſs it be a ſaying of *Anaxander*; of whom it being demanded, *Why the* Lacedemonians *kept no money in their exchequer*, he anſwered, *That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves* [z].

The reigns of Eurycrates *and* Archidamus.

Eurycrates ſucceeded his father *Anaxander*, as *Archidamus* did his father *Anaxidamus*; of their reigns we know nothing

[z] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. Pausan. in Lacon.

Thy fate *Meſſene*, now is near at hand;
Nor can I longer the decree withſtand,
Than till the he-goat from its bank ſhall try
To taſte of *Neda*'s ſtreams which ſwiftly fly.

In the *Greek* the word tranſlated *he-goat* is *Tragos*, and from hence it came to paſs, that the *Meſſenians* were ſcrupulouſly careful that no he-goat ſhould come near the river; but when the fate of *Era* really approached, it appeared, that the oracle had been quite miſunderſtood; for *Theocles*, the ſoothſayer obſerving certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's ſide, no longer ſhoot their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected, that though the other *Greeks* called this tree *Olynthos*, yet the *Meſſenians* called it *Tragos*; he therefore gave notice of this to *Ariſtomenes*, and told him plainly, that he apprehended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon *Ariſtomenes* took a certain ſacred depoſitum, which *Lycus* the ſon of *Pandion* had foretold ſhould be preſerved till the *Meſſenians* were totally deſtroyed; this he interred in the moſt private part of the mountain *Ithome*, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of *Era* (21). There is nothing further which deſerves to be added to this note, unleſs it be the explanation we promiſed of the different dates aſſigned to the laſt *Meſſenian* war, which is, however purely conjectural. It is this, that *Euſebius* did not ſay that the ſecond *Meſſenian* war began eighty years after the firſt, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the firſt diſturbances on account of the death of *Teleclus* (22).

(21) *Pauſan. in Meſſen.* (22) *Juſtin: lib. iii. c. 4. Euſeb: Chron. Canon.*

more

more than that they paſſed them in peace and quietneſs; for though various authors have recorded the names of theſe princes, remembrance of their actions we find none [a], unleſs it be the following wiſe ſaying of *Eurycrates*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Eucratides*; who, when it was aſked him, *Why the* ephori *ſat every day to determine cauſes about contracts*, anſwered, *That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies* [b]. *Archidamus* was alſo called *Agaſicles*, which is the reaſon that *Herodotus*, making uſe of the *Ionic* dialect, writes his name *Hegiſicles*.

Eurycrates was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leo*, and *Archidamus* by his ſon *Ariſto*, princes concerning whom hiſtorians are not ſo ſilent. *Leo* was a man of great capacity, and very ſolicitous for the ſtrict execution of juſtice; for it being demanded of him, *Under what government a man might live ſafeſt*, he anſwered immediately, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is ſure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none.* At the olympic games, when every body commended the victors, *How much better*, ſaid he, *would it have been, if theſe men had laid out the pains they have taken to be ſwift in learning to be honeſt* [c]! *Ariſto* his collegue is remarkable in hiſtory for ſome extraordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was ſo unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend *Agetus*, the moſt beautiful woman in *Sparta*. In order to obtain her, he contrived this ſcheme: He took his friend *Agetus* one day in a gay humour, and having firſt ſworn to give him whatever precious thing he choſe belonging to himſelf, drew from him a like oath; and when *Agetus* had choſen, the king in conſequence of that oath demanded his wife. *Agetus* proteſted, that he did not apprehend his wife to be included in the promiſe that had paſſed between them; but *Ariſto* inſiſted, that an oath was to be underſtood in the ſenſe he who received it took it; *Agetus* ſubmitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About ſeven months after he had taken her, as he ſat with the *ephori* hearing cauſes, a ſervant came in great haſte to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped ſome expreſſions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and

The reigns of Leo *and* Ariſto.

[a] HERODOT. lib. i. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [b] PLUT. Apophtheg. Lacon. & in Apoph. Reg. [c] PLUT. Apophtheg. Lacon.

called

called him *Damaratus* [d]. During the reigns of *Leo* and *Ariſto* the *Lacedemonians* were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein they were ſucceſsful, as it ſhould ſeem from *Pauſanias*'s account of the matter, though *Herodotus* tells it otherwiſe [e].

Anaxandrides *ſucceeds his father* Leo.

Anaxandrides ſucceeded his father *Leo* during the life-time of his collegue *Ariſto*; in his time the body of *Oreſtes*, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported alſo to have had two wives, which was a ſingular thing in *Sparta*, for whom he built ſeparate houſes; the reaſon of it was, that the *ephori* commanded him to divorce his firſt wife, becauſe ſhe bore him no children; but he, not being able to bring himſelf up to this, contented himſelf with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had *Cleomenes*; his firſt wife then alſo conceived and brought him a child, who was called *Dorieus*; the *ephori* pretending to make ſome ſcruple whether this was really her child or no, the buſineſs was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus* [f]. This king *Anaxandrides* was certainly a very wiſe man, and had very juſt notions of government, as, amongſt others of his ſayings recorded by *Plutarch*, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, *Why the* Spartans *were ſo cautious in paſſing capital judgments, and why, notwithſtanding his acquittal, they ſtill demanded a recognizance of a perſon accuſed*; he anſwered, *Becauſe in capital caſes execution can never be recalled; and in the other caſe they kept that recognizance that if it ſo fell out, that the guilt of the perſon acquitted ſhould afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juſter judgment* [g]. *Ariſto* was alſo a prince of great worth and probity, and in conſequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of theſe princes, *Cræſus* king of *Lydia* was vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, and an end put to his kingdom by *Cyrus*; he was during his proſperity a great lover of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Lacedemonians*, with whom he had frequent intercourſe, and withwhom he endeavoured to make a league, in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himſelf to the chief among the *Greeks*, which he immediately underſtood of the *Spartans* [h].

The reigns of Cleomenes *and* Damaratus.

Anaxandrides was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cleomenes*, as *Ariſto* was by his ſon *Damaratus*. It was ſtrict regard to hereditary right which induced the *Lacedemonians* to place *Cleomenes*

[d] Pausan. in Lacon. Herodot. lib. vi. Plut. ubi ſupra.
[e] lib. i. [f] Pausan. in Lacon Herodot. lib. v. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [h] Herod. lib. i

on the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his ſenſes, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of meaſure; whereas his brother *Dorieus* was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleneſs of his temper, and his ſkill in the art of war; he was ſo much diſguſted, however, at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuſe for quitting his country [i]. In the very beginning of his reign *Cleomenes* engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat, and having driven a conſiderable body of them into a wood, he cauſed the *Helotes* to ſet that wood on fire, whereby numbers of them were deſtroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he ſought only victory, without enquiring whether the means by which he ſought to obtain it were juſt or not; yet he had ſometimes flights of fancy, which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to ſay, that Homer *was the poet of the* Lacedemonians, Heſiod *of the* Helotes, becauſe the former made war his ſubject, and the latter treated of huſbandry [k]. He was early ſuſpected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the ſtate; for at his return from the war with the *Argives*, he was accuſed of having let ſlip manifeſt opportunities of taking *Argos* itſelf; but the anſwers he gave, when the matter came to be heard before the *ephori*, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to *Clyſthenes* the *Athenian* and his party, at whoſe requeſt he drove the *Piſiſtratidæ* out of *Athens*; afterwards he joined with *Iſagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had baniſhed, and endeavoured all he could to veſt in him the ſovereignty of that city, whereby he created great miſchiefs to the *Greeks*. The *Corinthians*, who, as we have elſewhere ſeen, were the faſt friends and ſteady allies of the *Lacedemonians*, diſguſted at the haughty behaviour of *Cleomenes*, and at his waſting the territory of *Eleuſina*, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deſerted them; *Damaratus* his collegue alſo, who was a very worthy and excellent perſon, oppoſed him; and while he was gone into *Ægina*, where he pretended to ſeize the principal perſons in the iſland, under colour that they were in the *Perſian* intereſt, *Damaratus* accuſed him to the *ephori* and the ſenate of being an enemy to peace, a diſturber of *Greece*, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring ſtates to look with an evil eye on *Sparta* [l].

[i] HEROD. lib. v. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [k] PLUT. Apophth. Lacon. [l] HEROD. lib v. PAUSAN. Lacon.

These discourses had at first their effect; but when *Cleomenes* returned, he found means not only to get himself acquitted, but to get his collegue deposed, which he wrought after the following manner: He suggested, that *Damaratus*'s birth was liable to great suspicions, alledging the expression of his father beforementioned; the *Sparrans* sent to the oracle at *Delphi*, in order to have this intricate question decided; *Cleomenes* foresaw this, and therefore took care to corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the response, *Damaratus* was deposed, and *Leotychides* his cousin, the eighth in descent from *Theopompus*, was raised to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the deposed king, that, instead of quitting his country, he still endeavoured to render it all the service he could, being content to execute inferior magistracies. But the intemperance of his successor vanquished at length his patience; for *Leotychides* being one day informed, that *Damaratus* was sitting as inspector in the place of public exercises, sent a servant to insult him, by asking him this question, *How he liked his present office after executing that of king*? To which *Damaratus* fiercely answered, *That himself knew the weight of both, which he who sent him did not; but that this question should either prove the cause of great misery, or of great felicity, to* Sparta. Then covering his head he retired to his own house, where having first sacrificed to *Jupiter*, he then sent for his mother, and earnestly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth; whether, as he was reputed, he was the son of king *Ariston*, or whether, as his enemies suggested, *Agetus* was his father. She having in the most solemn terms assured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to *Delphi*, but indeed resolved to quit *Sparta* for ever, and to retire where he might be absolutely safe; with this view he went first to *Elis*, from thence to *Zacynthus*, and at length into *Persia*, where he was received by king *Darius* with the utmost civility, had large revenues assigned him, and was in every respect used as a prince [m]. In his exile he behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and without shewing any rancour against his country; as an instance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the *Persian* monarch would have punished a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards at *Damaratus*'s persuasion submitted himself to the king, the *Spartan* generously interposed, addressing the *Persian* king in these words; *It is dishonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to punish him when he was a rebel, and as dishonourable*

[m] Herod. lib. xvi. Pausan. Lacon.

nourable to exert a power of puniſhing now he is become thy friend [n]. With reſpect to the latter, when he found that the *Perſian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, we are told, he ſent the firſt advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of *Sparta* who was victor in the olympic games. In a word, he was a perſon of ſuch merit, that none of the *Perſians* envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his poſterity flouriſhed many ages after [o].

Leotychides *ſucceeds* Damaratus.

Leotychides, as he was raiſed to the kingdom by the craft of *Cleomenes*, ſo he was intirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners, and left them with the *Athenians* their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards ſuffered, though he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of *Cleomenes*. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconſiſtently as formerly, that is, ſometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the leaſt regard to juſtice. When *Ariſtagoras* the *Mileſian* tyrant came to *Sparta* with an intent to perſuade *Cleomenes* to make war upon the *Perſian* king, he heard his propoſals both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himſelf; but he adviſed his country againſt the former, and abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the ſame prince prevailing with the *Athenians* thereby induced that war, which had well-nigh brought on the total deſtruction of *Greece*. He likewiſe reſiſted all the ſolicitations of *Mæander* the tyrant of *Samos*, who alſo would have tempted him with money; and not only ſo, but complained of him to the *ephori*, telling them, that if they did not baniſh this man out of their territories, he would teach the *Lacedemonians* to be knaves. When by degrees his contrivances againſt *Damaratus* came to light, and the *Spartans* began to ſhew ſome inclination to examine ſtrictly into that matter, he thought it beſt to fly firſt into *Theſſaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of *Arcadians*, and endeavouring by a ſolemn oath to bind them to his ſervice. The *Spartans*, knowing well his enterprizing genius, and being afraid leſt he ſhould excite the *Arcadians* to invade them, recalled him, and reſtored him to his dignity; but a ſhort time after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with

[n] PLUT. Apophtheg. Lacon. [o] HERODOT. lib. vii. PAUSAN. Lacon.

his ſceptre as he met them in the ſtreets; upon which they were conſtrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood [p]. In this condition he was attended by a *Helot* who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a ſword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himſelf up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the *Spartans* imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of *Delphi*, and thereby procuring the depoſition of *Damaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his ſacrilege at *Eleuſina*; the *Argives* were as poſitive that it befel him for burning their ſacred grove (F). As for thoſe who were for aſcribing his end to natural

[p] Pausan. Lacon. Herod. lib. vi.

(F) There is no part of *Cleomenes*'s character more unjuſtifiable than that which regards the *Argives*, againſt whom he made a war, without obſerving any laws of honour or juſtice. The accounts we have of his exploits againſt this nation are ſo diſſonant, and the circumſtances contained in them ſo incompatible, that it is far from being eaſy to judge, whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the ſame war, or in ſeveral; and if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice inquiry into theſe particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of *Cleomenes*. He is ſaid to have been promiſed by an oracle, that he ſhould take *Argos*; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but between him and it lay a conſiderable army of the *Argives*, who prepared to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they might, though under great diſcouragements from certain reſponſes which they had received, which gave them to apprehend, that they ſhould be overcome by fraud. In order to guard againſt this in the moſt probable manner they could deviſe, they determined to govern their motions by the enemies ſignals, which they eſteemed a certain preſervative againſt being ſurpriſed (24). But this precaution ſerved only to ruin them; for *Cleomenes*, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the *Argives*, when the ſignal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of *Argos* was entirely defeated; for they, beholding the *Spartan* ſignal for dinner, went immediately to refreſh themſelves; but before they were well ſettled at their meal, the *Spartans* fell upon them, and ſlaughtered them almoſt without reſiſtance. Their only refuge in this diſtreſs was a thick wood in their rear, into which they retired with all the expedition poſſible. *Cleomenes* inſtantly deviſed a new ſtrata-

(23) *Herodot. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *Pauſan. Argol.* (24) *Herodot. ubi ſupra.*

gem

natural cauſes, they alledged, that drinking immoderately with the *Scythian* ambaſſadors, his drunkenneſs iſſued in madneſs [q]. He left behind him a daughter named *Gorgo*, one of the moſt celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of *Ægina* upon his death applied themſelves to the *Spartans*, complaining loudly againſt *Leotychides*, for that he in conjunction with *Cleomenes* had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their iſland, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, who, as a nation, piqued themſelves much upon their juſtice, diſclaimed the

[q] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

gem for deſtroying them there. He cauſed ſome who were well acquainted with the *Argives* to call them by name, and promiſe them quarter; yet, as faſt as they came out, he ordered them to be ſlain. Thus he cut off fifty, thoſe in the grove, becauſe of the thickneſs of the trees, perceiving nothing of what paſſed without. At length an *Argive*, getting upon an high tree, diſcovered from thence what was doing. The *Lacedemonians* then called in vain, no more of the *Argives* ventured out, which put *Cleomenes* on a more cruel expedient; he cauſed his *Helotes* to ſurround the grove with bruſhwood and other combuſtible matter; and then, ſetting it on fire, burned all the hapleſs wretches. He then enquired to whom the grove was dedicated? *To Argos*, replied a prieſt. Alas! cried *Cleomenes*, *This oracle has deceived me, this is all the* Argos *I ſhall take.* He afterwards ſacrificed by force on the altar of *Diana*, and cauſed the prieſt who would have hindered him to be chaſtiſed. The ſacrifices, as ſome ſay, proving unlucky, he deſiſted, and was accuſed at his return for not taking *Argos*, but on hearing his defence acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his collegue *Damaratus*, but was conſtrained to retire by the following means. There was in that city a lady named *Teliſſilla*, who, being of a very weak conſtitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herſelf to the muſes. In conſequence of this reſponſe, ſhe ſtudied poetry with ſuch ſucceſs, that though on the approach of the *Lacedemonians* there were none but women in the city, ſhe inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that they ſhut the gates, took arms, and forced *Damaratus*, who was already in the ſuburbs to retire, as alſo *Cleomenes* himſelf and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event an anniverſary ſolemnity grew into uſe at *Argos*, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the antient writers, that *Cleomenes* laughed at and deſpiſed oracles; the reaſon is clear, becauſe he had corrupted them (27).

(25) *Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.* (26) *Herodot ubi ſupra. Polyæn. Stratag. lib* viii. *c.* 33. *Plut. de virtut. Mulier.* (27) *Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.*

whole

whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of *Ægina* to deliver up *Leotychides* into their hands; but the deputies of that iſland wiſely declined carrying the king of *Sparta* away; they contented themſelves therefore with deſiring he might go with them to *Athens*, there to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to rectify the miſchief he had done them by procuring their hoſtages to be delivered up, which accordingly he did; but his and their applications being fruitleſs, they ſuffered him to return again to *Sparta*, where he ſtill retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their cuſtom, regretted their abſent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the conſequences of all this we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to explain; let us in the mean time paſs to the ſtory of his colleague[r].

Leonidas ſucceeds Cleomenes.

Leonidas the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, half-brother to *Cleomenes*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter *Gorgo*; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour ſuperior to moſt men of his age; ſome of the *Spartans*, however, who diſliked his family, could not help ſpeaking diſreſpectfully to him; one of them particularly told him to his face, *That, except being a king, he was no better than they*; to which *Leonidas*, ſmiling, anſwered, *If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king*[s]. When *Miltiades* the *Athenian* fought the famous battle of *Marathon*, the *Spartans* had promiſed an army, but had ſent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the ſpot where it was fought, where having conſidered attentively the prodigious difficulties the *Athenians* had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to *Sparta*. When, as the wiſeſt of the *Greeks* had foreſeen, this battle at *Marathon* only excited the *Perſian* to attempt again the conqueſt of *Greece*, the *Spartans*, with a reſolution worthy of the diſciples of *Lycurgus*, determined to oppoſe them; *Damaratus* their king was conſtrained to accompany *Xerxes* in this expedition, though in reſpect to his country he had ſent early notice thereof to *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, and the daughter of his greateſt enemy. When it was apparent, that *Xerxes* would enter *Greece* in perſon with a prodigious army, a general aſſembly was held at the iſthmus, the reſolutions of which were theſe; *That the ſtates of* Greece *ſhould unanimouſly join in defending its liberty againſt the* Perſians; *that for the preſent all their quarrels amongſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpended*; *that the tenth of the ſpoil ſhould be dedicated to* Apollo; *and that of thoſe*

[r] Pausan. & Herodot. ubi ſupra. [s] Plut. in Apoph.

who

who deſerted the common cauſe a decimation ſhould be made, that is, a tenth part ſhould be put to death without mercy[t]. Warm and generous reſolutions, if the ſame ſpirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates the *Spartans* and *Athenians* only ſeemed ready to do any thing. The *Theſſalians* were the firſt who were to feel the weight of *Xerxes* and his myriads; they therefore ſent to the *Greeks* to beſeech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they ſubmitted to an enemy they could not reſiſt. Upon this ten thouſand men were ſent by ſea to *Theſſaly* under the command of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*; but when they came thither, they were convinced, that this meaſure would prove ineffectual; for in a plain country, as *Theſſaly* is, there could be no hopes of oppoſing ſuch multitudes of men with a few, eſpecially when it was known, that many of the *Theſſalian* princes could not be depended on, and that many of the paſſages into *Theſſaly* were in the power of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*; the army therefore returned without doing any thing. At the next general council, however, it was reſolved to defend the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*, in purſuance of which reſolution ſix thouſand foot were appointed for that ſervice, and the command of them given to *Leonidas* [u]. Of theſe three hundred only were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the king; and when ſome principal perſons demanded of him whether he had not a ſecret deſign in his head, he anſwered frankly, *I pretend to defend the ſtraights of* Thermopylæ, *but in truth I go to die for my country*; and when they ſtill wondered at the ſmall number of men he took with him, he, turning to thoſe to whom he had communicated his ſecret, ſaid, *There are enow, conſidering the deſign we go upon.* When he took his leave of his wife, ſhe aſked him if he had nothing particular to ſay to her (G); *Marry ſome brave man*, ſaid

HERODOT. lib. vii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib xi. [u] PAUSAN. in Lacon. HEROD. Hiſt. lib. vii.

(G) The character of *Gorgo*, the daughter of *Cleomenes*, and wife of *Leonidas*, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. *Plutarch*, who was ſo fond of the *Lacedemonians*, that beſides his inſtitutes he wrote a book of their wife ſayings, wrote alſo a particular treatiſe of the women, which was indeed extraordinary; and the reaſon of it was, becauſe the *Spartan* dames were of a very maſculine diſpoſition, and ſpoke and acted with a freedom denied to their ſex every where elſe. *Gorgo*, who is to be the ſubject of this note, makes a very conſiderable figure in that treatiſe; but before we proceed

said he, *and bring him brave children* *. When *Xerxes* came with his mighty army, he sent a spy to bring him advice of the posture

* Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

proceed to acquaint the reader with what *Plutarch* says of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable story recorded of her by *Herodotus*. That noble historian tells us, that when *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, attempted to engage *Cleomenes* in a design not only of freeing *Ioniæ*, but even of subverting the *Persian* empire, he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down on brass; after having shewn *Cleomenes* on this the situation of *Ionia*, and expatiated with great warmth on the glory of an enterprize undertaken for the relief of the *Ionians*, pointing to his plate, he proceeded thus: Next these the *Lydians* inhabit a fertile " country abounding in silver: and on the confines of *Lydia*, these " *Phrygians* are placed to the eastward, more rich in cattle, and li- " ving in greater affluence than any other people I know. Adjoin- " ing to these are the *Cappadocians*, by us called *Syrians*, and be- " yond them the *Cilicians*, whose country extends to that sea in " which the island of *Cyprus* is situate, and pays an annual tribute " of five hundred talents to the king. Next to the *Cilicians* are " these *Armenians*, who possess great numbers of cattle; and after " them the *Matianians*, beyond whose territories lies this province " of *Cissia*, in which *Susa* is built upon the river *Choaspes*. In this " place the great king resides, and his vast treasures are here depo- " sited. If you take this city, you may boldly contend with *Ju- " piter* in wealth. You will not find your account in fighting bat- " tles to gain a country of small extent, narrow limits, and indiffe- " rent soil, from the *Messenians* who are your equals in war, or " from the *Arcadians* and *Argians*; for none of these nations have " either gold or silver, the desire of which induces so many men " to hazard their lives. But when an opportunity is offered to " conquer all *Asia* with facility, can you wish for any thing " more?" To this discourse of *Aristagoras Cleomenes* answered, " *Milesian* friend, I defer to let you know my resolution till three " days are passed". When that time was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, *Cleomenes* asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia*, to the place where the king was. But though *Aristagoras* was in other things a man of art, and much superior in ability to *Cleomenes*, yet he made a slip in this. For, designing to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have abated something of the account; whereas he told him plainly 'twas a journey of three months. Which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he said, " *Milesian* guest, depart " out of *Sparta* before the setting of the sun: For you have pro- " posed nothing to the advantage of the *Spartans*, in advising us " to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three " months

poſture in which *Leonidas* and his troops were; this ſpy reported, that he found them exerciſing themſelves in their uſual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate ſome feſtival; the *Perſian* thereupon aſked *Damaratus* the meaning of it, *Theſe men, Sir*, ſaid he, *have devoted themſelves to death for the ſervice of their country*; at which *Xerxes* laughed, conceiving, that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himſelf doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were ſome among

" months after our landing ". When he had ſpoken theſe words, he withdrew; and *Ariſtagoras*, taking an olive branch in his hand, after the manner of a ſuppliant, went after *Cleomenes*, beſeeching him to hear; and at the ſame time deſired him to ſend away his little daughter *Gorgo*, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But *Cleomenes* bid him ſay what he would, and not refrain for the ſake of a child. So *Ariſtagoras* began with the promiſe of ten talents, in caſe *Cleomenes* would do as he deſired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the ſum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried, " Father, this ſtranger will corrupt you unleſs " you go away preſently ". *Cleomenes*, pleaſed with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment: And *Ariſtagoras* was conſtrained to depart immediately from *Sparta*, without obtaining leave to inform him farther concerning the way to the place of the king's reſidence (28). When the ſame young lady ſaw *Ariſtagoras* ſuffer his man to put on his ſhoes, ſhe cried out in amazement, *Father! Father! ſee this ſtranger, has he no hands?* At another time when a ſoft and delicate ſtranger was about to have paid his compliments to her, ſhe put him away with her hand, adding, *Stand by, poor creature; thou haſt not as much of a man in thee as a woman* (29). As the laſt and moſt noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark, that *Damaratus*, though ſhe was the daughter of his deadly enemy, truſted her rather than any of the *Greeks* with the intelligence he ſent concerning the motion of the *Barbarians*; or, if we take this as *Herodotus* does, it may be placed in a ſtronger light; for he ſays, that a ſlave from *Damaratus* brought a waxen tablet to *Sparta* with nothing written on it, and when the *Spartans* knew not what to make of this, *Gorgo* immediately bid them ſcrape off the wax, whereupon they found *Damaratus*'s letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(28) *Herodot. lib.* vi. (29) *Plut. in Apophteg. Laconic.* (30) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. These represented to *Leonidas*, *That a discharge of the* Persian *arrows would take away the light of the sun*; *Very well*, replied he, *then we shall fight in the shade.* When they approached, the same persons came to him again; *The* Persians, *Sir*, said they, *draw near*; *What of that*, said he, *Shall not we then be near them?* When *Xerxes* saw that he was mistaken, and that *Leonidas* really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the great superiority of his army might excuse his not opposing him, and that, if he would embrace his interest, he should be lord of all *Greece*. To which *Leonidas* with great moderation answered, *If you knew wherein the happpiness of life consisted, you would not covet what belongs to others*; *for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of* Greece, *than command over it.* *Xerxes* then ordered the *Medes*, who led the van in his army, to fall upon the *Greeks*, which they did with very great resolution, but were notwithstanding repulsed with prodigious slaughter; he then commanded a choice corps of *Persians* to dislodge them, but it was in vain; the *Greeks* were not only superior in valour, but they better understood the art of war; they had also great advantage from the situation of the place, so that, after numbers were slain, the *Persians* were constrained to retreat [y]. *Xerxes* now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reason; for the dead bodies having streightened the passages still more, it seemed doubtful whether the weight of numbers would force the pass or no. At length one *Ephialtes* a *Trachinian* offered to shew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the *Grecians* in the rear; *Xerxes* thereupon detached *Hydarnes* with a great body of chosen troops, with directions to follow *Ephialtes*; they passed the river *Asopus* in the night, and, having forced the *Phocian* guard, advanced apace towards *Leonidas* and his troops; that great commander, who is said to have been informed that the senate had received an oracle, purporting, that either one of their kings, or the city itself must fall, as soon as he was informed of what had happened, gave leave to all the confederates to withdraw, that they might reserve themselves, as he phrased it, for better times, excepting only the *Thespians* and the *Thebans*, who with his *Spartans* made in all not above fourteen hundred men; with these he purposed not to wait the attack of the *Persians*, but to go

[y] Herodot. lib viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. Lacon. Plut. Apophth. Lacon Justin. lib ii.

and

and find them out; yet looking on his *Spartans*, and obſerving ſome ſtriplings who had ſcarce attained the age of men, his heart relented; calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to ſend by each of them a billet to the *ephori*; he would have afterwards done the ſame thing in favour of ſome perſons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his deſign, refuſed to obey him, one of them anſwering, *Sir, I came to ſerve you as a ſoldier, and not as a courier.* Another, *Let us fight firſt, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle.* Having made the proper diſpoſitions he paſſed the ſtraights, and fell upon the enemy; he and all his *Spartans* were ſlain together with the *Theſpians*, but the *Thebans* holding up their targets cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were ſtigmatized. This victory if we muſt call it ſo, coſt the *Perſians* 20,000 men. The body of *Leonidas* being found, *Xerxes* ordered it to be nailed to a croſs, an action which reflected diſhonour upon himſelf, and could do no hurt to a dead body; as to the fame of *Leonidas*, it was out of the reach of *Xerxes*, and hath remained ſtill freſh above 2000 years after his deceaſe (H). The *Perſian* after

(H) The action at *Thermopylæ* makes ſo great a figure in hiſtory, and ſo juſtly, at the ſame time that it ſo nearly concerns the *Lacedemonian* hiſtory, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give ſuch particulars thereof as may ſerve to ſet it in the cleareſt light, and do honour to that nation of whoſe affairs we are treating. In the firſt place let us remark, that *Leonidas* acted all along with great equality of mind, a philoſophic courage, and the true ſpirit of a patriot. He went in the common cauſe of *Greece* to give a check to the *Perſians* at their firſt entrance, that thereby the numerous army of *Xerxes* might receive a taſte of the oppoſition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headſtrong and irreprehenſible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time, before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the ſtrength of *Aſia* waſted to no purpoſe. In fighting at *Thermopylæ Leonidas* made uſe at firſt of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own ſituation, and that of the enemy: He drew up his troops in the narroweſt part of the paſſage, and when he retired from the field of battle, he diſpoſed his battalions in ſuch a manner that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to harraſs them, in ſuch a manner, that there were more ſlain in the retreat than in the fight; if *Epbialtes* had not led the *Barbarians* round the mountains, *Leonidas* would have carried his firſt point, that is, he would have contrained *Xerxes* to retire (31) But when the augur *Megiſtias*, upon inſpecting the ſacrifices, declared, that all the *Grecians* were

(31) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 32. lib. vii. c. 15.*

after this conſulted *Damaratus* again, adjuring him by the kindneſs he had ſhewn him, to give his ſentiments ſincerely as to

threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence, that the enemy were actually paſſing the mountains, *Leonidas* put in practice his ſecond reſolution, which was the devoting of his *Spartans* and himſelf to death for the ſafety of *Greece* in general, and of *Sparta* in particular (32). This reſolution was founded upon two reaſons; the firſt, that the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ* ought not abſolutely to be abandoned, but ſold to the enemy as dear as might be; the ſecond reſted it upon this oracle which the *Lacedemonians* had received.

Thy plains, O *Sparta*, *Perſian* rage ſhall feel,
Thy ſons ſhall ſlaughter'd fall by foreign ſteel,
Unleſs a king of the *Herculean* race,
In war, to ſave the reſt, ſhall death embrace.

This prompted *Leonidas* to receive that death, which heknew muſt ſome time or other happen to him, when it might avert evil from his country; it was to prevent an unneceſſary carnage, that *Leonidas* diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, *viz.* three hundred *Spartans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and four hundred *Thebans*: He then advanced without the narrow paſſage, becauſe he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might moſt injure the enemy; and in that deſperate attack he fell. *Xerxes* loſt two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raiſed, one to perpetuate the memory of ſuch of the troops as were ſlain before the confederates were diſmiſſed, with this inſcription:

Four thouſand here, from various nations brought,
For *Greece* againſt the *Medes* three millions fought.

The ſecond was for the *Lacedemonians* only, with this diſtich upon it:

Go, friend, and to our brother *Spartans* tell,
With what applauſe we in their ſervice fell.

The third was for the augur *Megiſtias*, who, though preſſed by *Leonidas* to retire, refuſed, contenting himſelf with ſending away his only ſon:

(32) *Juſtin. lib. ii. c.* 11.

divine

to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The *Spartan* thereupon propoſed to him ſeizing the iſle of *Cythera*, which lay over-againſt *Laconia*, and from whence he might have made the *Spartans* ſo uneaſy as would infallibly hinder their ſending aſſiſtance to the *Athenians*, or impeding him in his deſign of penetrating into *Greece*; but *Achæmenes* the king's brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land army both might be ruined, *Xerxes* preferred his counſel, and thereby failed in his deſign [z]. The *Grecian* fleet in the mean time lay at *Artemiſium* under the command of *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man of great perſonal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in ſea affairs. The *Perſians*, hoping to ſurpriſe and ſurround them, detached two hundred ſhips with orders to ſail round *Eubœa*, and fall on the rear of the *Grecian* navy; but this being betrayed to the *Greeks*, they weighed anchor in the night, and ſtood directly to ſea to meet theſe two hundred ſail, ſo that inſtead of ſurpriſing others, they were themſelves ſurpriſed; thirty of them ſunk, and the reſt forced to betake themſelves to flight, wherein they were no leſs unfortunate; for a ſtorm ariſing moſt of them were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt. The *Grecian* fleet

[z] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Themiſt.

Divine *Megiſtias* lies beneath this ſtone,
Who met without concern ill fortune's frown;
Nor would to ſave his life conſent to fly,
When the brave *Spartans* had reſolved to die.

It is alledged that *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus*, two of the three hundred *Spartans*, being ill of ſore eyes, retired to *Alpeni* with the permiſſion of *Leonidas*, and were there in the time of the laſt battle, on the news of which *Eurytus* cauſed his armour to be put on, and ordered his ſervant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midſt of the enemy, he was ſuddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but *Ariſtodemus* returned to *Sparta*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions; to aggravate their ill uſage, they ſurnamed him the *Fugitive*; he redeemed his credit, however, at the battle of *Platæa*, where, having devoted himſelf to death, he performed ſuch actions as are ſcarce credible (33).

(33) *Herodot lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib xi. Plut. in Apophteg. Lacon. & in vit Ariſtid.*

ſome

some time after sailed to the coast of *Attica*, and at the desire of the *Athenians* anchored near *Salamis*. *Eurybiades* had still the command, though of three hundred and fifty eight ships, of which the fleet consisted, a hundred and eighty belonged to the *Athenians*. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our *Athenian* history, and therefore shall not trouble the reader with needless repetitions here [a]. The first step that was taken afterwards, was, to prepare a great fleet to prosecute this victory, the command of which was given to *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*; but it soon after appeared, that the *Persians* had not totally abandoned their design, *Mardonius* remaining in *Greece* at the head of a very considerable army, with which he threatened in the spring to revisit *Attica*; the *Greeks* therefore found themselves under a necessity of raising a land army also.

Mardonius *attempts the conquest of* Greece.

Pausanias the son of *Cleombrotus* took upon him the character of tutor or protector to *Plistarchus* the son of *Leonidas*, and in right thereof was the first magistrate in *Sparta*, the other king, as we have said, being absent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this situation of things, the dilatoriness of popular councils eminently appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the *Athenian* ambassadors found the *Lacedemonians* celebrating the *Hyacinthia*; in vain these ministers represented, that the common cause was neglected, and that the *Athenians* had reason to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of *Greece*; the *ephori* and senate, confiding mightily in the strong wall which by this time was erected cross the isthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till *Chilcus* a *Tegeatean*, who had a great reputation amongst them, shewed them how foolish and dishonourable this conduct of theirs was; since it was plain, if the *Athenians* were ruined through their delay, the *Persians*, being masters at sea, might land what forces they would in *Laconia*, and bring the war home to their doors; the wall cross the isthmus being in such a case useless [b]. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand *Spartans*, and which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their *Helotes*, *Pausanias* commanding in chief. This, however, did not hinder *Mardonius* from taking *Athens*, or from seeking the *Greek* army and offering battle. *Pausanias* had the command in chief of the whole *Grecian* forces, which were not less than one hundred

[a] See before, p. 109. [b] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. in Lacon.

thousand

thouſand men. The *Perſians* were certainly double their number, nay, acording to *Diodorus*'s account, *Mardonius*'s army, conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of *Platæa*, an engagement happened between a great body of *Perſian* horſe, commanded by *Maſiſtius*, and a corps of *Greeks*, wherein, after a great effuſion of blood, the *Perſians* were routed and their commander killed [c]. A general battle being delayed, the *Greek* army ſuffered much by deſertion, as on the other hand did the *Perſians* for want of proviſions. *Pauſanias* at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army freſh and more advantageous quarters; in which, however, he was oppoſed by *Amompharetus* an old *Spartan* commander, who inſiſted, that it was derogatory to the *Spartan* honour to retire in ſight of an enemy. *Pauſanias*, like a wiſe man and a great captain, anſwered, That marching this way or that was not diſhonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that *Amompharetus* would not be perſuaded, he gave the ſignal, and immediately the *Lacedemonian* and *Tegeatean* foot began to move. *Amompharetus*, who was hitherto of opinion that *Pauſanias* would not deſert him, when he ſaw him actually on his march, ordered his ſtandards to be taken up and moved ſlowly after him. *Pauſanias* kept the high ground, the *Athenians*, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the reſt of the confederates withdrew to the temple of *Juno*, where they were out of reach of the *Perſian* cavalry. At the temple of *Ceres*, which was on the brow of the hill, *Pauſanias* halted with all his forces, to give *Amompharetus* and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the *Perſian* horſe attacked them with great vigour [d]. *Mardonius* looked upon this decampment of the *Greek* troops in the ſame light that *Amompharetus* did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerneſs, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of his misfortune; for his *Perſians* marching haſtily and without order, the reſt of the corps of which his numerous army was compoſed did the like, which gave the *Greeks* great advantage. The troops under *Pauſanias* did not much exceed fifty thou-

[c] HEROD. lib ix. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra.
[d] HERODOT. lib ix. PLUT. in vit. Themiſt. & Ariſt. DIODOR. SICUL. lib xi JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 14. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pauſan.

ſand

ſand men, and on this account it was that he ſent to haſten the *Athenians* in their march. The *Athenians*, who on this occaſion acted with the utmoſt generoſity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily ſtopped ſhort by the *Bœotians* and other *Greeks* in the ſervice of the *Perſian*, who on this occaſion behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeateans* were forced to engage *Mardonius*'s army without aſſiſtance. It is univerſally acknowledged, that the *Perſians* behaved very well on this occaſion; but, being neither ſo well armed nor ſo well diſciplined as the *Greeks*, their valour was of no uſe but to bring them to ſlaughter; for, as *Herodotus* rightly obſerves, it was all the ſame, whether one or ten *Perſians* broke into the *Grecian* ranks, ſince the next line was ready to receive them without confuſion or diſorder, ſo that they were preſently ſlain without effecting any thing, becauſe they charged tumultuouſly; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as *Mardonius* lived, who, mounted on a white horſe, and fighting at the head of a thouſand men, gave ſignal demonſtrations of a courage deſerving a better fate; but when he was ſlain, the *Perſians* began to break and to give way, which diſpirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their ſwords. The *Athenians* alſo defeated the *Greeks* who ſided with and fought for the *Perſians*, ſo that *Artabazus*, who was next in command to *Mardonius*, and againſt whoſe advice theſe meaſures were taken, judging all to be loſt, retired with 40,000, and marched with all the expedition he was able back to *Thrace*; the reſt of the *Perſian* army withdrew as ſpeedily as they could into their camp, where they ſtrengthened the works formerly thrown up, and reſolved to defend to the utmoſt of their power theſe poſts againſt the victorious *Greeks*. *Pauſanias*, coming up with his *Lacedemonians*, attacked the camp without heſitation, but at the ſame time with little ſucceſs; for the *Perſians*, fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; beſides, they had the ſame advantage over the *Lacedemonians* here, which the *Lacedemonians* had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore obſerved, the *Spartans* were unaccuſtomed to ſuch attack, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of *Lycurgus*, all ſieges as much as in them lay; yet this ſtate of things laſted but for a ſmall time; for when the *Athenians* came up, who of all the *Greeks* beſt underſtood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly

quickly opened a paſſage to the *Lacedemonians*, and when that was once done, a mercileſs ſlaughter enſued, ſince of three hundred thouſand men, whom *Mardonius* brought into the field, ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped [e]; of the *Greeks*, however, it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe *Herodotus*, there died of the *Spartans* ninety one; of the *Tegeatæans* ſixteen; and of the *Athenians* fifty two [f]. *Plutarch* owns one thouſand three hundred and ſixty to have fallen [g]; but *Diodorus Siculus* is poſitive, that there were very few leſs than ten thouſand [h]. When this bloody engagement was over, the reſt of the allies came up to be witneſſes rather than aſſiſtants in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themſelves contempt and ſcorn. *Lampon* of *Ægina* propoſed to *Pauſanias*, that the body of *Mardonius* ſhould be carefully ſearched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle *Leonidas* by the command of *Xerxes* might be revenged thereon. To which *Pauſanias* anſwered, "Friend "of *Ægina*, I very kindly accept of your good intention, "and the reſpect you expreſs for me and my family; but I "cannot help telling you, that your zeal hath drawn you "to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; for "whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the cou-"rage of my countrymen, and the action we have this day "atchieved, you throw all this down again by importuning "me to inſult the dead, and perſuading me that I ſhall "heighten my glory, if I do that which is fitter for *Barba-*"*rians* to do, nay, which we have not ſpared to reproach "even in them; I cannot therefore aſſent to theſe notions of "the men of *Ægina*, nor to thoſe of any other nation, who "delight in ſuch actions, being content to be commended "by the *Spartans*, for neither doing, nor ſpeaking an un-"becoming thing. As for *Leonidas*, whoſe death you would "have revenged, I am of opinion, that the innumerable "multitude we have ſlain have ſufficiently repaired the loſs "of him and thoſe that fell with him at *Thermopylæ*. Come "no more therefore to me with ſuch diſcourſes; offer me "no more ſuch counſels, but look upon it as a very great "favour that you have eſcaped even now unpuniſhed." When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to *Mardonius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him ſuch a ſupper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he

[e] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [f] Ubi ſupra. [g] Ubi ſupra. [h] Ubi ſupra.

ordered ſome of his own ſervants to dreſs a *Spartan* meal; which being alſo done, he ſent for the principal officers among the *Greeks*; thus pointing to both the ſuppers, he ſaid with a ſmile, *See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the* Medes, *who living in this ſumptuous manner at home, would needs come ſo far to ſpoil us who fare ſo hardly.* Part of the prodigious ſpoils that were taken in the *Perſian* camp, the *Helotes*, who were intruſted to collect them, purloined; part was dedicated to the gods; a tenth of all ſorts was given to *Pauſanias*; and the reſt diſtributed among the *Greeks*. Having thus put an end to the war, *Pauſanias* thought next of puniſhing ſuch as had betrayed the common cauſe of *Greece*; with this view he marched immediately to *Thebes*, the citizens of which at firſt attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction which were in their hands; they vainly fancied, that they might redeem themſelves with money, but in this they were greatly miſtaken; for *Pauſanias*, diſdaining their propoſal, hurried them away to *Corinth*, and cauſed them there to be put to death [1].

The Greeks victorious at Mycale.

The ſame day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought, *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*, gained a glorious victory at *Mycale*, where the laſt remains of the *Perſian* fleet and of the *Perſian* armies, which had been drawn together for the deſtruction of *Greece*, were utterly defeated; the commanders of the *Perſian* fleet greatly diſcouraged their men by the puſillanimity of their conduct; for notwithſtanding they had a great number of ſhips, they ran them all on ſhore, and ſought to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of an army of ſixty thouſand men, which under the command of *Tigranes* had been left to defend *Ionia*. The *Greeks* ſeeing this determined to attack them on ſhore, and *Leotychides*, ſtanding in towards the coaſt, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the *Greek* tongue, in theſe words: "Men of "*Ionia*, ſuch among you as my voice reaches, hearken "with attention to what I ſay, the rather becauſe the *Per-* "*ſians* cannot underſtand me; when the battle begins, eve- "ry one of you ought in the firſt place to remember liber- "ty, and in the next, that the word in our army is *Hebe*; "let ſuch as hear me inform thoſe who hear me not." This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*, and it ſo frighted the

[1] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

Perſians,

Perſians, that they knew not whom to truſt (I). The *Perſians*, before the battle began, diſarmed the *Samians*, having ſome intelligence that they had been intriguing with the *Greeks*; but confiding greatly in the *Mileſians*, they intruſted them with the cuſtody of the paſſages through the mountains behind them; theſe diſpoſitions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the beſt they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the *Greeks*

(I) *Herodotus* is no mighty admirer of *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, for he expreſly gives the preference to the *Athenians*, after them to the *Corinthians*, the *Trœzenians*, and the *Sicyonians* (34); yet the truth ſeems to be, that *Leotychides* behaved with great prudence upon this occaſion, as we have ſaid above in the text; and there is one inſtance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as ſome called it, of the victory won at *Platæa*, not in conſequence of any intelligence, for that was impoſſible, but believing it the beſt way to incline the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*; he induſtriouſly ſpread the pretended news, and at the ſame time openly invited the *Ionians* to throw off the yoke, and aſſert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great meaſure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcileable to one of his ſayings recorded by *Plutarch*: A *Spartan* in good circumſtances aſked one day this prince, *How he might beſt preſerve his happineſs?* Leotychides anſwered, *By not truſting all to fortune* (36). It is certain, that *Leotychides* was not a very adventurous admiral, but abſolutely refuſed to accompany *Xanthippus* when he found the bridges removed which *Xerxes* had thrown croſs the *Helleſpont*; but this may be eaſily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of *Sparta*; the *Athenians*, by nature, and by the conſtitution of their ſtate, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the ſea, of which as yet *Sparta* had little ambition, tho' ſhe poſſeſſed it; for, as *Herodotus* plainly ſays, the command was given her by the allies, who refuſed to follow any other than a *Spartan* admiral (37). *Leotychides* therefore did all in his power to ſerve the common cauſe, while the united fleet continued together in the *Helleſpont*; but when ſlight deſcents were propoſed, and the pillaging the enemy's coaſts and ſhips, he, whoſe particular ſquadron was of no ſtrength, did not think fit to remain long at ſea, becauſe in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the *Spartan* name and glory.

(34) *Herodot. hiſt. lib.* ix. (35) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 33. *lib.* vii. *c.* 45. *Frontin. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 2. (36) *Plutarch. Apophthog Lacon.* (37) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

landing, the *Athenians* marched ſtrait forward along the ſhore, the *Lacedemonians* took a compaſs by the hills. The former, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, forced the *Perſian* camp, about the ſame time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the *Samians*, in the midſt of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the *Perſians* in their very camp, and the *Mileſians* who were to have guarded the paſſes, as ſoon as the *Perſians* fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them priſoners [k]. A very odd circumſtance, which, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, paſſed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this: About the time the battle began a rumour was ſpread throughout the army, that the *Barbarians* were beaten at *Platæa*, though, as we have obſerved, that engagement happened in the morning of that day, in the evening of which this happened at *Mycale*; but of this ſtrange buſineſs, which ſome modern writers have treated very obſcurely, the reader hath received a ſatisfactory account in the note (I) [l].

Pauſanias *intrigues with* Artabazus. Year of the Flood, 2528. Before Chriſt, 471.

Pauſanias was afterwards ſent to take the command of the fleet, with ſtrict orders to free the *Grecian* cities from the *Perſian* gariſons; on this deſign he ſailed with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, thence to *Byzantium*, which according to his inſtructions he ſet at liberty, and this ſeems to have been the laſt of his exploits; for immediately upon this he fell into a ſcandalous treaty with the *Perſians*, affecting by the aſſiſtance of the great king to make himſelf ſovereign of *Greece*; that at this time he firſt entered into theſe practices appears from hence; he ſent ſuch *Perſians* of great quality as he took in *Byzantium* to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, telling the *Grecian* chiefs that he reſerved them for puniſhment, whereas he had privately given directions that they ſhould be ſent back in ſafety to *Xerxes* [m]. As ſoon as he had conceived theſe ſtrange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the *Perſians*, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain cuſtoms of his country, of which he had formerly been ſo fond; another action happened at *Byzantium* extremely prejudicial to his character, and which ſome ſay diſturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love with a young lady named *Cleonice*, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but ſhe in great modeſty deſiring that the lights might be put out, when ſhe came into his chamber, unfortunately

[k] Herodot. [l] Wanley's Hiſtory of Man. Beauchamp's Eſſays, c. 1. ſect. vi. [m] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan.

ſtumbled

ſtumbled on an extinguiſhed lamp, whereupon he, awakening, and fearing that ſome aſſaſſin had broke into his room, catched up his ſword, and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almoſt beſide himſelf [n]; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately ſent to accuſe him at *Sparta*; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even beſieged him in *Byzantium* [o]; eſcaping, however, from thence, he fled to *Heraclea*, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in uſe, to pacify the ghoſt of *Cleonice*. In this place he met with certain perſons who had, or pretended to have, the power of raiſing the ſpirits of perſons deceaſed, and who at his intreaty brought up that of his miſtreſs, who to all his queſtions gave him this ſhort anſwer: *When you come to* Sparta, *you will find an end to all your misfortunes* [p]. Accordingly when he came home, the *ephori* cauſed him to be ſeized; but having no ſufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour againſt ſo eminent a perſon on bare ſuſpicions, he was for a time enlarged. Theſe warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. *Artabazus* was the perſon he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule; that whoever brought any of *Pauſanias*'s epiſtles ſhould immediately be put to death, that there might be no poſſibility of producing witneſſes againſt him [q]. But growing impatient, and finding that *Themiſtocles*, notwithſtanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his meaſures, *Pauſanias* wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to *Argilius* his particular favourite, and as ſome ſay his catamite. This man, conſidering with himſelf that none of *Pauſanias*'s meſſengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predeceſſors, he carried them directly to the *ephori*, who diſcovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict *Pauſanias*; but *Argilius* ſoon helped this out, for retiring to *Tænarus*, and pretending there to pay his devotions to *Neptune*, he ſet up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain *Spartans*, and in the other he entertained *Pauſanias*, who came to expoſtulate with him for not carrying his letters; by theſe expoſtulations, thoſe who overheard them became direct witneſſes againſt him, ſo that at his return to *Sparta*, the *ephori* determined to impriſon him, of

[n] PLUT. in vit. Cimonis. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Pauſan.
[o] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.
[p] PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.
[q] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 15.

which

which having some intelligence, he retired to the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, and there took sanctuary, which gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in history; for the *Lacedemonians*, not caring to invade the sanctuary, were at a loss what to do, till the mother of *Pausanias* taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without speaking a word, she retired to her own house; the *Spartans*, having considered her conduct, following her example blocked up the gate, and, thus preventing his going out, reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body delivered it to his relations[r]. About this time *Leotychides*, being sent with a great army to chastise the *Thessalians*, who had shewn themselves no friends to *Greece* in general, and expressed a particular enmity towards *Sparta*, instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, and reduced the enemy into very bad circumstances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in against him, he was surprised in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to *Sparta*, and finding that his citizens were in no humour to dispense with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile, having survived his son *Zeuxidamus*, in whom he placed all his hopes[s].

The reigns of Plistarchus, Plistoanax, *and of* Archidamus.

Plistarchus the son of *Leonidas*, to whom *Pausanias* was tutor, did not live long; he was succeeded by *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, the next legal heir of the royal family, as *Leotychides* was by his grandson *Archidamus*; as for *Plistoanax*, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable disposition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow-citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the *Athenians*, acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himself the more necessary to them[t]. *Archidamus* was of a like disposition, and it may be truly said, that under the reigns of these princes the *Spartans* felt no mischiefs but what they brought upon themselves, and had no good luck but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonage of *Plistoanax Nicomedes* the son of *Cleombrotus* acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVII olympiad a most dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*: *Diodorus* says, that twenty thousand persons lost their lives, and *Plutarch* affirms,

[r] Plut. in Parallel x. in vit. Themist. in Apophth. Mulier. Laconic. Thucyd. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. viii. c. 51. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra.
[s] Herod. lib. vi. Pausan. Lacon. [t] Idem. ibid.

that

that only five houſes in the city eſcaped ruin; in the midſt of this general confuſion, *Archidamus* gave ſuch an inſtance of his wiſdom and firmneſs, as muſt render him everlaſtingly admired; conſidering with himſelf that his citizens were of far greater value than even their moſt valuable effects, and yet ſeeing that to ſave theſe they were ready to riſque themſelves, he cauſed an alarm to be ſounded, as if an enemy had been juſt at hand, whereupon in haſte they armed themſelves and repaired into the field, which wrought them double ſafety; for the *Helotes*, now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel maſters, unanimouſly took up arms, and marched boldly to *Sparta*, expecting they ſhould find none to withſtand them; but they were greatly miſtaken, for *Archidamus*, with his citizens compleatly armed, made ſuch a ſtand, that they were conſtrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had ſo ill-treated in the time of their diſtreſs, they determined with themſelves to perſiſt in their revolt, and to truſt for a pacification to their ſwords, rather than to their intreaties [u]. Many reaſons contributed to ſtrengthen the *Helotes* in this determination; the *Spartans* were already embroiled with the *Athenians*, who were inclined to diſpute with them the ſovereignty of *Greece*; the *Meſſenians* began to ſhew evident marks of their reſentment of the indignities and oppreſſions which were thrown upon them; the reſt of the *Peloponneſian* ſtates were not a little diſſatisfied, ſo that never were the *Lacedemonians* leſs able to act vigorouſly againſt their rebellious ſubjects than at preſent. The firſt ſtep they took, after throwing off the yoke, was ſeizing a port in *Meſſenia*, from whence they made continual inroads into *Laconia*, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to; the *Spartans* in this diſtreſs applied themſelves to *Athens* for aſſiſtance, which after ſome oppoſition was granted them, and ſent under the command of *Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades*; they likewiſe ſolicited their other allies, who, ſeeing the readineſs of the *Athenians*, and conſidering the great ſervices which all *Greece* had received from *Sparta*, likewiſe ſent their quotas, which enabled *Archidamus* to take the field, notwithſtanding the *Meſſenians* had joined with the *Helotes*, and fortified *Ithome* [x]. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle or not; but however it was, the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* thought it better to retire to *Ithome*, than to abide the *Spartan* army in the field, whereby the latter, much againſt their wills, were conſtrain-

[u] DIODOR SICUL. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. in Meſſen. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Cimon. [x] DIODOR SICUL. lib. xi.

ed to make the siege of this city; for, as we have more than once observed, this was a part of the military science, in which the *Lacedemonians* were but indifferently skilled; it was chiefly on this account that they besought the aid of the *Athenians*, and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themselves more actively than the *Spartans* themselves, they grew jealous of them; and being fearful lest the strangers in their army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the *Athenians*, go over to the enemy, they dismissed the latter, telling them they had no further occasion for their service; which exceedingly incensed the people of *Athens*, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the *Spartan* greatness than hitherto they had been [y]. While things were in this situation, the *Phocians* made war upon the *Dorians* who inhabited mount *Parnassus*, and took from them several cities, and amongst the rest their capital. These *Dorians* being originally *Lacedemonians*, the *Spartans* dispatched an army under the command of *Nicomedes*; he quickly reduced the *Phocians* to reason, and set all things right; but returning with his army, the *Athenians*, joining the *Argives* and *Thessalians*, shut up the passages into *Peloponnesus*: *Nicomedes* upon this retired towards *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, whither the *Athenians* followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein, the *Thessalians* deserting them, they had much the worst [z]; the next year the *Lacedemonians* assisted the *Thebans* against the *Athenians*, but were therein so unfortunate as to be totally routed at *Tanagra* with great loss. The *Messenian* war was still carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, *Ithome* being naturally a strong place, and the oracle at *Delphi* having threatened the *Spartans*, if they injured the suppliants of *Jupiter Ithome*; wherefore they were forced to turn their siege into a blockade, and at last hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the *Messenians* should depart *Peloponnesus*, never to return, on pain of becoming slaves if they did [a]; these poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the *Athenians*, rather out of spleen to *Sparta*, than any great desire to render service to the distressed. They granted them *Naupactus* for their residence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which in the course of the *Peloponnesian* war they dispossessed the *Lacedemonians* [b]. The next war the *Lacedemonians* undertook was that stiled *the sacred*, by some *the Phocian*, *war*;

[y] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Thucyd. lib. i. [z] Diodor. ubi supra. Thucyd. ubi supra. [a] Pausan. Messen. [b] Thucyd. lib. iv.

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the end of it was to put the temple at *Delphi* into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the *Phocians*, which the *Spartans* effected, and for which the *Delphians* by a decree conferred on the *Lacedemonians* a right of firſt conſulting the oracle, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf conſecrated in the temple. The *Athenians* ſoon after reſtored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from them obtained the ſame privilege which the *Delphians* had granted to the *Spartans*, and this decree they cauſed to be engraven on the right ſide of the wolf. The *Lacedemonians* [c] having induced the *Bœotians* to revolt from the *Athenians*, and *Tolmides*, who attempted to reduce them, being ſlain, and *Eubœa* at the ſame time revolting, they held this a fit ſeaſon for giving a mortal blow to *Athens*; for which cauſe *Pliſtoanax* was ordered to invade the *Athenian* territories with a great army with him: being but young, *Cleondrides* was ſent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from *Pericles*, and perſuaded the king to return home without effecting any thing, for which the *Spartans* ſentenced him to death, and drove their king into baniſhment; not long after a peace was made berween this nation and the *Athenians*, which though it laſted for ſome time, yet was it far from extinguiſhing that hatred which for ſome time had burnt in the boſoms of both [d]. At firſt the *Athenians* had the ſtronger party among the *Greeks*, becauſe the *Lacedemonians* had behaved with haughtineſs while they held the ſovereignty; but the *Athenians* gaining power, and making as bad uſe of it, or worſe, almoſt all *Greece*, except the ſtates immediately under her juriſdiction, and even ſome of them alſo, hated her, and applied themſelves to the *Spartans*. In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have laſted thirty, a great aſſembly of deputies from the ſtates of *Peloponneſus* and other parts of *Greece* was held at *Lacedemon*, where they unanimouſly accuſed the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppreſſion, injuſtice, plundering them of vaſt ſums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beſeeching the *Lacedemonians* to ſtir in the common cauſe of *Greece*, and not ſuffer the *Athenians* to effect what the *Perſian* king with all his power was not able to perform. Some ambaſſadors of *Athens*, who were by chance in the city, defended the cauſe of their country ſtoutly. The *Spartans*, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. lib xi. PLUT. in vit Periclis. [d] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra. THUCYD. lib. i.

immediately to declare war againſt the *Athenians* [e]. But *Archidamus*, like a wiſe and good prince, interpoſed, and adviſed them to weigh well the ſtep they were about to take; he ſhewed them, that comparing their own ſtate with that of *Athens*, not only the aid of the *Greeks*, but of the *Barbarians* alſo, was neceſſary; he demonſtrated, that the invaſion of *Attica* would ſignify little; that if they went ſlowly into this buſineſs, the *Athenians* might probably return to a proper temper, and make ſatisfaction to their allies; that at leaſt they would preſerve their own reputation, and would enable themſelves to carry on the war with effect. But *Sthenelaides*, one of the *ephori*, declared himſelf of a different ſentiment; he alledged, that it was a great happineſs for *Sparta*, that other ſtates had taken umbrage at her rival; that if ſhe was not quickly pulled down, their united ſtrength would be too little; and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, whence they received a reſponſe ſuited to their wiſhes. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ſent to all the allies to deſire them to prepare their quotas, and alſo to *Athens* to offer peace upon certain conditions, which at the motion of *Pericles* were rejected [f].

The commencement of the Peloponneſian *war.*

THE firſt action of the *Peloponneſian* war was the attempt made upon *Platæa* by the *Thebans*; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives* and *Acheans*, ſided with *Sparta*; without *Peloponneſus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*; the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*, furniſhed ſhips, the *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians* ſent cavalry, the reſt of the ſtates furniſhed their reſpective quotas in foot. *Archidamus*, at the head of a mighty army, marched to the frontiers of *Attica*, from whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Athens*, being very deſirous even to the laſt of avoiding if poſſible this war; but the meſſenger was ſent back unheard, and the enemies of *Archidamus* beginning to inſinuate, that, out of friendſhip to the *Athenians*, he betrayed the common cauſe, he marched into *Attica*, and penetrated within a few miles of *Athens* itſelf, deſtroying the country, and waſting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned through *Bœotia* into *Peloponneſus* [g]. In the mean

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. lib xi. PLUT. in vit. Periclis. JUSTIN lib iii c. 7. [f] THUCYD. lib. i. [g] DIODOR, THUCYD. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

time

time the *Athenian* fleet infeſted the coaſt of *Laconia*, and the troops on board it landing beſieged *Methone*, to the relief of which *Braſidas* the *Spartan* haſted with a hundred men, and breaking with much ado through the enemy, got ſafe into the town, where he made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that the *Athenians* were forced to retire; the ſame year the inhabitants of *Ægina*, being expelled by the *Athenians*, fled into *Peloponneſus*, and had the diſtrict of *Thyrea* aſſigned them by the *Spartans*. In the ſpring of the ſecond year *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that *Pericles* with a great army waſted *Peloponneſus*, he returned to aſſiſt his countrymen, the rather becauſe the plague raged violently in *Attica* [h]. In the third year *Archidamus* beſieged *Platæa*, which making an obſtinate defence, he was conſtrained to turn his ſiege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered *Attica* the third time, and waſted all the ripe corn, whereby the *Athenians* were greatly diſtreſſed; the ſame year the *Mitylenians* revolted from the *Athenians*, and in the winter of that year *Platæa* was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that part of its gariſon forced their way through the *Peloponneſian* guards, and eſcaped to *Athens*; the reſt were in the beginning of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being raſed to the ground, notwithſtanding the generous zeal ſhe had expreſſed in the cauſe of *Greece*, in the memorable battle fought on her territories [i]. This year alſo *Archidamus* died in a good old age, and after a very long reign; he was one of the beſt kings that *Sparta* ever had, and this will in ſome meaſure appear from the following ſaying of his; being aſked, *Who were governors at* Sparta, he anſwered, *The laws, and the magiſtrates according to thoſe laws*; he left behind him two ſons *Agis* and *Ageſilaus*, the eldeſt of which ſucceeded him [k].

The reign of Agis.

IN the ſpring after his father's death *Agis* invaded *Attica*, and while he was employed there the *Athenians* ſeized *Pylus*, whither he was forced to haſten, but to little purpoſe, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of *Sparta* being taken and ſent priſoners to *Athens*; not long after the *Athenians* ſeized the iſland of *Cythera*, and filled it with a colony of *Meſſenians*, who proved the bittereſt enemies, as indeed they might well, to the *Lacedemonians* [l]. *Thyrea* was alſo taken, and the poor inhabitants of *Ægina* who had ſettled there were

Year of the Flood 2571. Year before Chriſt 428.

[h] THUCYD. lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xii. JUSTIN. lib. iv. CORNEL. NEPOS, in vit. Cimon. PLUT. in vit. Periclis. [i] THUCYD. lib. iii. PLUT. ubi ſupra. [k] PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. [l] THUCYD. lib. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii.

maſſacred. To remove the war to a greater diſtance, the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Braſidas* their famous general into *Thrace*, where he effectually anſwered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the *Athenians*. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by command of the *ephori*, that ſuch of the *Helotes* as were willing to enliſt themſelves as voluntiers ſhould be manumitted; which propoſition being joyfully accepted by two thouſand of them, they were accordingly ſet at liberty, but their liberty conſiſted only in being ſhewn a ſhort road into another world; for they having pointed out to their jealous maſters, who amongſt them were moſt warlike, they were immediately diſpatched privately, and ſeven hundred of the ſtouteſt of the remaining *Helotes* were, together with a thouſand mercenary *Peloponneſians*, ſent with *Braſidas*[m]. *Thucydides* the hiſtorian commanded the *Athenian* forces at that time in *Thrace*, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wiſe man, and an experienced commander; but the fortune of *Braſidas*, the valour of his forces, and the proneneſs of the people of the country to ſide with him againſt the *Athenians*, gave ſuch high advantages to the *Lacedemonians* and their allies, that *Amphipolis* and ſeveral other cities were taken. The uſe made of this at *Sparta* was to ſet new negociations on foot, partly becauſe the war was very burthenſome, and partly becauſe *Braſidas* was greatly envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which *Braſidas* fell upon *Cleon*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces in the neighbourhood of *Amphipolis*, and gained a great victory, *Cleon* himſelf with ſix hundred *Athenians* being ſlain, with the loſs only of ſeven *Spartans*; and yet this victory was too dear, *Braſidas* being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the braveſt, and one of the modeſteſt men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the ſame time he behaved with as much humility as the meaneſt citizen at *Sparta*; he exactly made good the letter he ſent the *ephori*, when he firſt arrived in *Thrace*, and which was conceived in theſe words; *What is for the honour of the ſtate I will perform, or die*[n]. *Plutarch* has preſerved a ſaying of his, which both its good ſenſe, and its being his, render worthy of being tranſcribed here. Looking one day among ſome dried figs, he catched a mouſe, which immediately turned and bit his fingers, whereupon he let it go; *Ha ſir*, ſaid he to ſome who ſtood near him, *That creatures that have but little ſtrength*

[m] Thucyd. lib iv. Diodor Sicul. lib xii. [n] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

can

can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have [o]. The great miſchiefs which this captain had wrought the *Athenians*, and the mighty loſs which the *Spartans* conceived they had ſuſtained by his death, determined both ſtates to put an end to the war; *Pliſtoanax* laboured all he could to promote this diſpoſition, perſuading himſelf, that in a time of peace he ſhould be better able to deal with his mutinous ſubjects than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach againſt him. We have ſeen on what account he was baniſhed, and we are aſſured, that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a reſponſe from *Delphi*, concerning which the *Spartans* affected afterwards to have many doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from ſome of *Pliſtoanax*'s agents [p]. The king, however, getting the *ephori* for the time preſent to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made before new intrigues were ſet on foot in *Peloponneſus*: The *Corinthians*, and in general the allies of *Sparta*, were greatly offended with the peace, becauſe it did not exactly anſwer their private purpoſes; beſides they were apprehenſive leſt *Sparta* and *Athens* ſhould enter into a cloſe union, whereby the dominion of *Peloponneſus* might be left to the former, and the ſovereignty of the iſlands with the *Grecian* colonies in *Aſia* transferred to the latter. To defeat this ſcheme, if any ſuch there was or ſhould be, ſeveral of the *Peloponneſian* ſtates leagued themſelves with *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendſhip for *Sparta*, and which at this time ſeemed to threaten her; this league made the *Lacedemonians* very uneaſy, and the more, when they found that the *Argives*, and thoſe who were allied with them, were negociating at *Athens*. Thither therefore the *Lacedemonians* ſent their ambaſſadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they had depended upon *Nicias* their old and conſtant friend; but ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who, acting on his uncle *Pericles*'s maxims, ſought to revive the war, they themſelves were drawn to give the *Athenians* great ſuſpicion [q]. The next year the new *ephori* grew likewiſe fond of war, and though *Nicias* ſtrongly laboured to compoſe all differences, yet all he

[o] PLUT. Apophth. Lacon. [p] THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR SICUL. lib. xii. PLUT. in vita Nic. [q] THUCYD. ubi ſupra DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vita Alcibiad.

could

could obtain was no more than the ſwearing to the peace anew, which he well enough underſtood would not content his citizens [r]. In the ſummer when the XCth olympiad was celebrated, the *Lacedemonians* received an high affront. The *Eleans* refuſed to let them ſacrifice, or in any manner partake of the ſacred rites, placing a ſtrong guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reaſon aſſigned for this was, that the *Lacedemonians*, while former olympics were held, had ſeized the caſtle of *Phoricus*, for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ, which fine they not having paid, they inſiſted on excluding them. The *Lacedemonians* would have excuſed themſelves by their ambaſſadors, but their excuſes were not accepted, and ſo they were forced to ſacrifice at home, which highly incenſed them [ſ] (K). A quarrel happened

[r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vita Nic. [ſ] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Eleis.

(K) Of the *Olympic* games we have elſewhere ſpoken ſomewhat (38), but not enough to make either this and many other paſſages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of ſupplying theſe deficiencies here. The olympiads were not, as ſome imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, ſtrictly ſpeaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the ſecond month of the fifth year, or, if it be poſſible to expreſs it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and laſted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the inſtitutions of theſe games, but the moſt ſatisfactory is that given by *Strabo*, who in his deſcription of *Elis* ſays, that an *Ætolian* colony, together with ſome of *Hercules*'s poſterity, after having ſubdued many of the *Piſæan* towns, and amongſt them *Olympia*, there inſtituted theſe ſolemnities (40). The care and management of theſe games belonged originally to the *Piſæans*, but afterwards to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Piſæans* were deſtroyed, and their very name extinguiſhed; for the moſt part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the *Greeks*, out of a religious reſpect to their ſuperintendency of theſe games, not ſuffering the ſound of war to be heard amongſt them; which will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider, that during the celebration of theſe games there was a general truce that all the inhabitants of *Greece* might be at liberty to aſſiſt at them; and in conſequence of a breach of this truce, the *Eleans* proceeded in the man-

(38) *Univerſal Hiſtory Vol. V. p.* 554, *and note* (F). (39) *Johan. Tzetz. Chiliad.* i. *Hiſt.* 21. (40) *Geogr. lib.* viii.

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pened in the winter betewen the *Heracleans* of *Trachinia* and the *Theſſalians*, wherein *Penares* a *Lacedemonian* general was ſlain; however, the *Corinthians* were with-held from joining with the *Argives*, which gave ſome hopes that the power of that republic might be weakened[t]. The next year the *Argives* attempted to ſurprize *Epidaurus*, in hopes of ſecuring themſelves on that ſide againſt the *Corinthians*, and alſo open an eaſy paſſage to their allies the *Athenians*; in the winter the *Lacedemonians* put a gariſon of three hundred men into *Epidaurus*. The next ſummer *Sparta* reſolved to exert herſelf, and to cruſh at once the *Argives* and their allies. With this view the *ephori* and ſenate ſent to exhort all their confederates to be in readineſs to take the field early, as they themſelves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king *Agis*, at the head of the *Spartans*, *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliaſians*, and *Megarians*, entered the territory of *Argos* with ſuch an army as had not been ſeen ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war. The *Argives* were very ill prepared, the ſuccours they expected from *Athens* not being arrived; however, they reſolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very inſtant the engagement ſhould have begun, two of the *Argive* captains cri-

[t] DIODOR. & THUCYD. ubi ſupra.

ner above deſcribed againſt the *Spartans* (41). The ſecurity, which for the generality theſe people enjoyed, made them addict themſelves more to huſbandry than any other people of *Greece*, becauſe they were under no ſort of reſtraint nor apprehenſion in their fields, but were conſidered as ſervants of the *Olympian Jupiter*. At firſt they appointed one judge only: At the fifteenth olympiad they aſſigned two, and by degrees theſe ſwelled to no leſs than twelve, one being choſen out of each of the *Elean* tribes (42). When the *Arcadians* became too powerful for the *Eleans*, the number decreaſed again; yet even in the reign of the *Roman* emperor *Adrian* there were no fewer of them than ten. All the perſons who ſought to contend in theſe games were obliged to appear ten months before at *Elis*, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reſide, and to prepare themſelves after a certain ſettled method for their exerciſes. At the ſolemnity the *Hellanodicæ*, that is, the *Elean* judges, ſat naked, having the *victoral crown* before them, which, when the games were over, they preſented to him whoſe due they conceived it to be (43).

(41) *Diod Sicul. lib.* xi. (42) *Paus. in Eliac.* (43) *Cuchas Pitiscus Antiq. Lect. lib.* xxii. *c.* 17. *Alex. ab Alex. Genial. Dier. lib* v. *c.* 8.

ed out to king *Agis*, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was just, and to make peace with the *Lacedemonians*; which made such an impression on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, that he immediately consented to a truce of four months; which exceedingly provoked the allies of *Sparta*, who could not bear after all their preparations to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of *Agis* to *Sparta*, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have rased his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit when he should be next employed, with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified; but what seems more extraordinary is, that the *Argives* were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preserved them from ruin, nay they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with stones, if they had not retired into sanctuary [u]. The true reason why the *Argives* were so warm was, because the *Athenians* had sent them a supply of one thousand foot and three hundred horse under the command of *Alcibiades*, at whose instigation they solemnly renounced the truce made with *Agis*. When the *Spartans* were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without assigning him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At *Mantinea* the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the *Greeks* had ever brought into the field against each other; but the *Argives* and their allies were more numerous than the *Spartans*; some therefore advised king *Agis* not to fight, to which he answered coolly, *If we would rule many, we must fight many* [x]. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion, but the generals under him did not behave so well; so that, while the right wing which was under his command carried all before it, the left was routed, which when *Agis* beheld, he notwithstanding continued his pursuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obstinate resistance defeated them also, and gained a complete victory. King *Pleistoanax* with a body of reserve which had been left at *Sparta*, hearing of the great assistance which the *Argives* had received, marched to the reinforcement of *Agis* and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, so that his presence being no lon-

[u] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diod. ubi supra. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in Alcibiad. [x] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon.

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ger neceſſary, he returned preſently after with his troops to *Lacedemon*. The *Argives* and their allies loſt eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred *Spartans*; as for the allies of *Sparta*, as they did little, ſo they ſuffered little [y]. After this things continued in *Greece* in great confuſion; the faction in *Argos* who were for oligarchy ſiding with *Sparta*, thoſe who affected democracy with the *Athenians*; great ſtirs there were, and little peace. The *Athenians* at laſt ventured to break the league by attacking the iſle of *Melos*, of which, however, the *Spartans* would take no notice, only they cauſed proclamation to be made, that, ſince the *Athenians* prey'd upon their ſubjects without regard to laws, their ſubjects might if they pleaſed prey upon the *Athenians*. The miſeries which her ambition had brought upon her were ſo evident in this ſtate, that ſhe began now to act with more wiſdom and mildneſs than hitherto ſhe had done; the *Helotes* were treated with lenity, a thouſand of them were actually ſet at liberty for the ſervice they had performed under *Braſidas*; their allies were uſed with mildneſs and reſpect, and the conſequences of theſe meaſures were, that matters began to take another aſpect; the *Athenians*, graſping too many things and acting haughtily, were deſpiſed, while *Sparta* gained the command and the hearts of moſt of the *Peloponneſians* [z]. In the laſt year of the XCIId olympiad *Pliſtoanax* died; the laſt act of his life which was memorable was reſettling the affairs of the *Parrhaſians*, who were torn with inteſtine wars; during the time of his exile his ſon *Pauſanias* had the regal title, his uncle *Cleomenes* acting as his tutor; but when *Pliſtoanx* was recalled, he again aſſumed the regal dignity, in which the ſame *Pauſanias* ſucceeded him at his death [a].

Agis king of *Sparta* was ſent with an army againſt the *Eleans*, to revenge the diſhonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be preſent at the *Olympian* games. This war was of ſome continuance; the firſt year the king penetrated as far almoſt as the mount *Olympus*; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year *Agis* invaded *Elis* again and did a great deal of miſchief; whereupon *Xenias* an *Elean* put himſelf at the head of a party and declared for the *Lacedemonians*, ſeeking in truth to eſtabliſh an oligarchy; but *Thraſydæus*, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and

Agis *enters the territories of* Elis. Year of the flood, 2579. Before Chriſt, 420.

[y] THUCYD ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. [z] PAUSAN Lacon. THUCYD ubi ſupra. [a] THUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

drove him out of the city. The third year *Agis* entered *Elis* again, and after remaining there ſome time, he left a part of his army under the command of *Lyſiſtratus* a *Spartan*, with orders to ſupport *Xenias* and his friends. *Thraſydrus*, ſeeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a compoſition with *Xenias*, and by his means treated with the *Spartans*, whereupon a peace enſued [b]. The *Peloponneſian* war now broke out again: The *Athenians* had ſent a great army into *Sicily*, the conſequence of which being conſidered, the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Gylippus* to aſſiſt the *Syracuſians* with a ſmall force, but with promiſe of farther ſupply which was likewiſe performed [c]. About the ſame time *Alcibiades* repaired to *Sparta*, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the *Spartan* manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promiſed, that he would put them in a ſhort train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to thoſe of *Sparta*. *Agis* was at firſt ſo charmed with him, that he took him home to his houſe; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promiſes he had made the ſenate, he performd them tolerably well; for when he went with *Agis* to invade *Attica*, he adviſed him to fortify the caſtle of *Decelea*, which had never been thought of before, and which proved ſuch a thorn to the *Athenians*, as diſtreſſed them more than all that happened to them beſides; for now the *Spartans* did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually; ſo that either they could not plough or ſow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop [d]. The *Spartans* were ſo well pleaſed at this counſel of *Alcibiades*, that they cried him up as a captain far ſuperior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealouſy of *Agis* made him glad to quit *Laconia*, to ſeek among the *Barbarians* a place of ſafety. *Timæa* the wife of *Agis* brought forth about this time a ſon, who was called *Leotychides*, concerning whom *Agis* ſaid publicly, that *Alcibiades* was his father; *Timæa* increaſed the ſuſpicion as to her ſon's birth by her own fooliſh behaviour, for ſhe was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be *Alcibiades* inſtead of *Leotychides*; and thus, while the child's birth was canvaſſed at home, *Alcibiades* confirmed all the ſuſpicions abroad, by

[b] Pausan. in Eleis. [c] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib xiii Plut. in vit Nic. Justin. l. iv. [d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad.

ſaying

ſaying, openly, that he did not debauch *Timæa* out of luſt, but from the ambition he had of having ſome of his poſterity reign over the *Spartans* [e]; but his folly defeated his wickedneſs, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and deprived the unhappy *Leotychides* of his ſucceſſion. *Gylippus* all this while managed their affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation; at firſt he was little ſet by, even among the *Syracuſians* whom he came to aſſiſt, becauſe of the plainneſs of his garb and of his ſpeech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they ſaw that the ſoldiers confided in him, and that great ſuccours were ſent him from *Peloponneſus*, they treated him with greater reſpect, and at laſt ran into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill uſe of his power, he knew he was ſent to relieve the *Sicilians*, and not to oppreſs them; he was, however, covetous, and we ſhall ſee hereafter how that vice not only tarniſhed all his good qualities, but deſtroyed his fortune and ruined his reputation [f]. The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* filled the *Spartans* with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means, that could be thought of, either to depreſs their rival's affairs, or to raiſe their own: *Aſtyochus* was ſent to command the foreign troops which were raiſed with *Perſian* money; King *Agis* managed the war in the heart of *Attica*, where he had all the ſummer a good army, beſides the gariſon in *Decelea* [g]. *Lyſander* was now employed in maritime affairs; who as he proved the great hero of *Sparta* and the finiſher of the *Peloponneſian* war, it is fit, that we ſhould in this place give the reader his character. *Plutarch* ſays, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the *Herculean* race. His education was truly *Spartan*, that is, he paſſed his younger years under all the reſtrictions of the *Lycurgic* inſtitutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, had an extenſive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modeſt, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with theſe great qualities he had ſome mean ones, he could to ſerve his own purpoſes be very ſupple and complaiſant, which was highly repugnant to the *Spartan* cuſtoms; he was not much affected with the love of *Greece*,

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. lib xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. & Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN lib. v. c. 2. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Nic. JUSTIN. lib. 4. [g] THUCYD lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib xiii.

but converſed freely with all ſorts of people, and ſought above all things to raiſe his own credit and authority; the worſt of all was, that he was abſolutely diſhoneſt, and, which is not a little ſtrange, ſought not to conceal it, it being a common ſaying of his, *That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oaths*; for which reaſon he never denied his when it made for his intereſt, or ſtuck at breaking it when to keep it would ſerve his purpoſes no longer. He found the *Athenians* greatly ſuperior at ſea when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all [h]. The firſt thing of importance that he did was reſtoring the ſtate of affairs at *Epheſus*; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to ſide with *Sparta*, and above all things to attach themſelves to him; he ſhewed them how conveniently they were ſeated for trade, he brought his ſhips to be refitted in their port; and when once he had gained the confidence of the *Epheſians*, he took equal care to promote their intereſts, and to make theirs ſubſervient to his. *Aſtyochus* having managed fooliſhly, and given *Alcibiades* an opportunity of inſtilling into *Tiſſaphernes* notions prejudicial to the *Lacedemonians*, *Lyſander*, who ſaw clearly that without the *Barbarian* gold *Sparta* could not carry on the war, determined with himſelf to counterplot both *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades*, by applying himſelf to *Cyrus*, who then reſided at *Sardis*; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant; *Cyrus* readily heard him, and by degrees the *Spartan* won ſo much upon him, that he made him a promiſe in few words to grant him whatever he ſhould requeſt; *Lyſander* modeſtly required, that a ſmall addition might be made to the ſoldiers pay, which diſintereſtedneſs ſo much charmed *Cyrus*, that he gave him ten thouſand pieces of ſilver, which he made uſe of to ſupport his ſoldiers and refit his fleet. *Agis*, in the mean time being informed of great ſtirs in *Athens*, attempted to ſurpriſe it, but without effect; for the citizens on his approach united among themſelves, and ſallied with ſuch unexpected fury, that they killed a conſiderable number of his men [i]. They afterwards offered to make peace, but the *Spartans*, conſidering the unſettledneſs of their government, refuſed ſo much as to hear their propoſitions; ſome ſhort time after *Hegeſandridas* a *Spartan* reduced *Eubœa*, and, if he had proſecuted his ſucceſs with ardor, might have taken *Athens* itſelf; but

[h] Plut. it vit Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Justin. lib v. c. 6. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand. Thucyd. lib. vi.
[i] Diodor. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi.

this

this opportunity being neglected, *Alcibiades* in a very ſhort ſpace ſo reſtored their affairs, by defeating and killing *Mindarus*, who had ſucceeded *Aſtyochus*, that the *Spartans* in their turn were forced to ſue to the *Athenians*, who with great haughtineſs rejected the propoſitions they offered, though highly reaſonably in themſelves. When *Alcibiades* ſailed again into the *Helleſpont*, after he had been at *Athens*, *Lyſander*, finding himſelf too weak to engage ſo numerous a fleet under ſo fortunate a general, kept in the port of *Epheſus*, where he carefully refitted his ſhips, and kept his ſoldiers and his marines to their exerciſe. At length it ſo happened, that *Alcibiades* had occaſion to go from *Samos* to *Phocæa*, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to *Antiochus* a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the inſtructions which had been given him, and ſailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of *Epheſus*, where he inſulted *Lyſander*; this inconſiderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the *Athenians* were defeated, though with no very conſiderable loſs, and yet this accident deſtroyed all their affairs; for upon the firſt news of it they diſmiſſed *Alcibiades*, and with him their good fortune. *Lyſander*, while he lay at *Epheſus*, projected a ſcheme for making himſelf in a manner ſovereign of *Greece*; he picked up enterprizing men of various cities, and, engaging them to ſettle at *Epheſus*, adviſed them to live in ſtrict friendſhip among themſelves, and to ſtudy political affairs, for that he would ſuddenly find employment for them [k]. All this, and indeed the whole tenour of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the *Epheſians* and the reſt of the cities in that part of the world, ſo that when *Callicratidas* was ſent him for a ſucceſſor, all the *Aſiatic Greeks* were extremely uneaſy; this uneaſineſs increaſed at the preſence of the new admiral, who was the very reverſe of *Lyſander*, a man of great parts and great courage, but withal of great virtue and unbiaſſed integrity [l]. *Lyſander* dealt with him very baſely, he ſent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*, and ſaid to his ſucceſſor at parting with a ſneer, Let us ſee now *Callicratidas*, how you can ſupport the charges of this army. The noble *Spartan* found it indeed very difficult, the people were quite drained, treaſure there was none, ſo he was forced to go to the court of *Cyrus*, where being two or three times refuſed admittance, being ſometimes told that the king was buſy, at other times that he was drinking, he at laſt ſaid, *I*

[k] PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. [l] THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand.

mm 2

must not be so eager for money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta: Whereupon he set sail for *Ephesus*. *Cyrus*, considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself; the first he took, but the latter he sent back again with this memorable message, *That there needed no private friendship between* Cyrus *and him, because if the king kept up to the terms of his league with the* Lacedemonians, *he should think himself included therein* [m]. He defeated *Conon* the *Athenian* admiral, and besieged him in *Mitylene*; he likewise beat a small fleet that was sent to his assistance; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at *Arginusæ*, over-against *Lesbos* where he was stationed he resolved to engage; when he sacrificed in the morning, the priest who consulted the intrails told him, that the fleet should in the end prosper, but that the admiral would certainly be slain: To which he answered without any concern, *Very well then, let us fight*, Sparta *will not lose much in losing me; but she would lose her honour, if I retired in the sight of the enemy; when I fall, let* Cleander *be your admiral.* He was accordingly slain, and by that means the *Spartan* affairs were put into much disorder [n]. After this mishap both *Cyrus* and the allies of *Lacedemon* demanded that *Lysander* should be sent admiral again, a request directly opposite to the laws of *Sparta*; however, to gratify their request, they gave the title of admiral to one *Aracus*, but lodged the power with *Lysander*, who immediately sailed to the *Hellespont*, where after receiving great supplies from *Cyrus*, he drew together his fleet; but finding the *Athenians* much superior to him in numbers, he wisely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the slip, appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of *Greece*, and made descents on the islands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*; he sailed over to the coast of *Attica* to shew *Agis*, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power [o]. Yet having intelligence that the *Athenian* fleet was approaching, he stood away for the *Hellespont*, where he besieged and took *Lampsacus*. *Conon* with the grand fleet of *Athens* bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river *Ægos*, there the *Athenians* insulted him for many days together, which *Lysander* bore with wonderful patience, keeping his soldiers and marines continually on duty, till on a sudden, when the *Athenians* had debarqued their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and sea [p]. *Conon* the admiral saw

[m] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. in vit. Lysand. [n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [o] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [p] Plut. in vit. Lysand. Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii.

clearly

clearly that all things were loſt, ſo he, with eight gallies and a very inconſiderable body of men, fled away to *Cyprus*; the reſt fell intirely into the hands of *Lyſander*, who in a ſingle hour put an end to the *Peloponneſian* war, and to the maritime power of *Athens* [q].

The Athenians *entirely defeated by* Lyſander. Year of the flood 2593 Before Chriſt 406.

THIS mighty victory having put all things into the power of *Lyſander*, he acted rather as a univerſal monarch, than as a general from *Sparta*; he immediately viſited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magiſtrate, and with him ten of his friends from *Epheſus*, where, as we have before obſerved, he erected a kind of political univerſity. Theſe men as they came in by force, ſo they kept no meaſures with thoſe over whom they ruled; they treated them with the utmoſt haughtineſs and ſeverity, ſo that from the very beginning the *Lacedemonian* government was rendered ungrateful, and the people univerſally diſpoſed to ſhake it off as ſoon as they could [r]. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the maſs of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and deſtined it to be ſent to *Sparta*, whither he had before diſpatched a meſſenger with news of his victory, and with an aſſurance, that he would be ſhortly with a fleet of two hundred ſail before the city of *Athens*; in confidence of this the *Spartans* ſent both their kings, *Agis* and *Pauſanias* with a very great army into *Attica*, on the coaſts of which in due time *Lyſander* arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the ſiege of *Athens*, we have already inſiſted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough, that we inſert the *Spartan* decree, contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place, which decree is preſerved by *Plutarch*, and runs thus: *Know this is the decree of the* Lacedemonians. *Pull ye down the Piræus and the long walls; quit all the towns you are now poſſeſſed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon theſe conditions, provided you yield alſo to what ſhall be further thought reaſonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ſhips you may keep, obſerve the orders we ſhall hereafter give on that head.* *Lyſander* deprived them of all their veſſels except twelve, and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered *Athens* in triumph, on the anniverſary of the great victory at *Salamis*; he

[q] XENOPHON, ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. eiuſd. JUSTIN. lib. v. c. 6.
[r] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

cauſed

caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of music, which likewise played while the *Athenian* ships were burning, himself and his commanders having garlands on their heads; he also altered the government, established the thirty tyrants, and left a *Spartan* garison in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures [f]. The next thing he did was to send the immense treasure he had collected to *Sparta* under the care of *Gylippus*, who had so eminently distinguished himself in *Sicily*, and who found a way to distinguish himself no less eminently on this occasion, though less honourably; for he, little regarding the seals upon the money-bags, ript them open at the bottom, and, having taken out what money he thought proper, sewed them up again. When he arrived at *Lacedemon* he delivered the money as he had been directed, and desired, that particular notice might be taken of the fairness of the seals; but, unluckily for him, *Lysander* had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein; upon comparing these notes with the sums contained a deficiency was discovered, but still the *ephori* and senate were at a loss where to fix it; at last the servant of *Gylippus* impeached him; and his crime with all its circumstances being detected, he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the scandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief [t] (L). The coming of this huge mass of wealth

[f] Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. ii. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysand. [t] Plut. in vit. Lysand. Diodor. ubi supra.

(L) *Gylippus* the *Spartan* had this vice of covetousness hereditary in his family; his father *Cleondrides* having, as we have before shewn, been sentenced to death for accepting a bribe from *Pericles*, when he entered *Attica* with an army (42). Authors are pretty much divided as to the character of this man. *Plutarch* every where represents him as a person of courage, integrity and humanity, till this last act (43); but *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives him quite another character; he introduces him making two long speeches at *Syracuse* to influence the *Sicilians* to shew the *Athenians* no mercy; this is directly contrary to what other historians have written, and on what authority he reports those orations we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with *Lysander* seems to throw a shade on his character; for we do not find, that this ambitious general either loved or trusted men of strict honour, and from the beginning *Gy-*

(42) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi* *See also before, p* 345. (43) *In vit. Nicia, & in vit. Lysand.* (44) *Diodor. Sicul lib. xii*

lippus

wealth created great disputes at *Sparta*, many celebrated *Lysander*'s praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*, and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth; at last a compromise was proposed and agreed to, whereby it was enacted, *That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither on pain of capital punishment*: which resolution of theirs, as *Plutarch* observes, was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual, because declaring money to be useful to the state, evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while at the same time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal [u]. *Lysander* in the mean time, returning to the *Hellespont*, returned also to his old practices there: changing governments, new-modelling ci-

[u] PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

lippus was one of his creatures; it was he who preferred him to the command in *Sicily*, and in the present case, as a signal mark of his confidence, sent him, with the treasure he had collected in the war, to *Sparta*; so that to speak the truth, this was not only a public theft, but an act of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not wonder, that his patron, who in other respects was ready enough to protect his friends, even in ill things, abandoned him. How *Gylippus* came to trust his servant we are not acquainted; but the manner in which that servant of his betrayed him, *Plutarch* tells us pleasantly enough. "The magistrates, says he, finding the money in the bags less than what was expressed in the notes contained in them, were surprised, but did not in the least suspect him who had the care of the money, till *Gylippus*'s servant betrayed the secret, and told them by way of riddle, *That he had observed a great many owls to roost in the Ceramicus*. The *ephori* soon found out that by owls pieces of money were to be understood, because most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl in respect to the *Athenians*; and that the *Ceramicus*, a place in *Athens* so called because of a tile-kiln that had been there, signified likewise the roof of an house by reason of the tiles called *Ceramoi*; thus the mystery came to be understood, and *Gylippus*, having stained his former reputation with this mean action, was ashamed to appear any more at *Lacedemon* (45)".

(45) *In vit. Lysand.*

ties, liberally, and even profuſely, rewarding his friends, at the ſame time purſuing to death and utter deſtruction ſuch as he ſuſpected to be his enemies. While he remained in *Greece* he had done ſome very extraordinary things, which ſufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious diſpoſition; he ſet up his own ſtatue, and the ſtatues of ſuch of his commanders who were in his good graces, in braſs; he dedicated two ſtars in honour of the deities *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, in order to keep up an opinion, which his ſycophants had taken care to propagate, that theſe ſtars were ſeen in the rigging of his ſhip at the battle of *Ægos* [x]. But if he acted thus in *Greece*, he ſet leſs bounds to his ambition in *Aſia*, where he made not only the *Greek* cities dependent on him, but ſtruck terror into the *Perſian* governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Perſian* grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a maſter in *Lyſander*'s ſcience of diſſimulation: He ſaw that little was to be expected from any repreſentations he could make to this haughty general, ſurrounded by a number of powerful perſons, made ſo merely by his favour; he caſt about therefore to find out ſurer protectors, though at a greater diſtance, and with this view diſpatched ſome of his emiſſaries to *Sparta*. There they began to open, without apprehenſion of danger, the iniquity of *Lyſander*'s conduct, they ſet his ambitious deſigns in their proper light, they charged him with an intention to render himſelf a general for life, and independent of his conſtituents; and they alledged ſuch probable reaſons for what they ſaid, that the *ephori* and ſenate immediately diſpatched a *Scytale* to recal this terror of *Aſia*. They began likewiſe to inſpect narrowly the conduct of his friends in *Greece*, put ſome of them to death, and amongſt the reſt *Thorax* one of his principal commanders, in whoſe houſe, in contravention of the late law, they found a large quantity of ſilver. The ſurprize of *Lyſander* was inexpreſſible, when the meſſenger of the ſtate preſented the *Scytale* which recalled him (M): He had no previous intelligence

[x] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the *Scytale* of the *Lacedæmonians*; but firſt let us hear what *Plutarch* ſays of them: "The "nature and uſe, ſays he, of theſe was, when the magiſtrates gave "their commiſſion to any admiral or general, they took two round "pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickneſs; "one they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to their offi-"cer; ſo that, when they had any thing of moment which they would

gence of it, nor could he immediately gueſs by whom it was obtained, but on recollection he determined in himſelf, that it muſt have been by the procurement of *Pharnabazus*; this diſcovery made him more ſolicitous, eſpecially when he heard what had happened at home; he therefore reſolved, according to his ſtated maxim, *to eke out the lion's with the fox's ſkin* [y]; in conſequence of this he demanded a conference, to which *Pharnabazus* readily yielded. At this meeting *Lyſander* made uſe of all his art, to ſoften the *Perſian*, and to ēngage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been ſuggeſted in his name to the *ephori* and ſenate, to which with ſome difficulty *Pharnabazus* agreed; he wrote this letter in *Lyſander*'s preſence, and in terms ſuitable to his wiſh; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different

[y] PLUT. in Apophtheg.

" would ſecretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow ſcroll of " parchment, and rowling it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe " upon another, they wrote their buſineſs on it; when they had " wrote what they had to ſay, they took off the parchment and " ſent it to the general, he applied it to his own ſtaff, which being " juſt like that of the magiſtrates, the folds fell in with each other, " exactly as they did at the writing; and the characters, which, " before it was wrapped up, were confuſedly, disjoined and alto- " gether unintelligible, appeared then very plainly (46)." There are many things omitted in this account which we ſhall endeavour to ſupply from other authors. *Tzetzes* calls them wands, which the *ephori* delivered to the general or admiral when he ſet out to take upon him the command; he ſays, they were very ſhort and very ſlender, the parchment being alſo narrow, which they made uſe of to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the uſual ſhortneſs of the *Spartan* epiſtles; for *Demetrius Triclinius* tells us expreſly, that the *Scytale* was between three and four cubits long; he does indeed ſuggeſt that there was but one of them which was ſplit in two, and one half being given to the general, the other half remained at home (48); but *Aulus Gellius* (49) and the ſcholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes* ſay expreſly there were two (50); *Thucydides* ſays, the *ſcytale* was round, ſmooth, and long (51); the ſcholiaſt on *Pindar*, that it was made of a black wood (52). It ſhould ſeem, that, beſides this *ſtate ſcytale*, private men made uſe of a contrivance of the like nature to prevent deceits in contracts, but then theſe were exactly like our tallies.

(46) *Plut. in vit. Lyſand.* (47) *Johan. Tzetzes. var. Hiſt. Chil. ix c.* 258. (48) *Ad. Pindar. Olymp Od. vi.* (49) *Noct. Attic. lib xvii. cap* 9. (50) *Ad. Aves Ariſtoph.* (51) *Bell. Pelop. lib. i.* (52) *Olymp. vi.*

nature, and ſubſtituted it while he pretended to fold the other, ſo that here the deceiver was deceived, and *Lyſander* with all his ſkill outwitted [z]. Receiving this letter, he ſet out immediately for *Sparta*, but when he was informed of its contents he was mightily diſturbed, and fearing leſt he ſhould be called to an account, pretended that he had ſeen a viſion, wherein *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him to come immediately and conſult his oracle. The *ephori* and ſenate ſhewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his requeſt, but, as ſoon as he was gone, the kings of *Sparta* began to contrive the deſtruction of his friends, that he might no longer have ſuch an intereſt in *Aſia* as at this time he had. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms againſt their tyrants, *Lyſander* hearing thereof returned ſuddenly to *Sparta*, where he vehemently preſſed the government to ſupport thoſe he had eſtabliſhed at *Athens*, and that they would make uſe of him as commander in chief in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make uſe of all their intereſt to prevent it. *Pauſanias* therefore procured the command of the army to be veſted in him, and marched, as it was generally underſtood, to ſupport the tyrants againſt the people of *Athens*; but in truth his deſign was to reconcile the *Athenians*, and to compromiſe their differences with *Sparta*, that *Lyſander* might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he alſo effected, and which *Lyſander* highly reſented. Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his ſpleen, and of reconciling himſelf to the people; for the *Athenians*, according to the ficklenes of their temper, flying out again, the *Spartans* were highly incenſed againſt *Pauſanias*, and cried up *Lyſander* for a man of integrity and true public ſpirit [a]. While things were in this ſituation king *Agis* died; he was taken ill at *Heræa* in *Arcadia*, and being conveyed to *Sparta* died there; in his laſt moments he owned *Leotychides*, moved thereto by his tears and earneſt intreaties; and at the ſame time that he did this, he beſought the *Lacedemonians* who were preſent to bear witneſs of the ſincerity of his declaration, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have raſhly ſaid of his ſuſpecting the legitimacy of *Leotychides*; but this late recognition of his ſon was, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, altogether ineffectual, *Leotychides* loſing not only his pretenſions to the crown, but to his paternal eſtate [b].

[z] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [a] Plut. ubi ſupra. [b] Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Paus an. Lacon.

Agis

Agis left behind him a younger brother whoſe name was *Ageſilaus*, and who became not only an honour to *Sparta*, but to *Greece* itſelf. This *Ageſilaus* ſet up for the crown againſt *Leotychides*, and, as he was a man of exemplary virtues and of great capacity, he on his firſt declaration had many friends, and on *Lyſander*'s eſpouſing his intereſt acquired many more: for both theſe it is proper that we ſhould account. *Ageſilaus* was born a younger brother, and though the laws of *Lacedemon*, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the ſharp diſcipline of the *Lycurgic* education, yet the younger children of kings were no leſs ſeverely bred than the meaneſt *Lacedemonian*; which proved a great happineſs to the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of thoſe qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of ſuch as render men ambitious and aſpiring, and of ſuch as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of a high ſpirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country, perhaps beyond compariſon; for he preferred her intereſt not only to his own, to his peace, and to his ſafety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit which ſhe commanded, and placed his utmoſt happineſs in his capacity of ſerving her, not only on ſuch occaſions as were attended with luſtre and eclat, but in thoſe which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them [c]. Such were the means whereby *Ageſilaus* gained to himſelf friends; as for the regard which *Lyſander* had for him, it ſprung thus: When *Ageſilaus* was a youth *Lyſander* was his lover, and this friendſhip of his continued when *Ageſilaus* was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends any trouble, and it was this; one *Diopithes*, a man reputed to have great ſkill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Ageſilaus *ſucceeds* Agis, *and ſets aſide* Leotychides.

> Tho' great thy empire, *Sparta*, yet refrain
> From a *lame reign*; which come, thou ſhalt ſuſtain
> Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
> Of *war*, no *force* can quell, or *ſkill* aſſuage (N).

THIS

[c] PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. iii. CORN. NEP. in vit. Ageſil.

(N) It was the cuſtom of the *Greeks*, as we have ſhewn in this, and

This was thought to point at *Ageſilaus*, who had one leg ſhorter than the other, but *Lyſander* out-did the interpreter even

and in the *Athenian* hiſtory, never to undertake any act of importance without conſulting an oracle, of which there were many in *Greece*; but that of *Delphi* was the moſt remarkable. Many learned men ſeem to be of opinion, that the reſponſes from thence were frequently ſupernatural, and ſometimes plain and direct, juſtified alſo by the event. However that matter be, yet certain it is, that *even in the moſt early times they were frequently corrupted*, of which we have given many inſtances, and in the proſecution of our hiſtory ſhall have occaſion to give many more. If *public oracles* were liable to ſuch inconveniencies in ſpite of all the care that could be taken of them, it is eaſy to conceive that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To ſay the truth, wherever a ſuperſtitious humour of believing ſuch ſort of things prevails, experience ſhews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impoſe on fools. Theſe keepers of oracles were ſtiled divine or ſacred perſons by the *Greeks*; and from the inſtance before us we ſee what mighty things they were able to effect. *Plutarch* ſpeaks very reſpectfully of *Diopithes*, who produced the oracle which gave occaſion to this note; and to do juſtice, we muſt acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two ſenſes; yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, ſince it is almoſt impoſſible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which ſome time or other will not be accompliſhed. It is very remarkable, that *Diopithes*, who by his profeſſion was an interpreter of theſe ſort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his ſolution, and that *Lyſander* ſhould have addreſs enough to conquer the prophet in his own profeſſion (53); for, as *Xenophon* juſtly obſerves, the oracle ſpeaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by *Plutarch* (54). By the way, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in all our verſions of *Plutarch* into *Engliſh*, theſe oracles are conſtantly rendered wrong, the word *heir* being ſubſtituted inſtead of *kingdom* (55), which is of mighty conſequence; firſt, becauſe it miſrepreſents the ſenſe of the oracle; and ſecondly, becauſe it leaves no room for *Lyſander*'s interpretation, though *Plutarch* himſelf acknowledges it was well received, and *Xenophon* aſcribes *Ageſilaus*'s carrying his cauſe to the ſeeming rectitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing ſupernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly underſtood, till very lately *M. le Fevre* declared its true meaning to be, that *Sparta* ſhould take care to preſerve both her kings, or, if we may

(53) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand & in vit. Ageſil.* (54) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib* iii. (55) *See the lives of Lyſander and Ageſilaus in Plutarch's lives both of the old and new tranſlation.*

be

even in his own ſcience; *The oracle*, ſaid he, *cannot poſſibly point at a lameneſs in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, becauſe they have cauſed it; the lameneſs muſt be the title; beware therefore, O* Lacedemonians, *of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whoſe birth is ſuſpected, for that is moſt likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle* [d]. *Lyſander*'s explanation, backed by his authority, had the deſired effect; the ſenate and people excluded *Leotychides* alike from the kingdom, and from the private eſtate of his father; half of this eſtate of *Agis Ageſilaus* beſtowed on that prince's relations by the mother's ſide, who, though they were perſons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumſtances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Inſtead of oppoſing either the *ephori* or the ſenate, he treated them with the utmoſt civility, and not only ſo, but with the greateſt confidence and affection; thoſe who were of the oppoſite party at the time of his election he was ever ſtudious to oblige; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reaſonable pretence thereto; he relieved them when under misfortunes; in fine, he acted ſo prudently and ſo benignly, that at laſt the *ephori*, ſeeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage

[d] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. iii. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 4. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand.

be for once allowed to make uſe of technical terms, to guard againſt the changing her *duarchy* into a *monarchy*; and in this ſenſe the oracle was moſt ſignally accompliſhed, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew (56). In the mean time let us obſerve, that *Plutarch* approved *Diopithes*'s interpretation; he conceived, that *Leotychides* was moſt outragiouſly injured, and that the great evils which befel *Sparta* during the reign of *Ageſilaus* were the puniſhments threatened by the oracle, in caſe ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be governed by a lame king. *Xenophon* on the contrary affirms, that *Ageſilaus* deſtroyed *Leotychides*'s claim by three invincible arguments: the firſt was the repeated declarations of his ſuppoſed father *Agis*; ſecondly his mother, who ought to know beſt, averred the ſame thing; laſtly, that *Neptune* having by an earthquake forced *Agis* out of bed from his wife, he thereupon abſtained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term *Leotychides* was born (57). To cloſe this account; let us obſerve, that there is no reaſon in the world to doubt the impartiality of *Plutarch*, and that the hiſtory of *Xenophon* is an open panegyric on *Ageſilaus*, whoſe friend and confident he was.

(56) *Fabr. in Juſtin. lib.* vi. (57) *Ubi ſupra.*

umbage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. *Monopolizing the affections of the people*; which, however, was consonant enough to the constitution of *Sparta* [e]. Before *Agesilaus* was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly distressed; the *Persian* king, to whom in the course of the war they owed such mighty obligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for dispossessing them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business we must ascend a little higher: *Lysander* while he commanded in *Asia* had paid all his court to *Cyrus* the younger brother of *Artaxerxes*, who on the death of his father ascended the *Persian* throne; in consequence of this friendship between *Lysander* and *Cyrus*, *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian* general received orders from the *Ephori* and senate, to assist that prince to the utmost of his power, in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that *Xenophon* had a command, and it was at the head of them, after *Clearchus* and the other captains were taken off, that he made that retreat called *the Retreat of the ten thousand*; this behaviour of the *Lacedemonians* drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after spoke of them in terms of disrespect, and sought as much as in him lay to destroy their power [f]. It is very probable, that some of the wisest of the *Persian* statesmen managed this disposition of the king, for the effecting what they rightly conceived to be the interest of his empire; this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, *viz.* of sending relief to *Athens*, and money into *Bœotia*; at the same time he determined to reduce all the *Greek* cities absolutely to his obedience, which was wounding *Sparta* in the tenderest part, she having over and over declared herself the protectress of the *Grecian* liberties; on this account it was that they sent *Thimbro* with an army consisting of a thousand *Laconian* foot, four thousand *Peloponnesian* infantry, and three hundred horse from *Athens*; this man managed the war but indifferently, suffering his troops, since he could make no impression on the enemy, to plunder the allies of *Lacedemon*. The *Ephori* therefore sent *Dercyllidas* to succeed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewise a great politician; he found his force too small to prevail against *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, the king's lieutenants;

[e] Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. [f] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. i. ii. iii. Diodor. lib. xii. xiii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Artaxerx. Justin. lib. v. c. 11.

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he reſolved to remedy this evil by making them deſtroy one another, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their maſters theſe governors of provinces became friends, the *Spartan* was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loſs, though his army did not exceed ſeven thouſand men, and the *Perſians* had twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe in the field, beſides great gariſons. *Pharnabazus* was indeed for fighting, but *Tiſſaphernes*, who was a better officer and who knew well what theſe *Greek* troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with *Dercyllidas*, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on theſe terms; *That the* Greek *cities ſhould remain free*; *that his army ſhould retire out of his province*; *that the* Lacedemonian *governors ſhould remove out of the cities, and that this treaty ſhould ſubſiſt, till it was either ratified or diſavowed by the king of* Perſia *and the ſtate of* Sparta. The *Perſian* king, however, within a ſhort time after began to fit out three hundred ſail of ſhips of war, which greatly alarmed the *Greek* cities and occaſioned an application to *Sparta*; where, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, *Ageſilaus* offered himſelf by the advice of *Lyſander*, and was declared general of *Greece* [g]. But, before any reſolution was taken, the king ſacrificing for his country according to cuſtom, the augur, from the bowels of three ſeveral victims, declared, there was ſome very great conſpiracy on foot againſt him and all the magiſtrates of *Sparta*; a little of this conſpiracy was diſcovered to the bottom by the information of one of the perſons concerned, whereupon the ſenate took ſuch quick meaſures, though with ſome little injury to the laws, that all the conſpirators were ſuddenly taken out of the way [h] (O). Things were in this ſituation, when *Lyſander*

[g] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib vi. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. vi.

[h] PLUT. in vit. Ageſil.

(O) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as endeavonr to collect the *Greek* hiſtory from the lives of *Plutarch*, that they find it impracticable to diſtinguiſh any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the juſt order of time in which they happened. In the preſent caſe, he relates this ſtory of a conſpiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of

Lysander, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such

his reign (58). Whereas it is certain from *Xenophon*, who could not be mistaken in point of fact, that it fell out in the first year of his reign: the same author has also recorded the several circumstances attending it, and as some of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them here. On the discovery of the plot it appeared, that one *Cinado* was at the head of the conspiracy; this *Cinado* was a young man, very conspicuous for his valour, though not for his family; the informer likewise declared, that this *Cinado* had once reckoned up forty *Spartans*, including the *kings*, the *senate*, and *Ephori*; and that on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, *Cinado* replied, *These are they who are against us, the rest in town and country are of our party.* The *Ephori* then demanded of what number the conspirators consisted; the informer replied, they were not many; but that they reckoned upon the assistance of all the *Helotes*, the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of people, who, as often as they spoke of the *Spartans*, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded if the conspirators had arms; the informer replied they had, and that *Cinado* had told him, that in the first commotion, workmens tools, or those that belonged to husbandry, would serve their associates well enough, since it was not to be supposed, that they should find their enemies very well armed; being questioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly, but that *Cinado* had ordered him to hold himself ready whenever he should be called upon; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the consideration of these things, the *Ephori* were so much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to assist at the sessions of the senate, or to assemble the people; at length they bethought themselves of a method of extricating themselves from the danger: They sent for *Cinado*, and told him, that they discovered at a town a small distance from *Sparta* contrivances carried on against the state, in which a lady of singular beauty and admirable accomplishments was deeply concerned; they therefore directed him to take a small party of youth, such as he could best trust, and to bring the lady and such others as they gave him a list of prisoners to *Sparta*; the better to colour this business, they assigned him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of horse to escort him if he should have occasion. This troop of horse, as soon as they were at a convenient distance from the city, surprised him and his companions, and one of them having discovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was sent back with this information; whereupon the conspirators were all apprehended, and *Cinado* upon examina-

(58) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand.*

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ſuch an army to be decreed *Ageſilaus*, and thereby, as he conceived to himſelf, as would, if no croſs accidents had intervened, have left in all probability no room for *Alexander*'s conqueſts, as *Plutarch* hath very rightly remarked. Beſides the forces already in *Aſia* under the command of *Dercyllidas*, the *Spartans* voted two thouſand manumitted *Helotes*, and ſix thouſand *Peloponneſian* foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty aſſigned him, of whom *Lyſander* was in all reſpects the chief. While the army was drawing together about *Geraſtus*, *Ageſilaus* went with ſome friends to *Aulis*, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability ſuggeſted to his mind a dream, wherein he was admoniſhed to imitate *Agamemnon* in ſacrificing, inaſmuch as he was become his ſucceſſor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the *Greek* forces againſt the *Barbarians*, an office which had never been born but by *Agamemnon* and himſelf; *Ageſilaus*, in compliance with this viſion, reſolved to ſacrifice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which *Agamemnon* had been guilty of, he ſubſtituted a hind inſtead of a virgin, and having cauſed it to be crowned with garlands, he directed his own augur to ſolemnize the ſacrifice. The *Bœotians* hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he ſhould employ one of his attendants inſtead of the ſacrificer appointed by them, ſent deputies to forbid him to ſacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having delivered to him their meſſage in the temple of *Aulis*, and perceiving that he did not give much heed thereto, they went directly to the altar, and threw the ſacrifice off it on the ground. This may ſeem a circumſtance too trivial for a hiſtory of this nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occaſion of a war, which ſubverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and had well nigh deſtroyed her ſtate. At this time *Ageſilaus* was ſo much diſcompoſed, that he immediately hoiſted ſail and bore away for *Aſia*, without ſtaying for any other rites, or offering any other ſacrifice[1]. On his arrival he found things in a ſituation

[1] XENOPHON. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſilai. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſdem. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 2.

tion having confeſſed that he had no other cauſe for being diſcontented, than that he diſdained to ſee in a city where he lived any man greater than himſelf, he and his companions were without farther proceſs put to death (59).

59) *Xenophon, Hellen. lib.* iii. *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* ii. *c.* 14.

he neither expected nor could foresee; at *Sparta* he was a king, but here *Lysander* was treated as if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application was paid to him, and he received it rather with the haughtiness of a deity, than with that complaisance which is natural to man; the rest of the commanders first stomached it, they grew uneasy at finding themselves degraded from being counsellors to *Agesilaus* into officers, or rather ministers, of one of their collegues, they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this; he denied every suit that *Lysander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the design he intended; for as soon as the *Greeks* settled in *Asia* perceived it, they no longer moved their suits by *Lysander*, but continued notwithstanding to pay him as much respect as before; this nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man overseer of his provisions, and to insult the *Ionians*, said openly, *Let them now go and pay court to my butcher*. *Lysander* quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclaircisment; for the first time they were alone he addressed the king thus: *In truth*, Agesilaus, *you know very well how to lessen your friends*. *Yes*, answered the king, *When they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjust that they should have power with me, who most concern themselves in promoting my power*. *Sir*, replied *Lysander* very modestly, *you are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in speaking than I ever did in acting; but I beseech you, Sir, for the sake of those strangers, who have their eyes upon us, to assign me that post, wherein I may be least suspected by you, and have it most in my power to render you service* [k]. The king thereupon appointed him ambassador to the allies of *Sparta* near the *Hellespont*, which office he executed with great diligence and integrity; he persuaded one *Mithridates* a *Persian*, who was at variance with *Pharnabazus*, to revolt with a great body of troops, and to join *Agesilaus*; however, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himself to return to *Greece*, highly dissatisfied with his treatment, and not only so, but with the government of his country, which he resolved to overturn if it was in his power; in order to effect these purposes, he set on foot such schemes as are scarce to

[k] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysand.

bc.

be parallelled in ſtory; but inaſmuch as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his aſſociates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our hiſtory; wherefore we have digeſted what is moſt material in them into a note [1] (P). After his departure,

[1] XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the *Spartan* ſtate, there never aroſe therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortunes, than *Lyſander*; how he came to turn thoſe vaſt abilities from the ſervice to the diſſervice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conſpiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will beſt appear from the following account of *Plutarch*, taken, as he profeſſes, from *Ephorus*, an author in great eſteem with *Strabo* and *Polybius*. "Things had been a great "while ripe for changes, and people were ready to break into re-"bellion; he reſolved therefore not to miſs the opportunity, but "ſet it on foot as ſoon as poſſible. His ſtratagem was this: ſome "of the *Heraclidæ*, who came into *Peloponneſus* and mixed with the "*Dorians*, were now grown very numerous and powerful in *Sparta*. "Of theſe two families only could claim any right to ſucceſſion in "the kingdom, thoſe were the *Eurytiontidæ*, and the *Agidæ*; the "reſt, notwithſtanding their high extraction, had no greater ſhare "in the government than what was common to the meaneſt citi-"zen. For they only who could plead moſt merit had the beſt "titles to the common reward of virtue. *Lyſander* was one of "theſe, and, when he had gained ſo great a reputation by his "actions, had many friends and much power; he was uneaſy to "ſee that city, which owed its increaſe chiefly to him, ruled by "others no better deſcended than himſelf: ſo he contrived to alter "the ſettlement which confined the government to two families "only, and give all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to it; nay, ſome "ſay not to the *Heraclidæ* only, but to all the *Spartans*; and "make it a reward, not ſo much of *Hercules*'s poſterity, as of thoſe "who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among "the gods. He had great hopes, that when the kingdom was "thus to be diſpoſed of, no *Spartan* could appear with thoſe ad-"vantages that he cou'd: Upon which proſpect, firſt he endea-"voured to inſinuate the reaſonableneſs of this change into private "people, and learned by heart a fine oration which *Cleon* of *Ha-*"*licarnaſſus* had made for him upon that ſubject. But when he "came to reflect on the difficulties of this undertaking, which was "not to be effected by ordinary means, he had recourſe to extra-"ordinary. For, as in tragedies, when any thing of great im-"portance is to be effected, the aſſiſtance of ſome god is made uſe "of,

departure, *Agesilaus* carried on the war with great success and reputation; *Tissaphernes*, the implacable enemy of the *Greeks*,

" of, so he, to promote his designs with the colour of authority,
" had recourse to oracles, presuming he should prevail upon more
" citizens by the terror of those, than he could persuade by *Cleon*'s
" eloquence. *Ephorus* says, that after he had in vain endeavoured
" to corrupt the *Pythian* oracle, and as unsuccessfully sent *Pericles*
" to corrupt *Dodona*, he went himself to *Ammon*, and proferred the
" priests prodigious sums of gold, who with great indignation re-
" jected his bribes, and sent people to accuse him at *Sparta*, where
" he met with such favourable judges, that he was easily cleared
" from their impeachments; upon which the *Libyans* took their
" leave of the *Spartans* in this manner; *When you come to live*
" *among us in* Africa, *you'll find us more impartial judges*. Now
" there was an antient prophecy, which foretold, that the *Lacedemo-*
" *nians* should some time or other inhabit *Africa*. *Lysander*'s design
" in this matter was very subtle and intricate, and managed by
" very great politicians; so in order to clear the whole intrigue,
" we must trace it, as we do mathematical demonstrations, up to
" its first principles; I shall therefore at large explain it as it is re-
" lated by *Ephorus*, a great historian as well as philosopher.
" There was a woman in *Pontus*, who being with child pre-
" tended *Apollo* was the father. Many, with a great deal of reason,
" suspected it, others were so credulous as to believe it. Where-
" fore when she came to be delivered of a son, several of the great-
" est quality in the country took peculiar care of its education,
" and for some reason or other gave it the name of *Silenus*. *Ly-*
" *sander* taking hold of this occurrence made it the ground of his
" whole stratagem, and chose such confidents to assist him in it,
" whose character might bring the story into reputation without
" the least suspicion of forgery. To make the best advantage of
" this story, they spread abroad another story. *That there were*
" *very antient oracles closely concealed in the custody of the priests at*
" Delphi; *and it was upon record that they were not to be profaned*
" *by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for any man to read them,*
" *till in some future age one should arise, who could manifestly prove*
" *himself the son of* Apollo, *and challenge to himself the interpretation of*
" *these mysteries*. When the credit of this report was well established
" among the people, *Silenus* was to come and demand the prero-
" gative of his birth. The priests, who were confederates in this
" plot, were strictly to examine into every circumstance and parti-
" cular of his nativity, and afterwards, being fully convinced that
" he was the true son of *Apollo*, were to deliver up their charge to
" him, and then the son of the god was to unfold in public all
" those oracles, especially that, for the sake of which the whole
" plot had been contrived, relating to the government of *Sparta*,
" wherein it was to be declared, *That it would be more for the ho-*

" *nour*

Greeks, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into diſgrace with his maſter, and ſoon after beheaded; *Tithrauſtes* ſucceeded him; he, as ſoon as he entered on his office, ſent deputies to treat with *Ageſilaus*, to whom he propoſed, that the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other reſpects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the ſame time large ſums of money if he would condeſcend to make a peace, which *Ageſilaus* refuſed, alledging, that he had not power ſo to do; however, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of *Pharnabazus*. *Tithrauſtes*, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of *Sparta* could not be corrupted in *Aſia*, diſpatched *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* with fifty talents into *Greece*, to ſee if any of the captains or ſtateſmen there were leſs honeſt than *Ageſilaus*; this agent of his found ſeveral ſuch ſort of people as he looked for in *Thebes*, *Corinth* and *Argos*; to them he imparted ſuch ſums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which no longer left the *Spartans* at liberty to think of extending their empire

" *nour and intereſt of* Sparta *to break the preſent ſucceſſion, and for*
" *the future chooſe their kings out of the moſt deſerving men of the*
" *commonwealth.* But when *Silenus* was grown up, and every
" thing ready for action, the whole buſineſs miſcarried by the
" cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whoſe heart failed
" him juſt at the time of execution (60)". Nothing of theſe intrigues was diſcovered during the life-time of *Lyſander*; but after his demiſe, *Ageſilaus*, being directed to ſearch his papers on account of ſome diſputes with the *Argives*, he found among them the oration made by *Cleon* beforementioned, which at firſt he deſigned to publiſh in order to convince the *Spartans*, who ſtill revered the memory of *Lyſander*, but they had quite miſtaken the temper of the man; but *Lacratidas*, one of the king's friends, gave a noble teſtimony of his wiſdom, by adviſing *Ageſilaus* to let it alone; he ſaid, it would be diſhonourable to diſturb the aſhes of *Lyſander*, and that with reſpect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to truſt it abroad in the world; where, conſidering the force with which it was penned, it might raiſe a ſpirit not eaſy to be laid. *Ageſilaus* on the other hand ſhewed his wiſdom in taking the advice of his friend, and paſſing by in ſilence this buſineſs which muſt have produced great miſchiefs, had it ever become the ſubject of debate (61).

(60) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Vid. etiam Diodor. Sicul. lib xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand.* (61) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. & Ageſil.*

beyond

beyond it [m]. The *Thebans*, who of all others came moſt heartily into this buſineſs, ſaw plainly, that the *Lacedemonians* of their own accord would not break with any of the ſtates of *Greece*; they did not care to act offenſively themſelves, becauſe the chiefs of the *Perſian* faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the ſucceſs of the war; they perſuaded therefore the *Locrians* to make an incurſion into a ſmall diſtrict which lay in diſpute between the *Phocians* and themſelves; upon this, as they rightly judged, the *Phocians* without more ado invaded *Locris*; the *Locrians* applied to their allies the *Thebans* for aſſiſtance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the *Phocians* addreſſed themſelves to *Sparta*, ſetting forth that they had not been the aggreſſors, but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the *Spartans* were on their ſide glad of an opportunity of breaking with the *Thebans*, againſt whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the *Perſian* talents diſturbed the tranquillity of *Greece* and put her in a new ferment. *Lyſander*, though a very old man, grew extremely uneaſy at lying idle, he had beſides a private hatred to the *Thebans* on account of the aſſiſtance they had given to *Athens*, at ſuch time as ſhe ſhook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had eſtabliſhed; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occaſion to perſuade the *ephori* and ſenate once more to intruſt him with an army. As ſoon as he prevailed in his requeſt, he began to diſpoſe all things for the war; an army was quickly raiſed, at the head of which he put himſelf; another was raiſing, which was to be commanded by king *Pauſanias*. *Lyſander* marched with the forces under his command directly into *Phocis*, deſiring *Pauſanias* to lead his army round by *Cithæron*, in order to invade *Bœotia* on that ſide; the eagerneſs of *Lyſander* prompted him to quick marches and vigorous meaſures, wherefore finding *Pauſanias* loiter, he ſent an expreſs to him who was then encamped at *Platæa*, with letters, informing him of the time when himſelf expected to arrive at *Haliartus*, conjuring him to meet him there; theſe letters, *Plutarch* ſays, were intercepted by the enemy and ſent to *Thebes*, where the *Thebans* reſolved to intruſt their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their aſſiſtance, and to march directly to *Haliartus*. *Lyſander* arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night, but when day began to dawn, and he had ſtill no news of *Pauſanias*, he reſolved at

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophtheg Lacon.

all

all events to attempt the surprisal of the place; when he drew near the walls and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a sudden the gates being thrown open, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* issued out in exact order, and charged the *Lacedemonians* so briskly, that *Lysander* was killed on the spot, with a priest who stood by him; before the forces commanded by him could recover themselves, another body of *Thebans* charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with the loss of no less than a thousand men, the *Thebans* on their side lost three hundred [n]. The news of this defeat being brought to *Pausanias*, he immediately marched with all possible diligence to *Haliartus*, where he sought by all means to gain the dead body of *Lysander*; some of the antient *Spartan* commanders were for attacking the enemy and recovering it by force; but he, considering that they were already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that *Thrasybulus* the *Athenian* had now joined them, refused to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of *Lysander* was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of *Bœotia*, which he accordingly performed, and in his retreat buried the corps of the deceased general in the territories of the *Panopæans*. On his return to *Sparta*, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his tryal, for which reason he retired to *Tegæa*, where he led a private life. As for *Lysander*, his memory was greatly revered in *Sparta* on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, and because, after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himself, he died miserably poor, having always preserved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his latter years, he is said to have been extremely melancholy, and even peevish, which some have ascribed to his natural temper; though that seems to be not a little unjust, if we consider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by *Agesilaus*, on whose friendship he had reckoned so much. After his death, some *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to espouse them, finding they had no money, for which the *Ephori* fined them, and that very severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one [o]. *Agesilaus*, having subjected the greatest part of the coast, determined with him-

[n] XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lysand. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusdem.

[o] XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra.

ſelf to march into the heart of *Perſia*, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*. In the midſt of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them into execution, a meſſenger from *Sparta* brought him a ſcytale, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. *Ageſilaus* heſitated not a moment, he relinquiſhed all his victories and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the conſtitution of *Sparta*, to the proſpect of ſubduing the whole *Perſian* empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be ſuppoſed inexhauſtible, ſince the action of *Ageſilaus* has hitherto appeared inimitable [p]. The year before the *Spartans* had declared him admiral as well as generaliſſimo of their forces, which charge he now beſtowed on his wife's brother *Piſander*, leaving four thouſand men to ſecure his conqueſts, and with the reſt of his army taking the ſame rout which *Xerxes* had done when he entered *Greece*. In his paſſage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only ſent to enquire of them whether they would have him paſs as an enemy or as a friend; meeting with ſome oppoſition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march [q].

Ageſipolis *ſucceeds his father* Pauſanias.

After the flight of *Pauſanias*, who left behind him his two ſons, *Ageſipolis* and *Cleombrotus*, the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himſelf, his uncle *Ariſtodemus*, to whom the *Spartans* gave the command of a very great army, which they raiſed as well to revenge the death of *Lyſander*, as to quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed againſt them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men; the confederates immediately oppoſed it with another of twenty thouſand, of which thirteen thouſand were heavy armed troops: Near *Corinth* a battle enſued, wherein the *Spartans* were victorious with the loſs only of eight men, if we may believe *Xenophon*, that is, eight of the *Spartans*; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell [r]. News was immediately diſpatched of this victory to *Ageſilaus*, who, far from being pleaſed there-

[p] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. Justin. lib. vi. c. 2. [q] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ageſil. [r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

with,

with, cried out, *O* Greece, *what a number of brave men are ſlain in thy private quarrels, when with a leſs waſte of blood thou mighteſt have reduced all* Perſia[r]! Though theſe were his private ſentiments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions ſent him by the *ephori*, and immediately invaded *Bœotia*, contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the ſun was eclipſed, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Spartan* fleet, and the death of his wife's brother *Piſander*; being afraid this ill news might diſcourage his ſoldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he ſacrificed to the gods, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head, and uſing other teſtimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that *Piſander* had fallen in the engagement[s]. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of *Chæronæa*, the ſharpeſt which happened in his time, as *Xenophon* relates; and of this he muſt have been a very good judge, becauſe he was preſent. In this *Ageſilaus* was the victor where he fought, and the *Thebans* on the other hand prevailed againſt that wing whereon they charged; *Ageſilaus* was conſtrained to return to try his fortune anew againſt theſe: It is generally agreed, that on this occaſion he was guilty of a great overſight in attacking the *Thebans* in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. *Xenophon* indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him *Ageſilaus* was never wrong, yet it is certain, that the miſtake had like to have been fatal; the *Thebans* having with great reſolution, killing many, and wounding more, among whom was *Ageſilaus* himſelf. At length they marched ſlowly from the field, leaving to the *Lacedemonians* the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits[u]. *Ageſilaus* went to *Delphi*, where he conſecrated the tenth of his ſpoils, and in the mean time *Gylus* his lieutenant led the army into *Locris*, where they were ſo buſy in plundering, that the people ſuddenly roſe upon them, and, making a good uſe of their diſorder, killed *Gylus* and many others. *Corinth* was the head quarters of the confederates, as *Sicyon* was of the *Lacedemonians* and their allies. At *Corinth* there were great ſeditions, many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which

[r] PLUTARCH. in vita Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vita ejuſdem
[s] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. [u] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIOD. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vita Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vita ejuſdem.

tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, resolved, if possible, to free themselves by bringing in a *Lacedemonian* garison, which in some measure they effected. The other part in *Corinth* sent for aid from *Athens*, which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmost danger of being totally ruined [x]. The *Spartans* had possession only of a fort, their enemies had the city: *Agesilaus*, to put an end to the dispute, invaded the territory of *Argos* with a great army, and having passed through it besieged *Corinth* by land, while his brother *Teleutias* blocked it up by sea; yet did not their enterprize succeed, *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* captain preserving *Corinth* and its territories from feeling the effects of his resentment [y]. After his return from this expedition, the *Achæans* demanded aid of *Sparta* against the *Acarnanians*, and, according to their request, *Agesilaus* was sent to help them with a great army; he so effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace [z]. This war over, *Agesipolis* at the head of another army entered the country of the *Argives*, though much against his will; for as this people had desired a truce, he conceived this severity to be a kind of injustice, and therefore would not put himself at the head of the troops, till he had consulted the *Olympian Jupiter*, and the *Delphian Apollo* on this scruple of conscience. Satisfied, with the answers returned by these oracles, he undertook the war, but meeting, or fancying he met, in the course thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time *Conon* the *Athenian* threatened the *Spartans* with the loss of their sovereignty by sea, wherefore to soften the *Persian* king, it was resolved at *Sparta* to send *Antalcidas* into *Persia*, to endeavour the withdrawing the great king from the interest of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in *Asia*, in case the proposals he was enabled to offer were refused; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to *Sparta*, and this ambassador was a person who differed much from his fellow-citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and in short every way well accomplished to execute a commission at the *Persian* court

[x] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vita Iphicrat. Polyæn. lib. iii c. 9. [y] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos, & Polyæn. ubi supra. [z] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vita Agesil.

[a] (Q). The

[a] (Q). The *Athenians*, however, took ſuch meaſures as hindered his ſucceeding immediately. *Thimbro*, who com-

[a] XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

(Q) *Antalcidas* the ſon of *Leon* was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the *Perſians*, he not only fell into their cuſtoms, but derided and deſpiſed thoſe of his own country; nay, he carried this matter ſo far, if we may believe *Plutarch*, that he had the aſſurance in a wanton dance to mimic *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the moſt worthy men in *Sparta*; this behaviour of his won ſo much on *Artaxerxes*, who otherwiſe had a violent antipathy to the *Spartans*, and uſed to call them the moſt impudent men living, that he ſent him from the table where he was ſitting a garland dipped in an ointment, which for the extraordinary richneſs of its compoſition was uſed only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own maxim, *That the ſole means of influencing men is to ſpeak what may delight, and to do what may profit them* (63). But though he diverted himſelf at the expence of his country's cuſtoms, he could anſwer others very tartly who reflected on them; for being aſked in a contemptuous manner about the bigneſs of *Sparta* and the extent of its dominions, he anſwered ſmartly, *The walls of* Sparta *are her youth, and the points of their ſpears the limits of her territories.* An *Athenian* once bragging in his preſence, *That his countrymen have often repulſed the* Spartans *from* Cephiſus; *Very true*, replied Antalcidas; *but we had never any occaſion to drive you from* Eurotas. Being deſirous to gain admiſſion to the *Samothracian* myſteries, the prieſt aſked him, *Whether he had never done any great crime? If I have*, ſaid he, *the gods know that already* (64). This peace of his was very ill received in *Greece* by ſuch as piqued themſelves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at *Sparta* itſelf, who could not forbear expreſſing their reſentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the *Barbarians*, inſomuch that a perſon of condition ſaid in the hearing of king *Ageſilaus*, that *Greece* was now in a lamentable ſtate, ſince *the* Spartans *themſelves began to turn* Medes: *Say rather*, replied the king ſharply, *That the* Medes *begin to turn* Spartans (65). How little ſoever *Ageſilaus* approved this peace, he ſupported it with all his might, and conſtrained both the *Thebans* and *Argives* to accept it much againſt their wills. On the whole it muſt be acknowledged, that *Antalcidas* by his art ſecured the ſovereignty to *Sparta*, and that ſhe loſt it by gratifying her own haughtineſs, and her king *Ageſilaus*'s inveterate hatred againſt the *Thebans* (66). As to the fate of *Antalcidas*, we ſhall have occaſion to mention it in the text, and ſhall therefore put an end to this note here.

(62) *Plutarch. in vita Artaxerx.* (63) *Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.* (64) *Idem, ibid.* (65) *Plut. in vita Ageſil.* (66) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* V. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* XV.

manded

manded the *Lacedemonian* troops in *Aſia*, for a time did good ſervice, but at laſt he was defeated and ſlain; *Teleutias*, however, gained ſome advantages at ſea, and having extremely frighted the city of *Athens* by an attempt on the *Pyræus*, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the *Grecian* ſtates were now averſe. As for *Sparta*, notwithſtanding her late victories, ſhe found the expence of the war ſo heavy, that it forced her both to wiſh and to ſeek for peace; the *Athenians*, terrified with their late loſſes, recollected the fatal iſſue of the *Peloponneſian* war, and deſired to be rid of this, leſt its end ſhould prove no better; the *Argives*, finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would find a place in their country as well as elſewhere, wiſhed a general pacification might take place for their own particular intereſt. The *Perſian* king had alſo his own profit in view, he ſtood in need of *Greek* mercenaries for the carrying on his wars, and theſe were not to be had at a time when *Greece* ſtood in need of all her ſubjects: He therefore ſignified to *Tiribazus*, who immediately communicated the diſpatches to the *Greeks*, the terms whereon the king deſired the peace ſhould be made; they were theſe: *That the cities in* Aſia, *with the iſlands of* Clazomenæ *and* Cyprus, *ſhould remain to him; that all the other ſtates, ſmall and great, ſhould be left free, excepting only* Lemnos, Imbros, *and* Scyros, *which, having been time immemorial ſubject to the* Athenians, *ſhould remain ſo; that ſuch as refuſed to embrace this peace, ſhould be compelled to accept it by force of arms.* At firſt the *Thebans* abſolutely refuſed to comply, becauſe the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but, *Ageſilaus* making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede; the *Argives* too quitted *Corinth*, to which the exiles returned, and every thing elſe was done which the *Spartans* deſired. Such was the peace which from its author was ſtiled *the peace of Antalcidas*, whereby the ſovereignty of *Greece* indeed was in a manner guarantied to *Sparta*, but upon very diſhonourable terms; the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* being intirely abandoned to the *Perſian*, notwithſtanding all the promiſes that had been made them, and that *Ageſilaus* himſelf had fought in their quarrel [b]. This flow of ſucceſs made the *Lacedemonians* loſe all temper, inſomuch, that, on the concluſion of the peace, they began to think of puniſhing with ſeverity ſuch as had injured them, or ſuch as they had ſuſpected during the war, as if the domi-

[b] Xenohon lib. v. Diodor lib. xiv. Plutarch. in vita Ageſil. & Artaxerx. Corn. Nepos, in vita Ageſil.

nion

nion of *Greece* had been a ſmall thing, if their new ſubjects did not feel the preſſure of their government [c]. The firſt who experienced the weight of their reſentment were the *Mantineans*, though they had been their confederates and had done them great ſervices. The *Spartans* to have a pretence for making war, very modeſtly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had ſerved their forefathers, where they might be ſure to enjoy peace themſelves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refuſed, *Ageſipolis* was ſent with an army againſt them, for *Ageſilaus* did not care to command againſt his old friends and acquaintance; *Ageſipolis* beſieged the city all the ſummer, but when winter drew on the *Lacedemonians* dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon roſe to ſuch a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houſes, and this compelled the *Mantineans* to ſubmit to the conditions preſcribed to them by *Sparta*, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city which they had ſo long enjoyed. The *Phliaſians* were the next; it was objected to them, that they had exiled ſome of their own citizens who were in the intereſt of *Sparta*, theſe therefore they were conſtrained to receive again, and to do whatever elſe the *Spartans* required of them [d]. The *Olynthians* were in the third place to be chaſtiſed, becauſe they were become powerful; to ſay the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated *Sparta* ſo nearly as did this of *Olynthus*; for under pretence of freeing the *Macedonian* cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, they conquered moſt of them and kept them to themſelves; the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians* ſignified to the government of *Sparta*, that in a very ſhort ſpace they muſt be conſtrained either to take arms againſt *Olynthus*, or ſubmit to her and fight under her banners; *Eudamidas* was ſent to aſſiſt them with two thouſand men, he marched into *Thrace*, where he did great ſervice, expecting his brother *Phœbidas*, who was raiſing a great army and had orders to follow him; but he, paſſing through *Thebes*, in his march had it betrayed to him by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, whereupon he ſeized the citadel called *Cadmæa* and put a ſtrong gariſon into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature moſt flagrantly unjuſt; yet *Ageſilaus* protected its author, either from an overweening

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. XV. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. V. PLUTARCH. in vita AGESIL. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 6. [d] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vita Ageſil. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

verweening paſſion for his own country, or out of an implacable averſion to the *Thebans*. On his motion therefore *Sparta* abetted *Phœbidas*, and transferred the government of *Thebes* to *Archias* and *Leontidas* who had put it into his hands, an act highly diſpleaſing to the *Greeks*, and which made them very apprehenſive of the power of *Sparta* [e]. *Teleutias* was ſent to command in *Thrace*, with ſtrict orders to reduce the *Olynthians* at all events, which he ſet about ſo eagerly, that going in perſon to the aſſiſtance of ſome of his troops, who were repulſed by the *Olynthians*, he expoſed his whole army to a great loſs, and was himſelf ſlain upon the ſpot. *Ageſipolis*, as ſoon as the news reached *Lacedæmon*, was diſpatched to ſupply his place; he fought with great ſucceſs, reduced *Torone*, a ſtrong city in thoſe parts, and brought the *Olynthians* into great ſtreights; but in the midſt of his conqueſts a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave *Ageſilaus* room to grow upon him, and to make him ſubſervient to his purpoſes, ſo that he made no great figure in the ſtate; yet he died not unregretted, the people ſorrowing for the loſs of one who always treated them with kindneſs, and *Ageſilaus* expreſſing great concern for a collegue, with whom he had lived long, and without any difference [f].

Cleombrotus *ſucceeds* Ageſipolis.

Ageſipolis having no children was ſucceeded by his brother *Cleombrotus*, but he did not ſucceed him in the command of the army, which was intruſted with one *Polybiades*, who in a ſhort ſpace reduced the *Olynthians* to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were compelled to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, whereby they undertook to have the ſame friends and enemies with them and to follow them as aſſociates whitherſoever they ſhould lead them in their wars [g]. The *Phliaſians* having given ſome new offence, by not treating the exiles whom the *Spartans* had reſtored with the reſpect which it was thought they deſerved, *Ageſilaus* marched againſt them with a great army, at which, however, they were not ſo much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous reſiſtance, and defended their city for a very long time; at laſt war and famine brought them ſo low, that they were conſtrained to yield at diſcretion, whereupon commiſſioners were named, part *Spartans*, part of their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens ſhould have mercy, and which ſhould be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with

[e] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vita Ageſil. & in vita Pelop. Corn. Nepos, in vita Pelop. [f] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Agid. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Lacon. [g] Diodor. & Xenophon. ubi ſupra.

pride

pride and cruelty thoſe whom ſhe had moſt unjuſtly brought under her dominion; for by the peace of *Antalcidas* ſhe had engaged, that all the cities ſhould be left to their freedom. Such *Thebans* as could not endure to ſee their country in ſlavery had privately fled to *Athens*; but, entertaining a correſpondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted ſecretly, and, having ſtabbed the chief men of the oppoſite party, aſſumed the adminiſtration to themſelves. The *Spartans* upon this ſent *Cleombrotus* their new king at the head of a great army to reſtore things to their former condition, in which, however, he had no great ſucceſs [h]. At his return he left a gariſon under the command of *Sphodrias* at *Theſpe*, as well to encourage the *Thebans* in the *Spartan* intereſt, as to awe the adjacent country and lay it under contribution; this *Sphodrias*, either of his own accord, or, as ſome ſay, prompted thereto by the artifice of the *Thebans*, attempted to ſeize the *Pyræum*, which drew the *Athenians* into the quarrel. *Sparta* might eaſily have ridded herſelf of this new enemy, if ſhe had acted juſtly, and puniſhed *Sphodrias* as he deſerved. But here again, king *Ageſilaus*, being prevailed on by his ſon, interpoſed and protected the criminal; this effectually induced the *Athenians* to engage in the league formed againſt *Sparta*: upon which *Ageſilaus* was forced to undertake the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excuſed him; he invaded *Bœotia*, but with little ſucceſs, *Chabrias* the *Athenian* having taught the *Thebans* to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phœbidas*, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horſe; the next year *Cleombrotus* marched againſt the *Bœotians*, but the *Athenians* and *Thebans* diſputing his paſſage, he was conſtrained to return. At ſea the *Spartans* were beaten by *Timotheus* the ſon of *Conon*, and in ſhort all things began to decline, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care of *Ageſilaus*, on, whom *Antalcidas* revenged himſelf, for ſome ſmart things he had ſaid of him, when he negotiated the peace in *Perſia*; for the king returning home, wounded by the *Thebans*, the ſtateſman cried out, *You are properly rewarded*, Ageſilaus, *for teaching theſe* Thebans *to fight whether they would or no* [i]. In the beginning of the hundred and firſt olympiad, *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* laboured exceedingly in making peace among the *Greeks*, be-

[h] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſd. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. CORN NEPOS, in vit. Ageſil.

cauſe having the reduction of *Egypt* in his eye, he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance; in little more than a year he accompliſhed it, if that can be ſaid to be accompliſhed which was of ſo ſhort continuance. The *Thebans* would never accept the peace, and the reſt of the cities had very little regard to it, ſuch ſeeds of diſcord being now ſown as could not be rooted out. The *Lacedemonians* had every-where eſtabliſhed while they were in power an oligarchical government, which in conſequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late maſters, and to treat them with as little juſtice now they were degraded, as they had uſed towards them when in power. The *Perſian* king ſtill wrought for the bringing about a ſettled tranquility, which in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond olympiad, ſeemed to be nearly effected; the *Athenians* concurring heartily with the *Lacedemonians*, and ſhewing no ſort of countenance towards the *Thebans*, who ſtill refuſed to hear of peace, becauſe the *Spartans* inſiſted they ſhould ſet the cities of *Bœotia* at liberty. In this oppoſition they were chiefly encouraged by *Epaminondas*, who demanded, that before the *Lacedemonians* gave laws to others, they ſhould ſhew a proper regard to theſe maxims of equity themſelves, by giving up *Meſſenia* to its ancient proprietors and ſetting *Laconia* free [k]. This violently incenſed *Sparta*, and at the ſame time did not a little offend *Athens*, who could not bear to ſee the *Thebans* act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or thoſe of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus* with an army of twelve thouſand men was ſent into *Bœotia*; *Epaminondas* ſeized the paſſages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into *Bœotia* from the ſide next *Phocis*, and advancing towards *Leuctra*, encamped his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The *Thebans* were greatly diſpirited at the ſight of his numerous army, and the rather, becauſe many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet *Epaminondas* prevailed in a council of war, and carried the queſtion to fight the enemy; in the interim, *Jaſon*, a powerful prince of *Theſſaly*, arrived with a thouſand horſe and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to aſſiſt the *Thebans*, though on his arrival he ſtrove to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As *Cleombrotus* was about to retire out of *Bœotia*, he met *Archidamus* ſon of *Ageſilaus*, coming with a great rein-

[k] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

forcement

forcement from *Sparta*; theſe princes, without any regard to the truce, reſolved to march back to *Leuctra* in order to fall on the *Bœotians*, where they found *Epaminondas* and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himſelf to be inferior to the enemy, reſolved to have none ſerve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclamation, that all who deſired to depart might do ſo, which permiſſion the *Theſpians* and ſome others embraced; this done, he diſpoſed his army in battalia, placing all his choſen troops in one wing, and thoſe he leaſt depended on in the other; the former he commanded in perſon, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they ſhould retire leiſurely, ſo as to expoſe to them a ſloping front. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they preſſed on the *Theban* wing which retired, they gave *Epaminondas* an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with ſuch vigour, that the *Spartans* began to give way, eſpecially after *Cleombrotus* was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the *Theban* general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thouſand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the *Thebans* did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of *Leuctra*, wherein the *Spartans* loſt the empire of *Greece*, which they had held now near five hundred years [1].

WHEN the ephori heard the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were ſuperintending the *Gymnic* ſolemnities, and though they evidently ſaw what the conſequences would be of this mighty loſs, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the feſtival, contenting themſelves with ſending advice to their relations of the names of thoſe who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the *Spartan* virtue ſhone with greateſt luſtre; the fathers, mothers, and thoſe who were neareſt of kin to ſuch as were killed, aſſembled the next morning, ſhook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle hid themſelves among the women; or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was accom-

Ageſipolis ſucceeds Cleombrotus. Year of the Flood 2628. Before Chriſt 371.

[1] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra PLUT. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epaminond. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 6. PAUSAN. Lacon.

pliſhed, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, ſince under the ſovereignty of *Ageſilaus* this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities, and the little hopes they had of *Ageſipolis* the ſon of *Cleombrotus*, who was a perſon but of very mean parts, they appointed *Ageſilaus* dictator, or rather legiſlator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reaſon; ſuch as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, conſtrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half ſhaved, half unſhaved, and to ſuffer any to beat them who pleaſed without reſiſtance; to execute this at preſent was abſolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to *Ageſilaus* to new-mold the conſtitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occaſion ſuch a proof of his wiſdom, as ſhewed he was worthy of the truſt repoſed in him, ſuch a proof as *Plutarch* confeſſes hath ſet him above compariſon, and which indeed can never be ſufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public aſſembly, and by one ſhort ſentence reſtored the public peace, preſerved ſuch as were under apprehenſions, and at the ſame time ſaved the *Lycurgic* inſtitutes; this ſentence run thus; *Let the laws ſleep this day, but to-morrow let them reſume their full vigour* [m]. Then, old and lame as he was, he aſſembled an army which he led out into the territories of the *Arcadians*, and purpoſely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to ſhew his countrymen that the fortune of *Sparta* was not entirely loſt. Some time after this a peace was concluded; the *Mantinæans* took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the *Lacedemonians*, who at length, not able to contain themſelves, invaded them; but the *Mantinæans*, ſhutting themſelves up in their new city, refuſed to hazard their ſafety by a pitched battle. The *Arcadians* about the ſame time built the great city of *Megalopolis*, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the *Lacedemonians*, who thereupon invaded *Arcadia*, and ſlew *Lycomedes* the *Mantinæan*, general of *Arcadia*, with two hundred men; this broke the ſpirits of the *Arcadians*, who thereupon ſent to *Athens* for relief, but being denied there, they made their application to *Thebes*, from whence *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* were ſent with a great army to their aſſiſtance; when they were come into *Arcadia*, and found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at laſt it

[m] Xenophon ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſup. Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit ejuſd.

Was

was reſolved to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted, which accordingly they did, and, under the auſpice of *Epaminondas*, appeared before *Sparta* itſelf, which till then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood; in this deſperate ſituation of things, *Ageſilaus* took the command upon himſelf, diſpoſing the citizens with ſuch ſkill, and oppoſing the enemy, where-ever they attempted to enter, with ſuch numbers, that *Epaminondas*, notwithſtanding he greatly deſired it, found it impoſſible to attack the place, but was conſtrained to retire, waſting the country as he marched off [n]. In the midſt of theſe misfortunes a very dangerous conſpiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels ſeizing the temple of *Diana* at *Iſſorion*. The *Spartans* would have immediately attacked them and put them to the ſword, but *Ageſilaus*, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and, having only one ſervant near him, went in perſon to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, *Sirs, you miſtook my orders, I did not direct you to go all to one place, but that ſome of you ſhould go there, and ſome there.* The conſpirators hearing this believed they were not diſcovered, and therefore ſeparating immediately went to the poſts which he aſſigned them; thus ſeparated they were eaſily ſeized, and being conducted to examination were afterwards put to death the ſame night, without any reſpect had to the ordinary forms of law. *Epaminondas*, when he quitted the territories of *Sparta*, left behind him ſuch a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory; he rebuilt the city of *Meſſene*, and recalling the antient inhabitants of *Meſſenia* from the ſeveral countries where they had taken refuge, he reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their antient patrimony, after they had loſt it three hundred years. It is remarkable that theſe *Meſſenians*, notwithſtanding their diſperſion, preſerved the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be ſpoke amongſt them to the times of *Pauſanias*, the geographer and hiſtorian; when *Epaminondas* had accompliſhed this, he offered the *Lacedemonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all pretenſions to *Meſſenia*, and left *Laconia* free, which terms were rejected with ſcorn [o]. The preſent diſtreſs of *Sparta* obliged her to ſue for aſſiſtance to her rival *Athens*, which, whether from a principle of gene-

[n] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra, & in orat de laud. Ageſil. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſup. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Ageſil. & Epaminond PAUSAN in Lacon. POLYÆN. Stratagem. lib. ii. c. 3. [o] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. PLUT in vit. Ageſil. & in vit. Pelop. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epamin PAUSAN. in Meſſen. & Lacon.

rosity

rosity or vain glory is uncertain, was readily sent them under the command of *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition was so unlucky as to lose a great part of his reputation; the military prudence of *Epaminondas* putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being sent with as great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who were in arms in *Peloponnesus*; the *Lacedemonians* in the mean time applied themselves assiduously to all the methods that could be devised for restoring their affairs. They sollicited their allies, they manumitted such of the *Helotes* as were willing to take arms, they sought the assistance of the *Athenians*, and even of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, who ordered two thousand *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into *Greece* as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the *Lacedemonian* army, consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus, and, having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder *Epaminondas* and his *Thebans* from entering *Peloponnesus*. But this hope was vain; for though the *Theban* army was far inferior in number, yet *Epaminondas*, having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakest where the *Spartans* were posted, determined at all events to attack them there, which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into *Peloponnesus*, where he wasted the country, reduced *Sicyon* and some other cities, and afterwards marched to *Corinth*, which he had also taken if it had not been for *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who, being cordially in the interest of *Sparta*, defended the place so well, that *Epaminondas* was forced to retire. Here the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who were by this time come from *Sicily*, did great service, and in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home [r].

The Arcadians *routed by* Archidamus. Year of the Flood 2631. Before Christ 368.

The *Lacedemonians*, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. *Agesilaus* assisted them with his counsels; *Cleomenes*, who succeeded his brother *Agesipolis* after a year's reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate, *Archidamus* the son of *Agesilaus* having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundred and third olympiad, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of *Spartans*, and their allies, and being assisted by *Cissidas* general in chief of *Dionysius*'s forces, marched into *Arcadia* in order to revenge

[r] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vii. Diodor. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

his

his country for the many inroads, which within a few years before they had ſuffered from the *Arcadians*. Having taken *Caryæ* and put thoſe he took therein to the ſword, he projected ſtill greater conqueſts, till on a ſudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of *Ciſſidas*, that, his commiſſion being expired, he could act offenſively no longer; in conſequence of which declaration he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by the *Meſſenians*, he ſent to *Archidamus* to beſeech his aſſiſtance; the *Spartan* immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with ſuch vigour on the *Arcadians* and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the ſlaughter of no leſs than ten thouſand men, without ſo much as one *Spartan* being ſlain, whereby the prediction of the prieſts at *Dodona* is ſaid to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when *Archidamus* marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the *Lacedemonians* [q]. Some time after this *Epaminondas* broke in again, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken, into *Peloponneſus*, yet without doing any great miſchief; the endeavours of the *Perſian* king having diſpoſed almoſt all *Greece* to think of peace, which with much ado was effected, after the *Laconian* or *Bœotic* war had laſted about five years, in which if *Ageſilaus* was to blame, for having through his hatred of the *Thebans* been a principal author thereof; yet the great ſervices he did his country therein, and his preſerving the city of *Sparta* from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were ſuch reparations, that we may juſtly commend the *Spartans* for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making uſe of thoſe high qualities which were alone capable of preſerving them. We have been led to this obſervation from the nature of this hiſtory, which ſhews how ſoon the haughtineſs of any ſtate can raiſe up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wiſdom of a ſingle perſon may be capable of conſerving and reſtoring a dejected and defeated nation both to ſpirits and power [r]. In the ſecond year of the hundred and fourth olympiad, there broke out new commotions in *Peloponneſus*, the *Tegeæans* and *Mantineans* making war on each other; the former requeſting the aid of the *Thebans*, the latter of the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, gave occaſion thereby to a new and fatal controverſy; for *Epaminondas*, at the head of a great

[q] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. in Lacon. ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. [r] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra, & in orat. de laud. Ageſil. POLYÆN. Stratagem. lib. [illegible] vit. Ageſil.

army

army marching to the assistance of his allies, had notice, that *Agesilaus*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himself that *Sparta* must be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmost diligence. *Xenophon* himself acknowledges, that this measure was so well taken, and so briskly pursued, that nothing could have prevented his surprizing the place; but by accident a person gave notice of his march to *Agesilaus*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to *Sparta* to desire the citizens to be on their guard; *Archidamus* no sooner received his father's dispatch, than he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houses, that they might incommode the *Thebans* by throwing tiles and stones; such as were capable of bearing arms he posted in all the avenues of the city, so that when *Epaminondas* came, he had the mortification to see that his design was discovered, and that it was impossible for him to think of entering without great effusion of blood; notwithstanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received so warmly that he was obliged to retire; yet *Archidamus* following him gave an opportunity to the *Thebans* to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of *Spartans*, who had thus needlessly exposed themselves by an unwary pursuit. *Epaminondas*, to make himself amends for this successless attempt, marched directly to surprize *Mantinæa*, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by *Agesilaus*'s march to the relief of *Sparta*. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wisdom; six thousand *Athenian* succours were just landed in *Peloponnesus*, and entered *Mantinea* the very day that he attacked it. These being fresh and full of spirits, had the better of his horse, and forced him to abandon his design [f]. These miscarriages sunk deep into the bosom of this great general, who reflecting that his commission was about to expire, and that, if he retired out of *Peloponnesus* without effecting any thing, he should not only lose his own glory, but that authority also to which he had raised his country; he determined, for the preservation of both these, to risque a battle at all events. When therefore he understood that *Agesilaus* at the head of the *Lacedemonians* and *Arcadians* with the rest of the allies, being no less than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantinæa*, he led forth his army, and

[f] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Paus. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

having

having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of *Tegæa*, as if he intended to incamp there; but on a ſudden altering the diſpoſition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched ſuddenly back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no ſuch matter; the confuſion was ſo great, that the *Thebans* would have acquired a very eaſy victory, if *Epaminondas*, charging the *Lacedemonians*, had not expoſed his perſon too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of *Thebes* was centered in this ſingle man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleſh, and returned upon thoſe who diſcharged them; at laſt one *Anticiates* a *Spartan* ſtruck him into the breaſt with a javelin with ſuch force, that it broke and left the iron ſticking therein, whereupon he fell down, which occaſioned a new conteſt for his body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loſs of their beſt officers. All *Greece* looked with concern on the iſſue of this buſineſs, which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of ſo bloody a war, unanimouſly ſtruck up a general peace, excepting only the *Lacedemonians*, who at the inſtance of *Ageſilaus* refuſed to become parties thereto, becauſe the *Meſſenians* were comprehended therein [t]; for which he is juſtly cenſured by *Plutarch*, who was likewiſe no leſs diſpleaſed at the laſt actions of his life, which were theſe. Finding that the *Perſian* was no longer inclined to *Sparta*, he conſented, for the ſake of a large ſubſidy given to his country by *Tachos* king of *Egypt*, to go in perſon to command the *Greek* mercenaries he had in his ſervice; there for a time he was of great uſe to the prince, at whoſe requeſt he went into *Egypt*; but at length, either to gratify his own reſentment, or becauſe he thought it more advantagious to his country, he deſerted him, and ſided with his competitor; from whom having received a large ſum of money for his good ſervices, he imbarked in order to return into *Peloponneſus*; but being by contrary winds forced on the *African* ſhore, he died after a ſhort illneſs, rather of age and fatigue than of any other diſtempers, when he had attained the eighty fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty one years, leaving behind him the character of a wiſe prince, a great captain, and a paſſionate lover of his country [u]. (R).

Archidamus

[t] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. viii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin. [u] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. & in Orat. de laud. Ageſil. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil.

(R) If it may be juſtly eſteemed a happineſs to a great king to

Archidamus *succeeds* Agesilaus.

Archidamus succeeded to his father *Agesilaus*, he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained

Year of the Flood, 2637. Before Christ, 362.

have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince of *Greece* ever was happier in this respect than *Agesilaus*: *Xenophon*, the best historian of his age and the companion of *Agesilaus*'s labours, was likewise the compiler of them. His *Grecian* history contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits, and his oration in praise of *Agesilaus* is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince and of its writer. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* hath also a very copious account of the transactions of this king of *Sparta*; besides which, and the transcripts that have been made from antient *Greek* writers by translators and epitomizers, we have his life written by *Plutarch*, and again by *Cornelius Nepos*. His expedition into *Egypt*, when he was eighty years old and upwards, is to be the subject of this note; this let us take from *Plutarch*, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactness. "As soon "as he arrived in *Egypt*, all the great officers of the kingdom came "to pay their compliments to him at his landing; his reputation "being so great had raised the expectation of the whole country "which did flock in to see him; but when they found, instead of "the great prince whom they looked for, a little old man of con-"temptible presence, without all ceremony lying down upon the "grass, his hair uncombed, and his cloaths thread-bare, they fell "into a laughter and scorn of him, crying out, that the old pro-"verb was now made good, *The mountain had brought forth a mouse.* "They were much scandalized at his insensibility and rudeness (as "they thought it), who when the presents, usually offer'd to "strangers of distinction, were made him of all manner of provi-"sions, took only the meal, the calves, and the geese, but re-"jected the sweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes; and "when they did urge him to the acceptance of them, he said, "*They might carry them to his slaves the* Helotes. *Theophrastus* saith, "that he was taken with nothing he saw in *Egypt* so much as with "the *Papyrus*, so proper for garlands by reason of the smoothness "and pliantness of its rind; and when he left *Egypt*, he desired "the king to let him carry some of it home with him. When he "joined with *Tachos*, he found his expectation of being generalissimo frustrated: *Tachos* reserved that place for himself, making "*Agesilaus* only captain of the band of mercenaries, and *Chabrias*, "the *Athenian*, admiral. This was the first occasion of his discon-"tent; but there followed others: He, being daily tired with "the insolency and vanity of this *Egyptian*, was at length forced "to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a condition much below his "spirit and dignity, which, notwithstanding, he was obliged to di-"gest for a while, till he had an opportunity of shewing his re-"sentment. It was soon afforded him by *Nectanabis*, *Tachos*'s

"own

obtained over the *Arcadians*, and which, because no *Spartan* fell therein, they transmitted to posterity by the name of the *tearless*

" own nephew, and a great captain under him, who took an occa-
" sion to fall off from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the
" *Egyptians*. This man invited *Agesilaus* to his party, and the
" like he did to *Chabrias*, offering great rewards to both. *Tachos*
" had quickly intelligence of this, and had then recourse to all the
" submissive methods he could think of, in order to engage both
" *Agesilaus* and *Chabrias* to his interest; the latter readily yielded
" to his intreaties, and endeavoured all he could to persuade *Ages-*
" *laus*, but he pretended to depend wholly on the orders which
" should be sent him from *Sparta*, whither both the *Egyptian*
" princes had dispatched ambassadors. The *Lacedemonians* left the
" whole matter to *Agesilaus*, directing him to do what was most for
" the profit of the commonwealth; whereupon he immediately
" changed sides and carried off all the mercenaries with him. He
" had not been long in the service of *Nectanabis* before a certain
" *Mendesian* set up his claim to the *Egyptian* kingdom, and brought
" a hundred thousand men at his heels to support it. He attempt-
" ed to tamper with *Agesilaus*, of which *Nectanabis* having notice
" began to suspect him, and his suspicion increased when *Agesilaus*
" advised him to fight this multitude immediately; he took quite
" a different method, retiring into a strong city, and shutting up
" himself and his troops therein; the *Mendesian* advancing invested
" the place immediately, and began to sink a ditch, and throw up
" intrenchments all round the place. *Nectanabis* all on a sudden
" talked of fighting, being afraid of being cooped up, and starved
" out; but *Agesilaus* opposed it, for which the *Greeks* blamed him,
" and the *Egyptians* called him traitor; but he bore all with pa-
" tience, being ashamed of changing sides a second time. At last,
" when the enemy had almost perfected their works, and only a
" narrow aperture was left, *Agesilaus* went to *Nectanabis* and ad-
" dressed him thus: Now, young man, you have an opportunity
" of saving yourself; your enemies have been all this time work-
" ing for you; if you issue out with your forces, you will easily
" beat those who guard the gap which is yet open; and as for the
" rest, their own works will hinder them from surrounding us.
" *Nectanabis*, admiring his wisdom, exactly followed his advice,
" by which means he routed his competitor, and leaving the con-
" duct of the war for the future to *Agesilaus*, he quickly subdued
" all his enemies, and settled him firmly on the throne. After
" this being eagerly desirous of doing still something more for the
" service of his country, the king of *Sparta* imbarked in order to
" return to *Greece*, carrying with him among other rich presents
" a gratuity of two hundred and thirty talents, as a free gift from
" *Nectanabis* to the state of *Sparta*. In this voyage he died, and

tearleſs battle. In his reign broke out the *Phocian*, or *ſacred war*, wherein he ſided with the *Phocians* at the perſuaſion, as ſome writers ſay, of his wife *Dinicha*. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himſelf were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the *Ephori*, the ſenate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*; but tho' he eſpouſed their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which on the contrary he openly condemned and oppoſed. When *Philip* king of *Macedon* began to intereſt himſelf much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take highly upon him for the many victories he had gained, *Archidamus* is ſaid to have ſent him this meſſage; *Sir, If you will be pleaſed to meaſure your ſhadow, you won't find it a whit longer than it was before.* He was by no means pleaſed with the cuſtoms of his country, but on the contrary thought them burdenſome and rigorous, affecting to live freely and without reſtraint, ſuppoſing, that it did not at all affect a man's honeſty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reaſon he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and of reſiding in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws or giving ſcandal to his ſubjects; the *Tarentines* therefore requeſting aid of the *Lacedemonians* for their ſupport againſt their neighbours, *Archidamus* very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them, and paſſing on this occaſion over into *Italy*, he was there ſlain near the city of *Mandonium* after having reigned fifteen years; his ſtatue was erected at the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, an honour which none of the *Spartan* kings had done them except himſelf, which *Pauſanias* ſuppoſes was conceded to him, becauſe he died fighting againſt the *Barbarians*, and did not receive thoſe ſepulchral honours which had been given to all his predeceſſors [x].

[x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon. & Meſſen. Julian. Orat. ii.

" for want of honey, which the *Spartans* were wont to uſe in " embalming, his ſervants wrapped his body in wax, and brought it " ſafe to *Sparta* ". *Xenophon* has taken much pains to vindicate even his deſerting *Tachos*, which *Plutarch* juſtly treats as an act of treachery, proceeding, as he tells us plainly, from the *Spartan* maxim, that all things are juſt that are profitable to one's country (67).

(67) *Plutarch, in vit. Ageſil.*

Agis

Agis the son of *Archidamus* succeeded his father; he was a Prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been sent ambassador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who seeing him alone, whereas all other cities sent many deputies, said with an air of contempt, *What! from* Sparta *but one? Why, Sir*, said Agis, *I was sent but to one*[y]. When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, *Philip will not suffer you to set your foot in any other part of* Greece. *It is a mercy*, said he, *that we have a good deal of room at home*[z]. During the reign of *Alexander*, though he hated the *Macedonians*, yet he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin by opposing them: but when after the battle of *Issus* abundance of mercenaries fled out of *Persia*, he listed them to the number of eight thousand, and openly declared for *Darius*; from whom receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he sailed over into *Crete*, part of which he subdued. After the battle of *Arbela* he stirred up all *Greece* to revolt, by shewing them, that, when *Alexander* had subdued *Persia*, they must become a province of his empire, which would be no less grievous to them, than if they had been subdued by any of the former kings of *Persia*; for, as he rightly observed, a *Grecian* king reigning in *Persia* would be a *Persian* to them; besides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be constrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The *Greeks*, roused by these remonstrances, raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, of which when *Antipater* had notice, he composed on any terms the disturbances in *Thrace*, and marched strait into *Greece* with forty thousand men. *Agis*, however, did not retire or shun an engagement, so that a decisive battle was quickly fought, wherein, after a glorious resistance, the *Spartans* and their confederates were routed with the loss of five thousand three hundred men, *Antipater* losing three thousand five hundred also. *Agis* himself fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for being covered with wounds he was borne by his soldiers out of the battle, till seeing them on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country; remaining then alone with his sword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the *Macedonians*, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart[a]. Such was the glorious

Agis *succeeds* Archidamus. Year of the flood, 2653. Before Christ, 346.

[y] PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. [z] Idem, ibid. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. CURT. lib. vi JUSTIN. lib. xii. STRAB. lib. viii. PAUSAN. Attic.

rious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, *While we are fighting* Darius *in* Asia, *there has been it seems a battle of mice in* Arcadia [b].

Eudamidas *succeeds* Agis. Year of the flood 2669. Before Christ 330.

Agis was succeeded by his son *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of consequence nothing of him on record, except certain instances of his good sense and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of *Agis* had so much provoked the *Lacedemonians*, that they were for carrying on a war against *Macedon* at all events, which *Eudamidas* opposed; and when a certain *Spartan* addressed him thus, *Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because*, answered the king, *I would convince them of their mistake.* Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the *Persians*, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against *Macedon*, *You think, Sir*, said Eudamidas, *that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep and against fifty wolves.* Coming into the school of *Xenocrates* the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession, and some body answering that he was a wise man who sought after virtue, *Alas!* said he, *Is he seeking it at these years? When then will he make use of it?* When *Alexander* caused it to be proclaimed throughout *Greece*, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of *Thebes*; *This is a hard case, O ye* Thebans, said Eudamidas, *but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident, that* Alexander *fears you only of all the* Greeks [c]. All these kings had for their collegue *Cleomenes* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus *and* Areus *kings of* Sparta.

Archidamus succeeded his father *Eudamidas*, as *Areus* the son of *Acrotatus* did his grandfather *Cleomenes*, but not without some dispute; his uncle *Cleonymus* setting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the son of the elder brother to the younger. *Cleonymus*, however, retired to *Pyrrhus*, whom he brought with an army into his country to abet his cause, notwithstanding that the *Ephori* and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he could have asked. The *Spartans* sent *Dercyllidas* to meet him on the frontiers, and to expostulate with him on the injustice of his invasion;

[b] Diodor. lib. xviii. [c] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon.

but

but *Pyrrhus* by one of his courtiers bid him carry this meſſage to *Sparta*, that they ſhould receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. *Sir*, anſwered Dercyllidas, *If your maſter is a god we do not fear him, becauſe we have done no wrong; and if he is a man we do not fear him, becauſe we are as good as he* [d]. This expedition had well nigh accompliſhed the ruin of *Sparta*, occaſioning much more loſs thereto than either of the atttempts of *Epaminondas*. It is our duty therefore to enter into a diſtinct detail thereof. *Pyrrhus* had with him twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants. *Areus* was at this time in *Crete*, and the city was chiefly intruſted to the care of his ſon *Acrotatus*, whoſe amours had in a great meaſure occaſioned this war; for he had debauched *Chelidonis* the wife of *Cleonymus* his uncle, which was one great reaſon of his flying to *Pyrrhus*, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themſelves that their ambaſſadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was ſo meanly provided, and the people ſo much amazed, that without queſtion it would fall almoſt without trouble into his hands; when this news came it was almoſt evening, yet *Cleonymus* preſſed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkneſs would afford an opportunity to the ſoldiers of poſſeſſing themſelves of all the riches of *Sparta*, refuſed to attack it till day-light; a thing ſo little expected even by the *Spartans* themſelves, that in *Cleonymus*'s houſe the *Helotes* were buſy in providing a ſupper, not doubting, but *Pyrrhus* would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his ſoldiers had pitched their camp near the walls, the ſenate aſſembled to conſider if any thing could be done for their preſervation; and the firſt reſolution they came to was, to ſend the women immediately over into *Crete*, which reſolution ſome way taking wind, the *Spartan* ladies aſſembled together, and having deputed *Archidamia* to carry their ſentiments to the ſenate, ſhe entered the room with a ſword in her hand, addreſſing the aſſembly in theſe words: *Do not, my lords, entertain ſo mean an opinion of the* Spartan *women, as to fancy that they will ever out-live* Sparta; *inſtead of conſidering whither we are to fly, conſider what we are to do, and be aſſured we will undertake any thing for the ſervice of our country* [e]. Upon this it

[d] PLUT. Apophthegm. [e] PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh.

was

was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying waggons to their axle-trees crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the passage of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their shifts to assist the men in years who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to sustain the enemies charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench once settled, which some tell us, were these, *viz.* the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it, and engaged to finish it by morning †. When day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion, the *Lacedemonian* ladies armed the men for the fight, representing to them, as they were buckling their armour, and putting their spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the sight of their mothers, wives and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for *Chelidonis*, she retired to her own house with a halter about her neck, to shew, that if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than live again with her husband. *Pyrrhus* saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo; however, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the *Spartans*, who, considering for what they fought, made a most desperate resistance; in the mean time *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus* drew off two thousand *Gauls* and other choice men from the attack, and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons, which at last with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. *Acrotatus* was the first who perceived this desperate mischief, which he immediately sought to remedy; for rushing through the city with three hundred men, he passed round by the sides of the hills and charged *Ptolemy*'s troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing less, and being in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the rest to the great joy of the *Spartans*; where *Pyrrhus* charged in person, the attack was sustained with greatest vigour, and one *Phyllius* a *Spartan* gave such a demonstration of invincible courage as is scarce any where to be found recorded; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himself so exhausted through the many wounds he had received, that he was no

† Justin. lib. xxv. c. 4.

 longer

longer able to ſtand; when he called to the commanding officer, and having reſigned to him his poſt, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, ſo it ended therewith, and *Pyrrhus* being extremely fatigued retired to his tent, where he ſlept very ſoundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: He thought he ſaw himſelf throwing lightning on *Sparta* which ſet it all on fire, with the joy of which he awaked; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his viſion; but *Lyſimachus* his favourite did not underſtand the viſion in the ſame light with the king; *Thou knoweſt*, Pyrrhus, ſaid he, *that with us places ſtricken with lightning are accounted ſacred; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby ſignified to thee, that* Sparta *is as ſacred and inviolable as a place ſtricken with lightning; Well, replied* Pyrrhus, *I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning theſe things; yet this remains certain ſtill, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack* [g]. The aſſault was no leſs vigorous than the day before, nor did the *Lacedemonians* defend themſelves with leſs vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench, ſupplying the ſoldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever elſe they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in caſe they were diſabled; at laſt, however, *Pyrrhus* prevailed in the very attempt his ſon had miſcarried in the day before, and of a ſudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horſe with mighty reſolution. In vain the *Lacedemonians* crowded from all ſides to impede his paſſage; they were trodden down by his horſe, and *Pyrrhus* was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow ſtruck his ſteed to the heart; the beaſt, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his ſoldiers, in the firſt confuſion, not knowing whether he as well as his horſe was not ſlain, gave back; upon which the *Spartans* preſſed on them ſo eagerly, and diſtributed their darts with ſuch ſucceſs, that when *Pyrrhus* was remounted he thought it beſt to retire, ſuppoſing that the third day would put an end to this conteſt, when after the heat of the action the *Spartans* had leiſure to feel their wounds; nor would he in all probability have been miſtaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but thoſe whom he engaged be-

[g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh.

fore. The good fortune of *Sparta* prevented this; for one of *Antigonus*'s captains, having intelligence of their diſtreſs, and of the noble ſtand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to throw himſelf into the place, where he was ſcarce arrived before king *Areus* himſelf entered with two thouſand freſh men. *Pyrrhus* notwithſtanding aſſaulted the place the third time, but with little ſucceſs; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to *Argos*, and endeavoured to rid himſelf of this unlucky buſineſs as well as he could; yet here again he found himſelf diſtreſſed, for king *Areus* being once come did not care to part with him ſo, but ſent a choice body of horſe to infeſt his rear. The king, vexed at this inſult, ordered his ſon *Ptolemy* with ſome ſquadrons under his command to march to the aſſiſtance of the troops attacked, where the young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, expoſing himſelf too much was ſlain. *Pyrrhus*, when he heard the news, immediately jumped on horſeback, and charging with unwonted fury on the *Lacedemonians* ſlew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand; he afterwards quitted his horſe and fought on foot, and when he had ſatiated himſelf with deſtroying numbers of the *Spartans*, he continued his march to *Argos* [h]. *Areus* is very much blamed for his conduct on this occaſion: it is ſaid, that when *Pyrrhus* was retired, purſuing him was needleſs, and ſerved only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but it ſeems the *Spartan* king was of opinion, that no ſafety could be hoped for till *Pyrrhus* was out of *Greece*; for this reaſon he poſted away in perſon to *Argos* with a thouſand choice foot, and yet he ſcarce arrived time enough there to ſave the city, a gate of which having been perfidiouſly opened to *Pyrrhus* in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware; however, they ſtood to their arms, and while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, *Areus* came to their aid; *Pyrrhus* at laſt perceiving that he fought under great diſadvantages would have retreated; but his orders being miſtaken, and his forces and elephants ſtill continuing to enter the city, he was at laſt beat from his horſe by a woman, who, ſtanding on the top of her houſe, and perceiving him about to puſh his horſe upon her ſon, diſcharged a thick tile at his head, which ſtruck him on the temple, took from him his ſenſes, and before he could recover them an officer of *Antigonus*'s army ſtruck off his head [i]. Concerning this *Areus*

[h] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 5. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Pyrrh.

[i] Justin. Hiſt. lib. xxv. c. 5.

we know nothing farther than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of *Greece*, as far as the broken and diſtreſſed ſtate of his country would give him leave; for when he underſtood, that *Athens* was in danger of being oppreſſed by *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, he generouſly armed in its defence, and was ſlain valiantly fighting at the battle of *Corinth* [k]. To this prince the beſt critics have referred that letter to *Onias* the high prieſt, which we find recorded in the book of *Maccabees* [l] (S). He was ſucceeded in his

[k] PLUT. in vit. Demetr. [l] 1 Maccab. xii. 20. JOSEPH. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. c. 5.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus:

Areus king of the *Lacedemonians*, to *Onias* the high-prieſt, greeting;

It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians *and* Jews *are brethren, and that they are of the ſtock of* Abraham: *Now therefore, ſince this is come to our knowledge, you ſhall do well to write to us of your peace* (69). This letter is exactly in the *Laconic* ſtile, and deſerves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in *Joſephus*, wherein *Demoteles* is named as ambaſſador from *Sparta*; the form of the letter is ſaid to be ſquare, and the common ſeal of *Lacedemon* is deſcribed as having repreſented thereon an eagle holding a dragon; the learned primate of *Ireland* hath been led into a great miſtake, by paying too much regard to this *Jewiſh* writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been ſent to *Onias* the 3d of that name, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, who flouriſhed when there were no kings at all at *Sparta*; this the learned prelate was ſo well aware of, that to get over theſe difficulties, he ſuppoſes one *Areus* a nobleman of *Sparta* to have taken the title of king in the penning of this epiſtle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; *Jonathan* in his letter to the *Lacedemonians*, ſpeaking of the epiſtle before us, ſays it was wrote a long time ago, which no way quadrates with the time in which *Joſephus* and archbiſhop *Uſher* place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to *Onias* the ſon of *Simon*, but to *Onias* the firſt, who was undeniably cotemporary with this king *Areus*, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr *Prideaux* (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reaſon to ſuſpect ſome alteration in this letter by *Joſephus*, becauſe when he comes to give us *Jonathan*'s letter, he

(69) 1 *Maccab. xii. 20.* (70) *Uſſer. Annal. V. T. A. I. P.* 4531. (71) *Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Part ii. Book II.*

his throne by his ſon *Acrotatus*, who had ſo valiantly defended *Sparta* when attacked by *Pyrrhus*.

The acts of Archidamus IV. *king of* Sparta.

Of the other houſe *Archidamus* the fourth of that name, the ſon of *Eudamidas*, governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true *Spartan* race, who was deſirous to maintain all *Greece* in freedom, and to repreſs, if it had been poſſible, the mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, which like a torrent ſwept all before them; and though for a time they might be reſtrained from doing much miſchief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elſewhere, yet, whenever they had leiſure, they were ſure to ſeek ſuch an authority in *Greece* as ſuited not with her liberty. *Archidamus* had ſtruggled againſt the ſtream when it was moſt rapid, that is, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes* after ſubduing *Athens* ſought to make himſelf maſter of *Sparta*; twice *Archidamus* oppoſed him in the field, but was ſo unfortunate as to be as often defeated, nor could any thing have ſaved the virgin city of *Sparta* from the rage of the victor, if the declenſion of his affairs in *Aſia* had not conſtrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of *Greece* [m]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

Eudamidas *ſucceeds his father* Archidamus.

Eudamidas the ſon of *Archidamus* was the collegue of *Acrotatus*, he married *Ageſiſtrata*, by whom he had two ſons, *Agis* and *Archidamus* [n]. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in hiſtory: It is probable, that, being a man of ſmall parts, the government reſted chiefly in *Acrotatus*, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour, and many virtues. *Ariſtodemus*, who had made him-

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Agid.

has taken the liberty to alter its addreſs alſo, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to *Joſephus:* Jonathan, *high-prieſt of the* Jews, *and the ſenate, and commonalty of the* Jews, *to the ephori, ſenate, and people of the* Lacedemonians, *greeting* (72). Whereas in the book of *Maccabees* the addreſs is thus: Jonathan *the high-prieſt, and the elders of the nation, and the prieſts, and the other people of the* Jews, *unto the* Lacedemonians *their brethren ſend greeting* (73). Neither ephori or ſenate are mentioned here, they were probably put in by *Joſephus* to make the letter look the better. The name of *Demoteles* is alſo inſerted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of *Maccabees*. How the *Spartans* and the *Jews* came to be related, muſt be conſidered in another place; our buſineſs here was to fix the time when the letter from *Areus* was ſent to *Onias*.

(72) *Antiq. Judaic. lib. xiii. c.* 5. (73) 1 *Macc. xii.* 6.

ſelf

ſelf prince of *Megalopolis*, was the capital enemy of the *Lacedemonians*, ſeeking by all means to abaſe a nation, who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppreſſion of tyrants themſelves, or to ſee their neighbours oppreſſed by them. *Acrotatus*, at the head of the *Lacedemonian* army, endeavoured to make head againſt this prince, who was grown formidable to all *Peloponneſus*; but, his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himſelf ſlain, leaving the kingdom to his young ſon *Areus*, to whom *Leonidas* the ſon of *Cleonymus* was tutor or protector, and he dying after a very ſhort reign, *Leonidas* ſtept into the throne in his own right [o].

Leonidas *ſucceeds his pupil in the throne of* Sparta.

Leonidas had been bred up, or at leaſt had long lived, in the court of *Seleucus*, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he ſaw affected there; at *Sparta* he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the *Lycurgic* maxims grown not only into diſſuetude, but contempt: One *Opytadeus*, being raiſed to a chair among the *ephori*, and taking occaſion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice againſt his own ſon, procured a law whereby all men were left at liberty to diſpoſe of their lands by gift or ſale, or by teſtament at the time of their deceaſe. This ſubverted the very foundations of the ſtate, for by degrees the lands were moſt of them transferred from the antient *Spartan* families, ſo that though they were reduced now to about ſeven hundred, not above one hundred of theſe had any lands, but lived in the city lazily, without employment, and without wealth, their ſpirits ſinking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the *Spartan* ſtate [p].

Agis *the ſon of* Eudamidas *attempts to reſtore the conſtitution of* Sparta.

THE collegue of *Leonidas* of the other houſe was *Agis* the ſon of *Eudamidas*, a young prince of great hopes; he ſhewed himſelf both juſt and obliging to all men, and in the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition and ſublimity of his virtues, not only exceeded *Leonidas* who reigned with him, but all the kings of *Sparta* from king *Ageſilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother *Ageſiſtrata* and his grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthieſt of the *Lacedemonians*; yet before the age of twenty, he ſo far overcame himſelf as to renounce effeminate pleaſures. He was a very handſome perſon and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein, would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his

[o] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. & in vit. Cleomen. [p] PLUT. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleom.

dict,

diet, bathings, and in all his exerciſes he choſe to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to ſay, *He would not deſire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to reſtore their antient laws and diſcipline.* This maxim of his governed his whole life; he endeavoured to aſſociate himſelf with men of intereſt and capacity, ſufficient to bring about the great deſign he had formed of thoroughly reforming the ſtate. *Ageſilaus*, his uncle by the mother's ſide, was one of his principal counſellors, a man of great eloquence, but no great virtue; the part he took in this buſineſs being chiefly owing to his ſon's perſuaſions, whoſe name was *Hypomedon*, one of the worthieſt men of his age. This *Ageſilaus* brought over his ſiſter king *Agis*'s mother to the ſentiments of her ſon, notwithſtanding her averſeneſs to them at firſt; and ſhe in a ſhort time brought over moſt of the ladies of *Sparta*, which was a thing of prodigious conſequence, ſince they had always a mighty ſtroke in political affairs, and their huſbands ſeldom took any ſtep without their advice. On this occaſion, as on many others, they ſhewed their great good ſenſe and virtue; for when they had thoroughly conſidered the matter, and perceived that though theſe new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the ſame time it would reſtore the crédit of *Sparta*, and give her new luſtre in the world; they came into it unanimouſly, and endeavoured to engage their huſbands to reliſh the propoſal, which they found no difficult taſk to perform among the groſs of the people, who, partly becauſe they ſaw the power of the ſtate decline, and partly from their natural fondneſs for revolutions, were eager to ſee the thing accompliſhed. But the few in whoſe hands the wealth of *Sparta* was centered grew very uneaſy; they applied themſelves to *Leonidas*, telling him, that, as he was an older and wiſer man than his collegue, he ought to interpoſe, and not ſuffer the conſtitution to be deſtroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For theſe poſſeſſors of money called that the conſtitution by which their uſurious gains were to be preſerved, and trembled at the name of *Lycurgus*, as runaway ſlaves are wont to do if they hear that of their maſter. *Leonidas* was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he ſaw evidently inclined to favour his collegue and the ſcheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magiſtrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that *Agis* intended to eſtabliſh an independent power in his own perſon by inclining the people to his intereſts; firſt by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal diviſion of lands. The party he formed by

by theſe ſuggeſtions was very conſiderable; however, *Agis* perſiſted in his reſolution; and, when his friend *Lyſander* was choſen one of the *ephori*, actually preſented his rhetra or decree to the ſenate; the chief articles of which were theſe: *That every one ſhould be free from his debts; all the lands to be divided into equal portions; thoſe that lay betwixt the valley of* Pellene *and mount* Taygetus *as far as the cities of* Mallea *and* Sellaſia *into four thouſand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thouſand; theſe laſt to be ſhared by ſome choſen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms; the firſt among the natural* Spartans, *admitting alſo ſtrangers to ſupply their number, ſuch as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All theſe were to be divided into fifteen companies, ſome of four hundred, ſome of two, with a diet and diſcipline agreeable to the laws of* Lycurgus. The matter being hotly debated in the ſenate, *Lyſander* began to doubt the event, and therefore, without ſtaying to put the queſtion, convoked a general aſſembly of the people; in this aſſembly both the kings, the *ephori*, and other conſiderable perſons were heard, and by long orations ſought to ſhew the conveniency or inconveniency of the ſcheme, according as they were inclined or averſe to it; at laſt, however, it was rejected in the ſenate, though but by one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to *Agis*, while the richer citizens, and thoſe eſpecially who had placed their money out at intereſt, applied themſelves to *Leonidas*. *Lyſander*, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way; he cauſed an accuſation to be preferred againſt him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a ſtranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of theſe accuſations and practiſing a little on the ſuperſtitious temper of the people, he ſo terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the temple of *Minerva* for ſhelter. Upon this *Lyſander* ſtirred up *Cleombrotus*, who was of the royal houſe and who had married the daughter of *Leonidas*, to pretend to the kingdom, of which when *Leonidas* had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who choſe rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her huſband [q].

Cleombrotus, being raiſed to the regal dignity, concurred with *Agis* in all his deſigns; but the next year the *ephori* being choſen out of the oppoſite faction, they cited *Lyſander* and his friends to appear before them, and anſwer for what they had done during their adminiſtration; they in this diſ- Cleombrotus *ſucceeds* Leonidas *on his expulſion.*

[q] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

treſs,

treſs had inſtantly recourſe to the kings, beſeeching them to protect thoſe who were threatened for having performed their command; *Lyſander* at the ſame time ſuggeſted, that the *ephori* were created only to take care of the ſtate in caſe any difference happened between the kings; but that while they agreed, theſe magiſtrates had no right to call in queſtion any acts they thought fit to authorize. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being perſuaded of this reſolved to make *Lyſander* and his friends eaſy immediately; they therefore went directly to the place where the *ephori* were ſitting, removed them from their ſeats, and placed others in their room, the firſt of theſe being *Ageſilaus*. Such a tranſaction as this could not well happen without a tumult, but, through the great care and ſteady integrity of *Agis* no blood was ſpilt, nor did any ill accident happen. *Ageſilaus* indeed had projected the murder of *Leonidas* as he was on the road to *Tegæa*; but king *Agis* having notice of it ſent a conſiderable number of his own friends to eſcort him; things being in this ſituation the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts and to the equal diviſion of lands, had not *Ageſilaus* prevented it, by pretending that it would not be ſafe to attempt both at one time; but that firſt the debts ſhould be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a diviſion of lands; this he ſaid, becauſe he had himſelf a good eſtate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he ſought to rid himſelf of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his poſſeſſions. The kings, and even *Lyſander*, were deceived by his ſpecious pretences, ſo that they came readily into his ſchemes, cauſing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the diviſion of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly diſpleaſed the people. *Agis* quickly perceived this, and therefore he ſought to repair his error by immediately dividing the eſtates; but *Ageſilaus* ſtill found means to put it off, under one pretence or other, till *Agis* was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans*. In his abſence he loſt all bounds of modeſty, and acted ſo tyrannically, that by the time *Agis* returned a conſpiracy was formed for reſtoring *Leonidas*, which was accordingly effected; and upon this *Agis* fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* ſhewed more reſentment againſt his ſon-in-law than againſt *Agis*, he went to his ſanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter *Chelonis*, interceding and holding the two children ſhe had in her arms, prevailed ſo far as to have his ſentence changed into that of perpetual baniſhment;

ment; in which ſhe accompanied him, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of her father; which extraordinary tranſaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being baniſhed with ſuch a wife, than he could be in the poſſeſſion of a kingdom without her[r] (T).

Leonidas, once reſettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods poſſible for drawing *Agis* out of his ſanctuary; but all his attempts failed, at laſt he corrupted ſome of the king's friends, who were wont to viſit him daily to condole with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths and guard him back again. The names of theſe perſons, for it is but juſt that they ſhould be always recorded, were *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archeſilaus*. The firſt of theſe had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king *Agis*; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he ſhould acquire the poſſeſſion of them; the other

Leonidas *reſtored to the kingdom, and* Cleombrotus *baniſhed.*

[r] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(T) The character of *Chelonis* the wife of *Cleombrotus* is one of the moſt noble and moſt laudable in the *Spartan* hiſtory; we cannot therefore be blamed for inſerting her ſpeech to her father, which ſhe pronounced in a mourning habit and in a ſuppliant poſture, thus: "This mourning veſt, theſe dejected looks, and all "thoſe other tokens of unutterable woe, which cannot be con-"cealed, are not worn for the ſake of *Cleombrotus*, but were put on "to condole with you in your baniſhment; and now you are reſtor-"ed to your country and to your kingdom, muſt I ſtill re-"main in grief and miſery? Or would you have me attired in my "feſtival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, when you have "killed within my arms the man to whom you gave me for a "wife? Either *Cleombrotus* muſt appeaſe you by mine and my "children's tears, or he muſt ſuffer a puniſhment greater than his "faults have deſerved: He ſhall infallibly ſee me die before him, "whom he ſo tenderly loves. To what end ſhould I live, or "how ſhall I appear among the *Spartan* ladies, when it ſhall ſo "manifeſtly be ſeen that I have not been able to move compaſſion, "either in my huſband for the ſake of my father, or in my fa-"ther for the ſake of my huſband? I was born, it ſeems, to be "diſhonoured and diſgraced both as a wife and a daughter, in "that relation which is neareſt to me in each capacity. As for "*Cleombrotus*, I ſufficiently diſowned his cauſe, when I forſook "him to follow you; but now you yourſelf will juſtify his pro-"ceedings, by ſhewing to the world that for the ſake of a king-"dom it is juſt to kill a ſon-in-law, and be regardleſs of a daugh-"ter" (70).

(70) *Plut. in vita Agid.*

two were bribed by *Leonidas*; these men therefore took an opportunity, when king *Agis* was returning from the baths, and relied entirely on their protection, to seize him; *Amphares* catched him by the arm, *Demochares*, being a strong man, threw a cloak over his head and muffled him up; then their associates coming in to their assistance, they dragged their sovereign away to the common prison, where the new *ephori*, constituted by *Leonidas*, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators were by, but they took care that they should be such as were of their party. As soon as the king came in, they asked him how he durst attempt to alter the government? At which he smiled without affording them an answer, which provoked one of the *ephori* to tell him, *That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him sensible of his presumption.* Another asked him, *Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by* Agesilaus *and* Lysander? To which the king with a composed countenance answered, *I was constrained by no man, the design was mine, and my intent was to have restored the laws of* Lycurgus, *and to have governed by them. But do you not now*, said one of his judges, *repent of your rashness? No*, replied the king, *though I see my death is inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention.* The *ephori* then ordered him to be haled away and strangled. The officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined so unworthy an action; whereupon *Demochares*, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. *Agis* about to die, perceiving one of the serjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, *Weep not, friend, for me*, said he, *who die innocently; but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than theirs.* Then stretching out his neck, he submitted to death with a constancy worthy both of the royal dignity and his own great character. Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the prison gate, where he found *Agesistrata*, who casting herself at his feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same friendship as formerly. He assured her she need not fear any further violence should be offered against her son; and that, if she pleased, she might go in and see him; she begged her mother might also have the favour of being admitted, and he replied no body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and the grandmother to be first introduced; she was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wisdom and virtue. As soon as *Amphares* thought she was dispatched,

patched, he told *Ageſiſtrata* ſhe might now go in if ſhe pleaſed; ſhe entered, where beholding her ſon's body ſtretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid a ſpectacle; but after a while recollecting her ſpirits, the firſt thing ſhe did was to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her ſon's, where embracing and kiſſing his cheeks; *O my ſon*, ſaid ſhe, *it is thy too great mercy and goodneſs which has brought thee and us to this untimely end.* *Amphares*, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this, ruſhed in haſtily, and, with a furious tone and countenance, ſaid to her, *Since you approve ſo well of your ſons's actions, it is fit you ſhould partake in his reward.* She, riſing up to meet her deſtiny, only uttered theſe few words; *I pray the gods that all this may redound to the good of* Sparta [r]. *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis* ſaved himſelf by flight, but was conſtrained to leave his wife, who had juſt lain in, behind him; her, becauſe ſhe was the heireſs of a great eſtate, *Leonidas* compelled by force to marry his own ſon *Cleomenes*; to this the young lady was very averſe, yet in the end ſhe was forced to comply. *Cleomenes* behaved towards her with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, that ſhe became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. *Cleomenes* was too young to conſummate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tenderneſs for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the ſtory of *Agis*'s murder, at which he wept, and by degrees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own diſpoſition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of *Agis*. He was conſtrained, however, to bridle his deſires till after the death of his father, he well knowing, that both the king and the nobles were too much diſſolved in luxury and eaſe ever to incline to, or ſo much as bear with, the execution of his deſign.

Cleomenes *ſucceeds* Leonidas. Year of the Flood 2763. Before Chriſt 235.

ON the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* mounted the *Spartan* throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himſelf obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. *Aratus* at the head of the *Achæans* had formed a grand project of uniting all the *Peloponneſians* into that league; the youth of *Cleomenes* ſeemed to furniſh him with an opportunity of trying the diſpoſition of the *Spartans*, which he neglected not, but ſuddenly invaded the *Arcadians* their neighbours and their friends, who lived in a manner under their protection [s]. The *ephori* upon this ordered *Cleomenes* to ſeize on a paſs into

[r] PLUT. in vita Agid. [s] PLUT. in vita Arati.

Laconia, which was then in the hands of the allies of the *Achæans*, which he performed, and afterwards disappointed *Aratus* in a scheme he had formed for seizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomenium*; upon which the young king sent a message full of sneer to *Aratus*: the old statesman deriding his youth asked *Democrites*, a *Spartan* exile who lived with him, *What sort of a person this* Cleomenes *was? Why, my friend*, replied the Spartan, *I will answer you in few words; if you have any thing to do against the* Lacedemonians, *let me advise you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown.* In the subsequent course of the war, *Aratus* by his great skill obtained some advantages over the *Spartans*; but *Cleomenes* gave therein such shining instances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himself apprehensive, and the people of *Sparta* seemed to take new spirit from their king. The *ephori*, however, were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of *Cleomenes*, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, saw clearly, that without reducing the power of the *ephori*, he should have nothing more left him than the title of king, with this farther mortification, that he should see the power of *Sparta* sink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of ridding himself of the *ephori* at once; this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it from the same generous desire of restoring the glory of their country [t]. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis*, who on his approach to *Sparta* was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without some suspicion that *Cleomenes* consented thereto; but this seems to agree little with his character, and *Plutarch*, who reports this suggestion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto [u]. When it appeared a point out of dispute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed on the *ephori* to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother *Cratesiclea*, a woman of great spirit, perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party, and at the same time engaged to give up her own fortune, persuading her husband also to come to the same

[t] Plut. in vit. Cleom. [u] Id. ibid. Polyb. l. v.

terms,

terms, whenever a diviſion of goods and of lands ſhould be made. *Cleomenes*, carrying ſuch as he ſuſpected moſt into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a *Spartan* prince; but withal he took care ſo to haraſs his army with quick and almoſt continual marches, that many deſired to be left behind in *Arcadia*; with the reſt he advanced ſlowly towards *Lacedemon*. When he drew near the place, he ſent a ſmall party headed by ſome of his confidents, who ſurprized the *ephori* at ſupper, killed four of them upon the ſpot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himſelf dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came forth next day without being injured. On the morrow *Cleomenes* came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the *ephori* to be removed, except one which he reſerved for himſelf, then he made a moſt artful apology to the people for what he had done (U); he ſhewed them the neceſſity of reſtoring the *Lycurgic* inſtitutions,

(U) It is from *Plutarch* that we learn the purport of the king's ſpeech on this occaſion, which it is neceſſary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the preſent thread of our hiſtory, but becauſe we have referred ourſelves to it elſewhere, as containing ſeveral curious particulars relating to the *Spartan* policy. *Cleomenes* then in this harangue alledged, "That the government, as it was framed by *Lycurgus*, was compoſed of the kings and the ſenate; and "that that model of government had continued a long time, and "needed no other ſort of magiſtrates to give it perfection. But "afterwards in the long war with the *Meſſenians*, when the kings "being to command the armies had no time to attend civil cauſes, "they choſe ſome of their friends, and left them to determine the "ſuits of the citizens in their ſtead. Theſe were called *ephori*, "and at firſt behaved themſelves as ſervants to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they appropriated the power to themſelves, "and erected a diſtinct ſort of magiſtracy. An evidence of the "truth of this may be taken from the uſual behaviour of the kings, "who upon the firſt and ſecond meſſage of the *ephori* refuſe to go, "but upon the third readily attend them: And *Aſteropus*, the "firſt that raiſed the *ephori* to that height of power, was not *epho*rus till many years after their inſtitution; therefore, whilſt they "modeſtly contained themſelves within their own proper ſphere, "it was better to bear with them than to make a diſturbance. But "that an upſtart introduced power ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old "model of government, as to baniſh ſome kings, murder others, "without hearing their defence, and threaten thoſe who deſired to "ſee the beſt and moſt divine conſtitution reſtored in *Sparta*, was "unſufferable. Therefore if it had been poſſible for him without "blood-ſhed to have freed *Lacedemon* from thoſe foreign plagues, "luxury,

inſtitutions, and aſſured them, that though the ſituation of things had obliged him to make uſe of violence in effecting this reſolution, yet for the future he would pay a ſtrict regard to the laws, though for his own ſafety he proſcribed at this time fourſcore citizens. He was the firſt who delivered up his whole ſubſtance to the public ſtock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In aſſigning the lands, he gave ſhares to all whom he had baniſhed, promiſing to recall them as ſoon as was conſiſtent with the public ſafety; *immediately* after he reſtored the old *Laconic* way of educating youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exerciſes together; he alſo raiſed a conſiderable body of troops, and diſciplined, and armed them in a new manner; to ſhew his diſlike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all theſe things by his own authority, he aſſociated his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there ſhould be always two kings at *Sparta*, as there were in times paſt, and that he would not erect a monarchy in order to tranſmit it to his poſterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others ſerved to eſtabliſh moſt the power and the character of *Cleomenes*, was the courſe of his own life, which was in nothing more ſtately or more expenſive than that of the meaneſt citizen. There were in his houſe no

" luxury, vanity, debts, and uſury; and from thoſe more antient
" evils, poverty and riches, he ſhould have thought himſelf the
" happieſt king in the world; having, like an expert phyſician,
" cured the diſeaſes of his country without pain. But now in this
" neceſſity, *Lycurgus*'s example favoured his proceedings; who
" being neither king nor magiſtrate, but a private man, and aim-
" ing at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, inſo-
" much, that king *Charilaus* fled for fear to the altar: But he, be-
" ing a good man and a lover of his country, readily conſented to
" *Lycurgus*'s project, and admitted an alteration in the ſtate. Thus
" by his own actions *Lycurgus* ſhewed, that it was difficult to cor-
" rect the government without force and fear; in uſing which, he
" ſaid he would be ſo moderate as never to deſire their aſſiſtance,
" but either to terrify or ruin the enemies of *Sparta*'s happineſs
" and ſafety. He commanded that all the land ſhould be left in
" common, and private claims laid aſide: That debtors ſhould be
" diſcharged of their debts, and a ſtrict ſearch be made who were
" foreigners, and who not. That the true *Spartans* recovering
" their courage might defend the city with their arms; and that
" they might no longer ſee *Laconia*, for want of a ſufficient num-
" ber to ſecure it, walled by the *Ætolians* (70)".

(70) *Plutarch in vit. Cleom.*

purple

purple furnitures, no canopies or cloths of ſtate, no ſuperb chairs or couches for indulging eaſe, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him : When any offered petitions, he ſtepped forward to receive them, talked graciouſly to every body, redreſſed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himſelf ; yet had his virtue nothing in it of auſterity or affectation ; he was naturally of a pleaſant temper, which he indulged. When ſtrangers dined with him he had plenty of wine, which was ſet down in a braſs veſſel, with ſilver cups near it, according to the number of the gueſts, every man being permitted to drink what he pleaſed, being neither deſired nor forced to drink more ; being informed that *Aratus* and the *Achæans* were preparing to give him ſome diſturbance, from an apprehenſion that after theſe alterations he durſt not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the courſe of the war, he gained ſuch advantages over *Aratus*, as made that great ſtateſman and captain decline being choſen captain general of the *Achæans* next year as he was wont ; yet did not *Cleomenes* make any ill uſe of his victories, or attempt to oppreſs the cities which fell into his power, but reſtored them to their liberty, and, where they had been expelled, recalled their antient inhabitants. The *Achæans* were ſo much frighted with this unexpected run of ill ſucceſs, that they were ready to liſten to any terms which *Cleomenes* ſhould think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he ſought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*, and that he was ready to deliver up the priſoners without ranſom, and to reſtore the cities he had taken. *Lerna* was appointed for the place of treaty, the *Achæans* being willing to accept of the king's terms ; but *Cleomenes* marching thither ſwiftly heated himſelf very much by the way, and, drinking in the midſt of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himſelf into a fever, which was attended with the loſs of his ſpeech ; he ordered, however, the principal captives of the *Achæans* to be ſet at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and *Greece* ; for *Aratus*, who till this time had approved himſelf a moſt worthy *Grecian* commander, now ſuffered envy, jealouſy and ſelf-conceit, to triumph over his virtue and his love for his country ; and he, who in his youth had expelled the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponnejus* merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that *Cleomenes*, the moſt worthy of the *Spartan* kings, ſhould be raiſed to that

dignity

dignity which he so highly deserved [x]. When *Cleomenes* was recovered, he advanced towards *Argos*, where the *Achæans* held their assembly; but when he drew near, *Aratus* caused deputies to be sent him, to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place; to which *Cleomenes* answered, that he was unjustly dealt with, for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now, when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy, and deny him admission. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the *Achæans* was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt and break the union; because on the one side the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands, and a discharge of their debts; and on the other the nobility grew weary of *Aratus*'s power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achæa*, where he first took *Pellene* by surprize and beat out the *Achæan* garison; afterwards he made himself master of *Phenæon* and *Penteleon*. Not long after he surprized *Argos*, and in a very small space of time raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in *Greece*. In this space he would very gladly have treated with *Aratus*, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship; but he was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the *Spartan* greatness; with this view he procured the castle of *Corinth*, which was the key of *Peloponnesus*, to be delivered up to *Antigonus*, who suddenly came to his assistance with an army of twenty eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. *Cleomenes* though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of *Peloponnesus* till *Argos* was betrayed; even there he did great things, and, when over-powered by numbers he could do no more, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from *Sparta* the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for though the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet *Cleomenes* was distinguished for his fondness even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero, and like a king; he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp resumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without suffering his private concerns to interfere

[x] Plut. in vit. Arat. Polyb. lib. ii.

with

with public affairs. *Ptolemy* at this time offered him his friendſhip in caſe he would ſend him his mother and his ſon as hoſtages. This demand troubled *Cleomenes*; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at laſt, when it broke out, *Crateſiclea* burſt out a laughing; *Well*, ſaid ſhe, *was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on ſhipboard, and ſend this carcaſs where it may be ſerviceable to* Sparta, *before age waſtes it unprofitably here?* When ſhe was going on board, ſhe withdrew her ſon into the temple of *Neptune*, where, having wept and embraced each other, *Come king of* Sparta, ſaid ſhe, *let us dry our tears, that no ſigns of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakneſs appear unworthy your dignity or the honour of our country, ſince our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence.* She wrote afterwards to him from *Egypt*: *King of* Sparta, *do what is worthy of your country and may redound to its profit; nor, for the ſake of an old woman and a little child, ſtand in fear of what* Ptolemy *may do.* *Cleomenes* acted in this unequal war with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the moſt excellent captain among the *Greeks* [y]. He had to do with a numerous army compoſed of veterans, well armed, well diſciplined, and well paid; his own troops were moſt of them new raiſed, many of them half armed, and nothing but what he could get to ſubſiſt them with. Yet he kept the war out of *Laconia*, took the city of *Megalopolis*, which was bigger than *Sparta*, in the midſt of king *Antigonus*'s armies, and when he had taken it generouſly offered to reſtore it untouched to its citizens, but they rejecting his offer, he abandoned it to the plunder of his ſoldiers [z]. After this he harraſſed the territory of *Argos*, raiſing mighty contributions, though *Antigonus* and the *Macedonian* forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was ſtiled raſhneſs, arrogance, and a vain-glorious ſhew of ſhort-lived ſucceſs; and it is owing to *Polybius*, that poſterity conſiders it in a different light; for he tells us, that though the generality believed *Cleomenes* to have acted from a deſperate temerity, yet men of the beſt diſcernment and underſtanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgment. The true ſtate of the caſe is this; *Cleomenes* ſaw, that though at preſent he could make head againſt his enemies, yet in a ſhort time he ſhould be deſtroyed without fighting; he there-

[y] PLUT. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Arati. POLYB. ubi ſupra. [z] PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm.

fore ſought to provoke *Antigonus* to fight, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again *Antigonus* gave a ſtrong teſtimony of his conſummate ſkill in military affairs; for notwithſtanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the *Greeks*, and the inſults of *Cleomenes*, he kept himſelf where he was, and would not ſuffer either his own, or the paſſions of others, to puſh him upon a ſtep which might be injurious to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and *Cleomenes* by reaſon of his poverty could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at *Sellaſia*, where, partly through the ſuperiority of the *Macedonian* troops, partly through the treachery of *Damoteles*, the *Lacedemonians* were defeated with a vaſt ſlaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almoſt the utter deſtruction of their own; for of ſix thouſand *Spartans* only two hundred eſcaped. In the beginning of the action *Cleomenes* had the better, at leaſt in that part of the army where he commanded in perſon; but looking behind him, and ſeeing the other wing commanded by his brother ſurrounded, he cried out, *Thou art loſt, dear brother, thou art loſt; thou brave example to our* Spartan *youth, and theme of our matrons ſongs!* This misfortune of *Cleomenes* deſerves the more to be pitied, ſince, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he muſt have ſeen *Antigonus* conſtrained to abandon the *Achæans*; for within that ſpace after the battle meſſengers arrived in his camp from *Macedonia*, which brought advice of ſuch diſorders there as forced him immediately to return [a]. When the battle was over, *Cleomenes* retired to *Sparta*, where, however he knew it was impoſſible for him to ſtay, nor indeed did he reſt there above a few hours; for, after having given a few directions, he went to his own houſe, where, without taking any refreſhment, he leaned himſelf, in his armour as he was, againſt a pillar, and conſidering what he ſhould do, he at length determined to retire to *Egypt*; which reſolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to *Gythium*, there imbarqued on board a few ſhips, and paſſed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who entertained him honourably while he lived; but his ſon growing ſuſpicious of him confined him, which *Cleomenes* at length reſenting, he with twelve friends forced the place where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to eſcape, they ſlew each other. *Ptolemy Philopater* in revenge of this cauſed the body

[a] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. Justin. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

of

of *Cleomenes* to be expoſed on a croſs, butchered his mother, the reſt of his family, and all her attendants. Miſerable end of ſo great a man, who fought only to make his country free, and his countrymen virtuous! In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the ſhort reign of *Ageſipolis* which we ſhall preſently mention (X).

AFTER

(X) In this note we ſhall vindicate our hiſtory of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confeſs to be very little conſiſtent with the account given us by *Polybius*, though we acknowledge that he is, generally ſpeaking, a moſt judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true ſtate of things at the time of which we are ſpeaking; and yet we affirm, that he has not ſpoken of *Cleomenes* things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a juſt right to differ from him, notwithſtanding his great and eſtabliſhed reputation. Two things therefore we ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate in this note: *Firſt*, That *Polybius*, hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his hiſtory; and, *Secondly*, That the cauſes of his miſrepreſentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be aſſigned. *Firſt* then, *Polybius*, opening to his reader the cauſes of the *Cleomenic* war, writes thus: *When this war was kindled, and* Cleomenes *had ruined the republic of* Lacedemon, *and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power*, Aratus, *who ſaw that this prince made war with no leſs conduct than valour, and being at the ſame time afraid of what might be attempted by the* Ætolians, *thought it neceſſary to counterwork their projects* (71). In this paſſage *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant, and undoubtedly he was ſo in the opinion of all the *Achæans*; and the hiſtorians of thoſe times dealt ſo freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no ſcruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the firſt tyrant of *Lacedemon* (72). *Pauſanias* is yet more outragious: he ſays, that *Cleomenes*, following the example of the great *Pauſanias*, who gained the battle of *Platæa*, affected tyranny, and thereby diſguſted the *Lacedemonians* ſo much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all theſe great men are moſt certainly in the wrong; nay, *Polybius* and *Pauſanias* are ſo of their own ſhewing. For the firſt every where admits, that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wiſdom and mildneſs, as well as intrepidly valiant, and of a lofty ſpirit. The reaſon for which he ſtiles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing paſſage, becauſe he altered that condition of the republic in which it ſtood when he aſcended the throne. It is confeſſed he did ſo, but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from *Polybius* himſelf In another part of his writings, deſcanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of

(71) *Polyb. Hiſt. lib.* iv. (72) *Liv. lib.* xxxiv. (73) *Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.*

The state of Sparta after the flight of Cleomenes.

After the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* fell into the hands of king *Antigonus*, who, out of regard to the merit of the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words: "*Lycurgus*, in "providing by his laws for the harmony of his citizens, for the secu- "rity of his polity, and the maintenance of liberty, hath done so "well, that his institutes seem rather to be divine than human. An "equality of possessions with a simple and inexpensive course of "life, could not but render men honest and sociable in private life, "and quiet and peaceable in public concerns; finally, continual "exercise, and a readiness to undertake any kind of labour, could "not fail of making them both valiant and indefatigable (74)". He then shews, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant, he commiserates the *Lacedemonians*, for having from a state of perfect freedom sunk by degrees into that of abject slavery under *Nabis*, by a continual declension from the *Lycurgic* institutes. Now, if the slavery of the *Lacedemonians* and their ruin arose from their leaving the laws of *Lycurgus*, and if the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their enjoining an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein *Lycurgus* left it? but perhaps it will be said he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephori were not established by *Lycurgus*, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had destroyed the constitution by introducing the sale of lands, they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign, and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* phrases it, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny, from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its antient lustre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved, and consequently we have shewn, that *Livy* was in an error when he stiled him the first of the *Lacedemonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falshood of *Pausanias*'s account; he says, that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*, and *Polybius* intimates the same thing, but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius*'s history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had mighty opportunities of doing, and whenever he had them

(74) *Fragment. lib* xiii.

constantly

of their anceſtors, treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time very quietly, and, ſubmitting to the preſent ſituation of things, acted in ſuch a manner as might give leaſt umbrage to *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends; as long as *Cleomenes* lived, though an exile, and at laſt a priſoner in *Egypt*, conſtantly rejected them. He brought his paternal eſtate into the public ſtock when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he reſtored all the cities he took to their ancient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions, and choſe to have allies where he might have had ſubjects; with reaſon therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pauſanias*'s cenſure, that the *Spartans* ſo hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically oppoſite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that after his flight into *Egypt* they remained without kings, becauſe they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wiſhed and expected his return. Theſe are his very words, and he afterwards tells us, that as ſoon as they knew that *Cleomenes* was dead, they reſolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the ſecond part of what we propoſed, the cauſes of *Polybius*'s miſrepreſentations, and they were no other than thoſe which have been and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. *Polybius* lived in theſe times: He was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis* which *Cleomenes* deſtroyed; he was an *Achæan* ſtateſman, a profeſſed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, the capital enemy of this prince whom he ſo much decries. *Aratus* ſought to bring all the *Peloponneſian* ſtates into the *Achæan* league, and why? that they might be thereby ſafe againſt the *Macedonian* power; *Cleomenes* oppoſed this, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become inconſiderable. *Aratus* endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his ſcheme by force, on a ſuppoſition, that *Cleomenes* being a young man might have been eaſily depoſed. After all, when *Cleomenes* in his own defence had humbled the *Achæans*, he did not pretend to reduce them into ſubjection, but offered to join with them to ſupport the liberty of *Greece* againſt the *Macedonian* kings; but *Aratus*, reſolving to have all things his own way, called in theſe very *Macedonians*, delivered up to them *Acro-Corinth*, deſtroyed the *Lacedemonian* kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himſelf poiſoned by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. *Polybius*, miſled by *Aratus*'s notions, paints *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preſerve *Greece* free, and *Greece* loſt her freedom becauſe he failed in his deſign; this has appeared ſince, and *Plutarch*, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that juſtice to *Cleomenes* which *Polybius* denied him (75).

(75) *Hiſt. lib.* iv. *Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati & Philopœm.*

the

the *Spartans* lived as well as they could under the government of the ephori and ſenate; but as ſoon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly aſcertained it was true, new ſtirs aroſe, in which *Adimas*, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his collegues had ſummoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to repreſent to them, how little their behaviour correſponded with their circumſtances, and how unreaſonable it was for them to involve themſelves in their preſent unſettled condition in a new war with the *Macedonians*, who not long ago had vanquiſhed them, and had ever ſince treated them well. The people of *Sparta*, like the people of moſt other cities, were inclined to liſten to reaſon as ſoon as they began to underſtand it, which the reſt of the ephori perceiving, they and their aſſociates gathered about *Adimas* and ſtabbed him; which once done, they did what they pleaſed. Soon after this *Philip* the ſon of *Antigonus* arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the *Spartans* ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, which when the king had heard, he ſuffered them to withdraw, and cauſed the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Moſt of thoſe who compoſed it, after repreſenting the *Lacedemonians* as a turbulent and factious people, declared, that the king ought to treat them as heretofore *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the reſt by a very ſevere chaſtiſement. But the king, though but ſeventeen years old, differed from them; he ſaid, the ſedition of the *Spartans* turned to their own hurt, that on his appearance they had offered to ſubmit themſelves and become his ſubjects; and that to put their principal men to death, and mal-treat the reſt, would be unworthy of a prince; he therefore contented himſelf with telling the deputies, that he ſhould have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future, and therefore adviſed them to be quiet; after which he diſmiſſed them [b].

Lycurgus and Ageſipolis elected kings.

The *Ætolians*, making new diſturbances in *Greece*, were very deſirous to engage the *Lacedemonians* in their intereſt; to this end they ſent *Machates* embaſſador to *Sparta*; he endeavoured to perſuade the ephori to chuſe two kings, and to unite themſelves ſtrictly with the *Ætolians*; but thoſe magiſtrates, liking neither of his propoſitions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithſtanding that a ſtrong party had declared themſelves for *Machates*. This party after his departure found means to ſtir up the people ſo effectually againſt the ephori, that at a ſolemn feſtival they murdered

[b] Polyb. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arat.

them

them at the temple of *Pallas*, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first *Agesipolis* a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus* whom *Leonidas* banished, and appointed *Cleomenes*, the son of *Cleombrotus* and the child's uncle, his tutor. For the other king they set up *Lycurgus*, a man, no way allied to the royal family, or at least never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a piece to the ephori, they declared him of the *Herculean* race and the lawful king of *Sparta*. He after some time drove *Agesipolis* into banishment, and involved his country in several wars, which he waged with various success. At last *Chilo* conspired against him; this man conceived he had some right to the *Spartan* throne, and having engaged about two hundred persons to abet his scheme, he fell upon the ephori suddenly and murdered them; after which he surrounded the house of *Lycurgus*, who, by the fidelity of some of his servants, made his escape. *Chilo*, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of *Laconia*, and retired to the *Macedonians* whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. When things were a little settled, *Lycurgus* was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years. When king *Philip* came into *Peloponnesus* for the second time, and began to transact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion, of *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedemonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*, notwithstanding all the mischiefs they had sustained; neither were they frighted from this purpose, when they were informed, that the king was become friends again with *Aratus* and his son; wherefore, as soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded *Messenia*, which immediately drew *Philip* that way, upon which *Lycurgus* retired, that he might put his country into a condition to sustain the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king *Philip* took all the precautions possible to hinder his design from being penetrated[c]. He advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he spoiled all the country round about: In the mean time the *Messenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other side, resolving to march through it and join the *Macedonians*; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the *Spartans* in their present distressed condition, encamped carelessly and without throwing up any intrenchments, *Lycurgus* suddenly attacked them with such success, that he took the greatest part of their horses and baggage, and returned with much

[c] POLYB. Hist. lib. iv. PLUT. in vit. Arati.

honour

honour to *Sparta*. As ſoon as he returned, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of the city. In the firſt place, he recovered the poſts which the *Macedonians* had ſeized on the mountains, and then cauſing the waters of the *Eurotas* to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; ſo that the *Macedonians*, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coaſt the foot of the mountains, and thereby expoſe their rear to the inſults of *Lycurgus* and his *Lacedemonians*. *Philip* perceiving this, reſolved firſt of all to diſpoſſeſs *Lycurgus* of his poſts in the mountains, which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed; however, he retired with his forces at laſt into the city, which he preſerved from any inſult; and thus this great king of *Macedon*, after having plundered and ravaged *Laconia*, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of ſedition, and his ſoldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some ſhort time after this, the *ephori*, having, or pretending to have, information, that *Lycurgus* intended to make himſelf abſolute, they attempted to ſurprize and murder him in his houſe; but he, having previous notice of their deſign, withdrew into *Ætolia*, and the iniquity of the *ephori* being clearly diſcovered by the people, he was ſhortly after recalled. What he did after this we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the ſword, in poſſeſſion of the regal authority, or not; neither can we ſay what ſteps were taken by the *Spartans* when they loſt this king of their own election: If we take him for the laſt of their princes, or if according to others, we look upon *Cleomenes* in that light, either way we ſhall ſee the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all ſingle reigns, which, according to the conſtitution of *Sparta*, could not but be lame, and under them all the people were moſt notoriouſly unhappy, falling continually from bad to worſe, every ſucceeding tyrant excelling in wickedneſs his predeceſſor.

Machanidas *aſſumes the tyranny.* Year of the Flood 2792. Year before Chriſt 207.

Machanidas was the ſucceſſor of *Lycurgus*, but when he attained the ſovereignty is very uncertain; the year in which we find him firſt mentioned, we have placed in the margin; by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a perſon of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the *ephori*, as not caring to have any either equal or greater than himſelf in *Sparta*; abroad he made all *Peloponneſus* tremble, which in all probability he would have ſubdued and brought under his own power, if *Philopœmen* the chief of the *Achæans* had

had not oppoſed him [d]. He engaged all the cities in that league to furniſh troops for reducing the power of *Machanidas* within bounds, which, as he plainly ſhewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exerciſing them for ſome time in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, he marched towards *Mantinæa*, in order of battle. Thither alſo came *Machanidas* at the head of a very powerful army, compoſed not only of *Spartans*, but of mercenaries; an engagement quickly followed which was very obſtinate, in which at firſt *Machanidas* had the better; but he purſuing this advantage too far, *Philopœmen* attacked him in the rear; however, the *Lacedemonians* fought deſperately for a time, expecting that *Machanidas* would come to their relief, which accordingly he did; but *Philopœmen* foreſeeing that he would take the ſhorteſt way, and knowing that there was a ditch there of which *Machanidas* was ignorant, he left *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* to puſh the enemy that were ſtill fighting, and with a ſmall party of horſe advanced to the ditch to meet *Machanidas*, whom he preſently diſtinguiſhed by his purple robe. The tyrant, who with two or three friends had out-rode the reſt of his troops, ſeeing that *Philopœmen* and his company were but few, reſolved to paſs the ditch; in order to this he puſhed his horſe directly againſt *Philopœmen*, who turning ſide-ways from him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his ſpear to bear directly againſt his breaſt as his horſe leaped, ſo that, juſt as he paſſed the ditch, *Machanidas* fell down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as ſoon as his death was known his army fled: The *Achæans* waſted all the provinces which had been ſubject to him, the *Spartans*, who loſt four thouſand men in this engagement, having neither ſpirits nor ſtrength to oppoſe them [e].

Nabis *ſucceeds* Machanidas. Year of the Flood, 2803. Before Chriſt, 196.

NOT long after the death of *Machanidas*, we find *Sparta* under a new and yet ſeverer bondage under one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionyſius* on a compariſon of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps many ways of plaguing and puniſhing their ſubjects; but *Nabis* had not only all, but invented and practiſed ſuch acts of cruelty as were never heard of before, and have ſunk into oblivion ſince. To all who were honeſt, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy, ſuch as he could lay his hands on he murdered, ſuch as were not immediately in his power he baniſhed: But did he ſtop there?

[d] POLYB. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Philo. [e] PLUTARCH in vit. Philopœmen. POLYB. Fragment. lib. vii.

no. He sent some of his *Cretan* assassins after them where-ever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home he reigned with a dissimulation, which some called wisdom. He kept up the state of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such a terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. *Polybius* tells us, that he had a painted image which resembled his wife, and this being clad in royal robes he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any *Lacedemonian* out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain secret springs, it catched any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to say any thing the tyrant pleased [f]. The distressed and dejected state of all *Greece* which was now mightily divided, weak in its councils, and weaker still in the execution of them, and with all this mightily over-awed by the power of the *Macedonian* kings, and the *Roman* republic, gave vast opportunities to the tyrant to increase his dominions, and to exalt his power. He in the midst of these confusions seized, under pretence of assisting some of the exiled citizens, on *Argos*, into which he put a garison under the command of *Pythagoras* his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the support of his tyranny. The *Achæans* immediately applied to the *Romans*, for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. *Titus Quintius* the *Roman* general arriving in *Greece*, they quickly made him sensible of the mischiefs that would follow, if *Nabis* was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of *Peloponnesus* under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes as threatened disturbance even to the *Romans* themselves. *Quintius* marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, and had some thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a rising was attempted, which issued in the destruction of those who were desirous to be free. After this he marched towards *Lacedemon* itself, at which *Nabis* was exceedingly troubled; he ordered, however, a general assembly of the people to be held without the city, whither as soon as they were come, he surrounded them with his troops; then he made a short speech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themselves and their private concerns the interest o.

[f] Id Fragm. lib. xiii.

their

their country; he then magnified the great pains he had taken in ſecuring all the poſts and avenues of *Sparta*, and concluded, that ſince without ſpeaking he had done ſo much for their ſervice, they ought not now he did ſpeak to grudge doing ſomewhat for him, the rather, becauſe what he ſought concerned likewiſe their own ſafety; ſome there were amongſt them, he ſaid, who had given him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their conduct, theſe therefore he was determined to ſeize and impriſon, till, the preſent danger being over, he might, which he greatly wiſhed, reſtore them again to liberty conſiſtent with his own and the public ſafety: Having made this goodly harangue, he cauſed fourſcore perſons of worth and honour to be arreſted, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement, and that ſame night he cauſed them all to be murdered in priſon; a little afterwards, growing jealous of the *Helotes*, he ſeized a great number of them, cauſed them to be ſcourged in the ſtreets, till the kennels were diſcoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the *Romans* about to beſiege him, he reſolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king *Antiochus* was meditating new ſtirs, and from thence concluded, that *Quintius* would be glad to come to ſome agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that great man, having nothing ſo much in view as the intereſt of *Rome*, readily agreed to meet him and hear his propoſals: *Nabis* at this interview made a long and well-compoſed oration, to which *Quintius* made him but an indifferent return, yet promiſed to ſend him certain articles in writing; and thus this conference ended. The allies laboured hard to engage *Quintius* not to treat any more; king *Eumenes*, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpoſe, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him; *Ageſipolis* king of *Sparta*, who with many other illuſtrious exiles waited on *Quintius*, inſiſted, that it would be unworthy of the *Roman* name to enter into treaty with ſo execrable a perſon; the *Achæans* were of the ſame ſentiments, yet *Quintius* remained firm to his own; he ſaw clearly that they regarded their own intereſts, and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but thoſe of *Rome*; acting therefore on this motive, he ſent *Nabis*, as he had promiſed, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace, and thoſe terms were theſe: That he ſhould withdraw all his gariſons from *Argos* and its territories: That he ſhould deliver up all the ſhips of war he had taken, and of all his fleet ſhould retain no more than two galliots: That he ſhould deliver up ſuch as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make reſtitution to the *Meſſenians* for

plundering their territories: That he ſhould reſtore to the *Lacedemonian* exiles their wives and children: That he ſhould build neither caſtle nor city in his own territories, nor in thoſe of his neighbours: That he ſhould give five ſuch hoſtages as the general would chuſe, and among them his own ſon: That he ſhould pay down a hundred talents, and that he ſhould continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. *Nabis* diſliked theſe conditions, and found means to make all the *Lacedemonians* diſlike them, ſo that they determined to make an obſtinate defence; *Quintius*, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thouſand men, reſolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did ſeveral times, but was as often repulſed. At laſt he penetrated into the city, and his ſoldiers, beginning to take poſt in the firſt long ſtreet, *Nabis* thought of nothing but making his eſcape; yet *Pythagoras* delivered him from this danger, by ſetting the ſtreet on fire at each end, and engaging the *Lacedemonians*, who were yet fighting in front, to ſupply the riſing flames with fuel. The *Roman* ſoldiers were forced again to withdraw, but *Nabis* was ſo thoroughly frightened, that with much ado he procured peace on the terms before ſpecified, which was hardly concluded before advice came, that the *Argives* had delivered themſelves by expelling his gariſons. When *Nabis* was free from the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, he began to caſt about in his mind how he might extricate himſelf from the miſchiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of loſing at once thoſe dominions, which he had been ſo long and with ſo much pains acquiring. He was eſpecially irritated at beholding himſelf without a ſea-port, and little ſet by amongſt his neighbours; he therefore began to treat privately with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* for creating new diſturbances in *Peloponneſus*, and having received from them great promiſes, he began to act offenſively againſt the *Achæans* and their allies. *Gythium* the ſea-port of *Sparta* he beſieged and recovered; but after that and a ſlight victory at ſea, which he obtained againſt *Philopœmen*, he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general in himſelf, than any fault in his ſoldiers. *Philopœmen*, tho' he could not hinder the taking of *Gythium*, yet reſolved to terrify the tyrant by marching directly towards *Lacedemon*, which had the conſequence he expected and deſired, ſince *Nabis* drew his forces together, and led them with the utmoſt diligence to the relief of his capital; by this forced march he fronted the *Achæan* army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant ſeizing on this occaſion a very ſtrong camp, where

Philopœmen

Philopœmen intended to have lain that night. This great general, perceiving that his firſt deſign was rendered abortive, immediately formed a ſecond, and, ſince he could not ſpoil *Sparta*, reſolved to content himſelf with deſtroying an army every way ſuperior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the *Achæans* and *Lacedemonians* were to fetch water; but it was conſiderably nearer to the former than to the latter. *Philopœmen* therefore ſent a great detachment to take poſt privately in a copſe which bordered on the river; when the troops of *Nabis* came to water their horſes, and to fill their veſſels for the camp, this detachment ſuddenly attacked them, and cut many of the light-armed ſoldiers in pieces. About the ſame time he ſent one of his auxiliary ſoldiers as a deſerter to *Nabis*, with inſtructions to give him information, that the *Achæans* deſigned to move in the night, in order to get between him and *Lacedemon*. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as ſoon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp which *Philopœmen* could never have forced, and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his intrenchments, marched with all the ſpeed he could towards *Sparta*. *Philopœmen* foreſeeing this attacked his camp as ſoon as he was out of it, and ſo haraſſed his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that *Nabis* found himſelf conſtrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. *Philopœmen* in this ſpace recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were ſtill freſh, marched with great ſecrecy, and ſeized the paſſes which led to *Lacedemon*, not doubting, but at the approach of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had ſeized the avenues the forces of *Nabis* were in a manner at his mercy, and he uſed his advantage ſo well, that the tyrant with a very ſmall part of his army got into the city, covered with diſgrace, and unable to hinder *Philopœmen* from ſpoiling the country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving *Nabis* much dejected, and with ſmall forces to continue the war. His recovery of *Gythium* furniſhed him at preſent with little comfort, for the enemy being maſter of all the country, he could ſcarcely hold any correſpondence therewith; beſides, his navy was very inconſiderable, and he had every day repeated advice, that the *Romans* intended ſuddenly to ſend a new army into *Greece*. The *Lacedemonians* themſelves appeared diſſatisfied, which made him afraid to lead his ſoldiers without the city; and pent up within it they were ſcarce of any uſe. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes and diſtractions, he placed

placed all his hopes in the *Ætolians*, who had indeed done a great deal of miſchief in *Greece*, and had been ſtrongly inſtrumental in drawing him into this war. To theſe he diſpatched courier after courier, not with the haughty commands of a tyrant, but with the humble ſupplications of a diſtreſſed ally; he reminded them, that for their ſakes only he had ſo precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none elſe cared to own them for allies; he ſhewed them truly the nature of his diſtreſs, hoping that it would make their relief quicker and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the *Ætolians* being fit confederates for ſuch a tyrant. As ſoon as they had given audience to his meſſengers, they diſpatched them with large aſſurances of ready aſſiſtance, while in the mean time they conſulted what for their intereſt would be fitteſt to be done; the reſult of their conſultation was, that in the days of his proſperity, and when he had a ſtrong army of mercenaries at his command, *Nabis* was their good ally, and deſerved all poſſible regard; but in the preſent ſituation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he ſcarce able to maintain himſelf in *Sparta*, it would better ſerve their purpoſes to remove him out of the way, and take the city to themſelves. This counſel taken and approved, a thouſand foot and thirty horſe were choſen to march to *Lacedemon* under the command of *Alexamenus*. When they were ready to depart, the horſemen were ſent for into the great council, where they received the following ſhort and pithy inſtructions, that they were not ſent to aſſiſt *Nabis* to make war upon the *Achæans*, or for any other purpoſe whatſoever, than to obey *Alexamenus*, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus diſmiſſed, they marched under the command of that general to *Sparta*, where they found *Nabis* very little ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a reinforcement. *Alexamenus* did all he could to encourage him, he told him, the *Ætolians* by ſending him intended no more than to give him a ſpecimen of their good will, inſtructing him alſo to inform him, that if his neceſſities required it, they would, whenever he requeſted it, march with the utmoſt forces they could raiſe to his relief; he likewiſe informed him, that *Antiochus* was reſolved to make war on the *Romans*, and intended to cover *Greece* with his armies and the ſea with his ſhips; that many of the *Greek* ſtates were inclined to his party, and that the *Ætolians* were about to muſter all their troops before the king's commiſſioners ſhortly, which was the reaſon why they ſent ſo few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by theſe conſolatory ſpeeches, began, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, to exerciſe his forces without the

the city, that he might at once give them courage and the *Achæans* apprehenſions. At theſe exerciſes the *Ætolian* general failed not to aſſiſt; his guard of horſe keeping, according to his order, aloof, and he ſometimes riding up to them as if it were to give them orders. Theſe growing at laſt into daily practices, the *Lacedemonians* ſinking again into a timorous obedience, *Nabis* entertained freſh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himſelf upon the *Romans* for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The *Spartan* guards, which *Alexamenus* looked upon as the beſt corps in the tyrant's army, he adviſed to be poſted, phalanx-wiſe, behind the reſt, offering ſuch plauſible reaſons, that *Nabis* readily yielded to it, which was the only ſtep wanting to his ruin. When the day came whereon *Alexamenus* reſolved to execute his great and deſperate deſign, he behaved towards *Nabis* with more than ordinary complaiſance; he commended the appearance and diſcipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promiſed him the ſupremacy in *Peloponneſus*, and perceiving that his complaiſance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant teſtifying by his looks and geſtures the higheſt ſatisfaction, *Alexamenus* ſuddeniy wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of *Ætolians*, bid them remember the inſtructions they had received when they were firſt choſen for this ſervice. Having ſaid this, he turned the head of his horſe, and rode with a full career againſt *Nabis*, whom he overthrew, and his *Ætolians*, riding immediately after him, one after another buried their ſpears in the boſom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of what paſt till he was dead, and then not knowing for whom to fight, they forbore fighting at all. The reſt of the *Lacedemonians* looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſt them, terror at beholding ſo ſtrange an accident; the reaſons of which they knew not, and of its conſequences were therefore afraid. *Alexamenus* and his *Ætolians*, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace and rifling all his treaſures; the ſoldiers ſhortly after followed his example, ſo that in a ſhort time the *Lacedemonians* looked on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune; but conſidering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous *Sparta* to look on and ſee their riches carried away by foreigners, they without much ado took a child whoſe name was *Laconicus*, and who on account of his being deſcended from the royal family was bred up by *Nabis*; him they ſet on horſeback, and gathering about him, they ſurrounded many of the *Ætolians* and put them to the ſword; after a while they broke into the palace,

palace, where they slew *Alexamenus* and those who were with him; they forced likewise a temple of *Diana* to which many of the *Ætolians* were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the sword. When they were in the midst of this confusion, of which none had projected any issue, *Philopœmen* arrived, some friends of his having posted to him with the account of the death of *Nabis*; the forces he had were few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of seizing the city; on the contrary he did what *Alexamenus* ought to have done, that is, he convinced the *Lacedemonians* of the madness of their proceedings, and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their freedom, to unite themselves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their treachery.

It may indeed seem strange, that the *Spartans*, who had entertained such generous notions of liberty, submitted patiently for so long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawless tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great measure taken off, if we consider two things; *First*, That the manners of the *Lacedemonians* were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very basis of slavery; there can be no such thing as bending the necks of virtuous people: but when once men are abandoned to their vices, and become slaves to their passions, they readily stoop to those who can gratify them; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of *Sparta* at this time. *Secondly*, those amongst them who were distinguished by their merit and their morals, were on this very account proscribed by the tyrants and hated by their creatures; so that they were forced to forsake their country, and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing better times, and even in these consoled themselves with the thought, that *Sparta* yet retained her independency, and was not subjected to any other state [g] (Y).

[g] Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Plutarch. in vit. Philop. Justin. lib xxx. c. 4. lib. xxxi. c. 1. 2.

(Y) There is a point or two in the *Lacedemonian* history, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be considered more largely. *Aratus* undoubtedly intended the preservation of the *Grecian* liberty, especially from the *Macedonian* power, but at the same time he as certainly intended to engage all the *Peloponnesian* states in the *Achæan* league, which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this account it was that he hated and made war upon all the little

little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he ſtiled tyrants and perſecuted as ſuch, as the *Achæans* continued ever after to do. If *Sparta* had acceded to the *Achæan* league, it is very poſſible, that *Greece* might have vindicated its freedom, for ſome time at leaſt, againſt both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*; but *Sparta* had been too long at the head of *Peloponneſus* to think of changing her government at the firſt motion of *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, and therefore gladly accepted the propoſal of *Cleomenes* to reſtore her antient form of government, and with it her antient luſtre (75). *Aratus*, ſeeing that this would intirely overturn his ſcheme, immediately called *Cleomenes* tyrant, and as ſuch would have pulled him down. While the *Spartans*, and thoſe who ſided with the *Spartans*, acknowledged him the vindicator of the antient *Grecian* liberty, one who deſired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preſerve kingly government in *Sparta*. It is true, that *Machanidas* and *Nabis* pretended to carry on the ſame deſign, the latter actually dividing the lands as *Cleomenes* had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing of themſelves and their families, and the ſupporting of a dominion unlawfully acquired, which was far from being his caſe (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly ſtated theſe matters, will clearly appear from the ſubſequent hiſtory of the *Achæans*, wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the *Lacedemonians*, till their manners were wholly changed and the *Lycurgis* inſtitutions rooted out by force. Now whether ſuch proceedings as theſe of ruining a conſtitution that did not ſuit with their league, or *Cleomenes*'s ſcheme for ſupporting every ſtate in its priſtine form, ought with greateſt juſtice to be ſtiled a deſire of beſtowing liberty on *Greece*, the reader muſt determine.

(75) *Polyb. Hiſt. lib.* iv. *Plutarch. in vit. Arati.* (76) *Tit. Liv. lib.* xxxiv.

CHAP. XX.

The History of the ſeveral States of Greece, *from the Beginning of the* Achæan *League to its Diſſolution, and thence ſuccinctly to the preſent Time.*

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of Achaia.

ALL *Greece*, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three ſtates, viz. *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. There were, 'tis true, at this time ſeveral other republics in *Greece*; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction ſometimes with one, and ſometimes with another, of the more powerful ſtates juſt now mentioned, their hiſtories are ſo interwoven with thoſe of the greater republics, that to deliver them ſeparately would be only ſwelling the work with needleſs repetitions, as the reader will find in the peruſal of the following ſheets. We ſhall begin with the hiſtory of *Achaia*, by far the moſt conſiderable republic of *Greece* in its declining times; after having premiſed, that the name of *Achaia* was uſed by the antients in three different ſenſes. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, ſtrictly ſpeaking, call *Greece*; that is, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, the territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. In after-ages it was confined to that country in *Peloponneſus* which was poſſeſſed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth* and the *Ionian* ſea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the *Roman* times the name of *Achaia* comprised

priſed not only all *Peloponneſus*, but ſuch other cities beyond the iſthmus as had entered into the *Achæan* league; upon the diſſolution of which all *Greece* was by a decree of the *Roman* ſenate divided into two provinces, *viz.* that of *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, and that of *Achaia*, which took in all the other ſtates of *Greece*. We have already deſcribed the country [a], and ſhall therefore now proceed to the hiſtory of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidſt innumerable tyrants, but reſtored moſt of the *Greek* cities to their antient freedom.

Achaia, a ſtate originally of ſmall account, roſe by degrees to ſuch a height of reputation and proſperity, as to rival and even eclipſe the moſt powerful ſtates of *Greece*. This great increaſe of power was not owing either to the vaſt numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but ſolely to its wholeſome laws and happy conſtitution. For the *Achæans*, after having ſhaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themſelves, on the plan of a democracy, a new ſyſtem of government, which obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their ſmall republic, united them into one body, and at the ſame time left them in full poſſeſſion of their reſpective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the *Achæans* were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the ſame laws, but moreover had the ſame money, weights, and meaſures, the ſame magiſtrates, council and judges, and in ſhort every thing ſo uniform, that all *Achaia* ſeemed but one city. This invited many of the *Peloponneſians* to embrace their form of government, and accede to the *Achæan* alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this inſtitution reaped no advantage by their acceſſion; for no ſooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the ſame rights and privileges with the reſt. Neither was the fame of their wiſe laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of *Peloponneſus*, but even reached the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, where the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt the *Achæan* laws, and govern their ſtates conformably † (A). The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* had ſuch an eſteem

[a] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. V. p. 570, & ſeq. † POLYB. lib. ii. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

(A) *Polybius* tells us (1), that great diſturbances ariſing among the *Greek* cities in that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græ-*

(1) *Polyb. lib. ii.*

eſteem of their impartial juſtice and equity, that they choſe them after the famous battle of *Leuctra* to compoſe ſome differences that were ſtill ſubſiſting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author obſerves [b], to refer their differences to the arbitration of the *Achæans* by any argument of their greatneſs or power, there being no ſtate at that time in all *Greece* that was not ſuperior to them in both theſe reſpects, but merely in conſideration of their juſtice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

This form of government continued from the expulſion of *Gyges* the laſt king of *Achaia* to the time of *Alexander the Great*, upon whoſe death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inſeparable from diſcord. The ſpirit of patriotiſm no longer prevailed among them, each city purſuing their private intereſt to the prejudice and deſtruction of their neighbours. As theſe diſſenſions and emulations were artificially ſown and carefully fomented by the *Macedonian* princes, ſo they failed not to take their advantage of them; for *Demetrius*, *Caſſander*, and *Antigonus Gonatus*, ſeizing on ſome of their cities, obliged them to receive the *Macedonian* yoke. In this unhappy ſituation they changed maſters as often as *Macedon* did ſovereigns, and were moreover enſlaved by tyrants of their own, who as they eſpouſed the *Macedonian* intereſt, ſo they were ſupported with the whole ſtrength of that kingdom [c].

The Achæan *league revived.* Year of the flood, 2719. Before Chriſt, 280.

The *Achæans*, accuſtomed to live according to their own laws and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook ſo ſlaviſh a ſubjection, and therefore in the 124th olympiad, which was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, they began to revive their antient union and return to their former aſſociation. The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* gave the firſt example of this happy change. Five years after thoſe of *Ægium*, having driven out the *Macedonian* garriſon, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of *Bura*

[b] Polyb. ibid. [c] Polyb. & Pausan. ubi ſupra.

cia, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to them from all parts of *Greece*; but that the council only of the *Achæans* was choſen to cure thoſe great evils and compoſe the diſſenſions; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that all thoſe cities by common conſent agreed to imitate them, and to form themſelves according to the example of the *Achæan* republic. Whereupon uniting in one body they built a temple to *Jupiter Honorius*, appointing that place for the congreſs of their general aſſemblies.

followed

followed their example, having firſt killed their prince or tyrant; and ſoon after thoſe of *Ceraunia* incorporated their city into the ſame *Achæan* body, *Iſeas* their tyrant reſigning the dominion, upon promiſe of indemnity for what was paſſed [d].

THE cities we have mentioned were the firſt that revived the antient aſſociation, continuing for the ſpace of twenty five years to maintain the ſame form of government without being joined by any others. But at laſt the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a ſincere zeal for juſtice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew ſeveral neighbouring cities to join them. *Sicyon* was one of the firſt that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by *Aratus* (B) the *Sicyonian*, who at the age of twenty years reſcued

[d] Idem, ibid.

(B) *Aratus*, a native of *Sicyon*, played on this occaſion a noble part on the ſtage of action, which rendered his name famous all over *Greece*. *Sicyon*, having long mourned under the yoke of her domeſtic tyrants, attempted to ſhake it off by devolving the power on *Clinias*, the father of *Aratus*, and one of her beſt citizens. The government began to flouriſh and aſſume a new form under his wiſe conduct, when *Abantidas* found means to diſconcert his meaſures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed *Clinias*, and with him all thoſe who ſtood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewiſe deſtroyed *Aratus*, who was then but ſeven years old, had not the infant eſcaped with ſome others, amidſt the diſorders and confuſion that filled the houſe when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmoſt conſternation and diſtreſs, he accidentally entered the houſe of the tyrant's ſiſter, with a deſign to conceal himſelf there till the tumult was over, for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's ſiſter being perſuaded that this deſtitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulſe of ſome deity, cauſed him the enſuing night to be ſecretly conveyed to *Argos*, where he was educated with the utmoſt care by ſome hoſpitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had paſſed through ſeveral hands, when *Aratus*, being come to man's eſtate, began to entertain thoughts of reſcuing his country from the oppreſſion it groaned under. He was greatly reſpected both for his birth and the many excellent qualities which he began already to diſplay on ſeveral occaſions. The *Sicyonian* exiles, diſcovering in him an early averſion to tyrants, began to caſt their eyes upon him, as a perſon deſtined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For *Aratus* had ſcarce attained the twentieth year of his age,

reſcued his country from tyranny, and reſtored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the *Achæan* league, he took by ſurprize *Acro-Corinth* (C), and alſo the city of *Megara*, age, when he formed a confederacy againſt *Nicocles*, who was tyrant of *Sicyon* at that time, and purſued his meaſures with ſo much prudence and ſecrecy, that, notwithſtanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he ſcaled the walls of *Sicyon*, and entered the city by night, before *Nicocles* had any notice, or even ſuſpicion of his deſign. However, he had the good luck to make his eſcape, leaving *Aratus* in poſſeſſion of the city. The next morning the people being aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been tranſacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice, that *Aratus the ſon of* Clinias *invited the citizens to reſume their antient liberty*. Theſe joyful words were no ſooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated ſhouts and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was *Sicyon* delivered from its tyrants without the loſs of one ſingle man on either ſide; for *Aratus* commanded his followers to abſtain from ſlaughter, ſaying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumſtance gave him no leſs joy than the action itſelf.

Sicyon began then to recover its antient ſplendor; but *Aratus* was not yet quite eaſed from his inquietude and perplexity. *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* had ſupported and protected *Nicocles*, and was ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to make himſelf maſter of the city, or eſtabliſh in it ſome other tyrant: Seeds of ſedition were artfully ſown among the citizens by his partizans and emiſſaries; and *Aratus* was extremely apprehenſive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the ſafeſt and moſt prudent conduct in ſo delicate a juncture would be to unite *Sicyon* in the *Achæan* league, which he did accordingly, ſtrengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himſelf among the cavalry for the ſervice of that ſtate (2).

(C) The iſthmus of *Corinth* unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponneſus*. The citadel of *Corinth*, known by the name of *Acro-Corinth*, was ſituated on a high mountain between thoſe two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land; ſo that this fortreſs cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the iſthmus, and can awe, if well gariſoned, all *Greece*; for which reaſon *Philip* of *Macedon* uſed to call it the fetters of *Greece*.

This fortreſs *Antigonus* had taken by ſurprize, with a deſign to enſlave all *Peloponneſus*; but *Aratus* wreſted it out of his hand by an

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

action

gara, from the *Macedonians*, uniting them both to the *Achæans*. The cities of *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were

action equal, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, to the moſt celebrated enterprizes of the antient heroes of *Greece*. After he had been long meditating with himſelf by what means he might gain that important place, he was by accident furniſhed with an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign.

One *Erginus*, an inhabitant of *Corinth*, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of *Sicyon*, who was a particular friend of *Aratus*. As the citadel happened one day to be the ſubject of their converſation, *Erginus* told his friend, that in going to viſit his brother, who was a ſoldier of the gariſon, he had obſerved a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortreſs was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, aſked his friend with a ſmile, whether he and his brother were deſirous to make their fortunes. *Erginus* underſtood him, and promiſed to ſound his brother, by name *Diocles*, on that head. A few days after he returned to *Sicyon*, and engaged with the banker to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high, adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. *Aratus* promiſed on his part to reward them with ſixty talents if the affair ſhould ſucceed; but as he was not maſter of ſuch a ſum, and the borrowing it might create ſuſpicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a ſecurity for the promiſed reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and ſurmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was ſufficient to diſcourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to paſs the night under arms. He then ſelected four hundred men, furniſhed them with ſcaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a ſteep rock within the city. They ſcaled the walls without being obſerved, *Erginus* having, with the aſſiſtance of his brother and ſome others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great ſilence through the city, they met with a ſmall guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who making his eſcape alarmed the city. But *Aratus*, notwithſtanding the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortreſs ſtood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But miſſing the path that was ſtruck out of the rock, by reaſon of a thick fog which roſe from the ſea at their firſt entering the city, *Aratus* was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the ſtreets, and even the ramparts blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets ſounded to arms on all ſides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog

were likewiſe prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary reſignation of the authority they had uſurped over their fellow-citizens [c]. The tyrants of the *Argives*, of the *Hermionians*, and the *Phliaſians*, following their example, thoſe ſtates were likewiſe received into the alliance.

As theſe glorious ſucceſſes raiſed the reputation of the *Achæan* league, ſo they created no ſmall jealouſy in the neigh-

[c] Polyb. ibid. Plut. in Arato.

fog all on a ſudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to ſhine with the ſame brightneſs as before, diſcovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldeſt men, and arrived with much ado at the ſpot which had been deſcribed to him. But he found the gariſon, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately diſpatched *Erginus* to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While theſe were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a cloſe body, *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of king *Antigonus*, appeared at the head of a conſiderable band, with a deſign to mount the hill and attack *Aratus* in the rear. The three hundred *Sicyonians* at his approach concealed themſelves among the rocks; but he was no ſooner paſt than they ſtarted out, and fell upon him with ſuch reſolution, that he was ſoon put to the rout. This action was ſcarce over when *Erginus* arrived, and acquainted them, that *Aratus* was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate aſſiſtance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by *Erginus*, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their approach with loud ſhouts to animate their friends, and ſtrike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their ſhouts, doubled by the ecchoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight ſilence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint reſiſtance from the wall, and left *Aratus* abſolute maſter of the citadel. In the mean time the reſt of the troops arriving from *Sicyon* were not only received with open arms, but aſſiſted by the *Corinthians* in ſeizing all the *Macedonians* that were in the city.

Aratus having ſecured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having aſſembled the people in the theatre acquainted them in a long diſcourſe with the particulars of the *Achæan* league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimouſly agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon *Aratus* reſtored to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power ſince the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (3).

(3) *Plut. in Arat.*

bouring

bouring ſtates. But before we proceed to the wars which they were ſoon involved in by their jealous and reſtleſs neighbours, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of their happy conſtitution. All the cities ſubject to the *Achæan* league were governed by the great council or general aſſembly of the whole nation. To this aſſembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to ſend a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their reſpective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no reſolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the intereſts of each particular city ſo conſulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the ſupreme and legiſlative power was lodged in the aſſembly, it was conſtantly convened twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn; but ſeldom out of theſe ſtated times, unleſs upon ſome very urgent occaſion. In theſe meetings they enacted laws, diſpoſed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquieſce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refuſed to furniſh their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magiſtrate of the whole league, called by the *Greeks Strategos*, and by the *Latins Prætor*, was choſen in the general aſſembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the *prætor's* province to preſide in the diet, and command the army. They choſe at firſt two *prætors*, but it was ſoon thought adviſeable to reduce them to one; and the firſt who enjoyed that dignity alone was *Marcus* the *Carian*, who was ſucceeded by the famous *Aratus*. The *prætor* and other magiſtrates were appointed in the vernal aſſemblies, and ſeldom continued two years ſucceſſively in the ſame employment. The former was veſted with great power, eſpecially in time of war; but at the ſame time liable to be called to an account by the general aſſembly, and puniſhed without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of miſdemeanour or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the *prætor*, and therefore ſtiled by *Polybius* and *Livy* the ſupreme magiſtrates of the *Acheans*. They were ten in number, choſen by the general aſſembly from among the moſt eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to aſſiſt with their advice the *prætor*, who was to lay nothing before the aſſembly but what had been previouſly approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the *prætor's* abſence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and in ſome extraordinary caſes they

were even impowered to ſummon the general aſſembly out of the ſtated times.

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the antients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiouſly obſerved, while the republic continued in a flouriſhing condition. 1. That an extraordinary aſſembly was not to be ſummoned at the requeſt of foreign ambaſſadors, unleſs they firſt notified in writing to the *prætor* and *demiurgi* the ſubject of their embaſſy. 2. That no city ſubject to the league ſhould ſend any embaſſy to a foreign prince or ſtate, without the conſent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the aſſembly ſhould accept of preſents from foreign princes under any pretence whatſoever. 4. That no prince, ſtate, or city ſhould be admitted into the league without the conſent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general aſſembly ſhould never ſit above three days. Theſe laws have been explained at length, and illuſtrated with many uſeful obſervations by a modern writer of no mean character [e], to whom we refer the reader, and reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

The *Ætolians*, conceiving no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power and extraordinary ſucceſs of the *Achæans*, began to inſtil the ſame into the neighbouring ſtates, with a view of breaking the union of thoſe cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The ſenſe of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendſhip of the *Achæans*, during their war with *Antigonus*, with-held them from openly declaring war againſt their benefactors. However, they left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the *Lacedemonians*, and engage their king *Cleomenes* in a war againſt the *Achæans*; wherein they ſucceeded to their wiſh; for *Cleomenes* at their inſtigation having built a fortreſs in the territory of the *Megalopolitans* called *Athenæum*, the *Achæans* interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general aſſembly, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould be reputed enemies [f]. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the *Cleomenic* war (C).

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[e] Martini. Shoockii. Reſpub. Achæor. & Veient. [f] Idem, ibid.

(C) *Plutarch* (4) relates the occaſion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Cleomenes*, not being able to brook

(4) *Plut. in Cleom.*

THIS declaration of the *Achæan* confederacy was no sooner heard at *Sparta*, but the *ephori* commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of *Cleomenes*, who, coming up with the *Achæans* near *Pallantium*, offered them battle. But *Aratus* declaring againſt an engagement, *Ariſtomachus* the *Achæan* general made a retreat, which drew ſevere reproaches upon *Aratus*, both from his own countrymen and from the enemy, whoſe army did not amount to five thouſand men in the whole; whereas that of the *Achæans* conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe [g]. Not long after the two armies met again, when the *Achæans* were defeated; but *Aratus*, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched ſtrait to *Mantinæa*, and, before the enemy could have any ſuſpicion of his deſign, made himſelf maſter of that important place. This advantage was ſoon counter-ballanced by the loſs of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were ſlain with *Lyſiades* their general, while they were purſuing with too much eagerneſs and in diſorder the *Lacedemonians*, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory *Cleomenes* advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where his troops committed great devaſtations, and got a very conſiderable booty. To theſe ravages he added inſults, cauſing public games and plays to be exhibited in the ſight of the enemy, not that he had any ſatisfaction in ſuch ſhews and diverſions, but only with a view to convince the *Achæans*, that he entirely deſpiſed them, and was ſure of victory, having to deal with ſo contemptible a foe [h].

The Cleomenic *war.* Year of the Flood 2766. Before Chriſt, 233.

THE *Achæans*, now reduced to the laſt extremity, and under apprehenſion of being enſlaved by the *Lacedemonians*, eſ-

[g] PLUT. in Cleom. [h] PLUT. ibid.

brook the authority of the *ephori*, who engroſſed all the power to themſelves, leaving him only the empty title of king, reſolved to change the form of government; and as he was ſenſible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accompliſhment of his deſign would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the *Achæans*, who luckily for his purpoſe had given *Sparta* ſome occaſions of complaint; for *Aratus*, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the *Arcadians*, who had eſpouſed the party of the *Lacedemonians*, to abandon them and enter into the *Achæan* league, entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity *Cleomenes* laid hold of, and taking the field treated the *Achæans* as they had done the *Arcadians*. According to this account the *Achæans*, and not the *Lacedemonians*, were the aggreſſors.

peeially if they ſhould be joined by the *Ætolians*, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But *Aratus*, dreading the conſequence of a treaty ſet on foot between his diſpirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, uſed his utmoſt efforts to divert them from it, and at the ſame time had recourſe to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* in this war againſt the *Lacedemonians*, which opened a way to the *Macedonians* into *Greece*.

The Achæans *invite* Antigonus *into* Greece. Year of the Flood 2772. Before Chriſt 227.

Aratus knew, that *Antigonus* had great cauſe to be diſſatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was likewiſe ſenſible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but meaſure amitie and enmities by the rules of intereſt. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would oppoſe it, and that the *Achæans* themſelves would have reaſon to deſpair, if they ſhould ſee their general applying to their enemy. He therefore reſolved to proſecute his purpoſe with ſuch caution as to leave no room for ſuſpicion, and to carry on his meaſures ſo as to keep them undiſcovered. He was not ignorant, that the *Megalopolitans*, by their neighbourhood to the *Lacedemonians*, were moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemies, and conſequently, as they were greatly inclined to the houſe of *Macedon*, for the many favours they had received at the hand of *Philip* ſon of *Amyntas*, they would reſort for ſuccour to *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Having therefore gained over to his ſcheme *Nicopanes* and *Cercidas*, two principal citizens of *Megalopolis*, and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought it ſo about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to ſend ambaſſadors to the aſſembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to ſollicit ſuccours from *Antigonus*. *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* were themſelves ſent to the *Achæans* with orders to proceed to *Antigonus* if they approved the propoſition. The general aſſembly, having given audience to the ambaſſadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual ſuccours by reaſon of their own great ſtraits, aſſented to their propoſal, and granted them leave to purſue their orders. When they received audience of *Antigonus*, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, purſuant to the inſtructions of *Aratus*, on the imminent danger to which the king himſelf would be expoſed, ſhould the alliance, which was then talked of between the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes*, take place. They repreſented to him, that, if the united forces of thoſe two ſtates ſhould gain over the *Achæans* the advanta-

ges

ges they expected, the ambition of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would never be satisfied with the single conquest of *Peloponnesus*, but would aspire to the empire of all *Greece*, which they could not compass without first destroying the *Macedonian* monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take; whether to succour the *Achæans* in opposition to *Cleomenes* and defeat his ambitious designs, or, by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great a people, become liable at last to sustain a war in *Thessaly* for the empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians* but with the *Achæans* themselves. To these remonstrances they added, that, if the *Ætolians* continued their neutrality, the *Achæans* would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces; but, if on the other hand the *Ætolians* should join the enemy, they must then intreat him to prevent with timely succours the ruin of *Peloponnesus*, which might be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They likewise took care to insinuate, that *Aratus* would give such security for his fair proceeding and sincere intentions as should be pleasing to both parties, and that he himself would take upon him to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and with great pleasure laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of *Greece*. He likewise wrote an obliging letter to the *Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his assistance whensoever the *Achæans* should think fit to call for it. The ambassadors having acquainted *Aratus* with the good disposition wherein they found *Antigonus* towards the *Achæans*, he was not a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished indeed to have had no occasion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet, to shun the blame that might redound upon the authors of such measures, he took care they should appear as concerted by the *Achæans* without his privity. The *Megalopolitans* having acquainted the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of *Macedon*, and sent the letter of *Antigonus* to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into *Peloponnesus* without further delay. But *Aratus* standing up made a long speech, exhorting them to try first, whether they could support themselves with their own forces; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune should declare against them, it would then be time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice was approved by the whole assembly, and it was then concluded,

that

that the *Achæans* ſhould employ their own forces only in the proſecution of the war [i].

The war proved very unſucceſsful for the *Achæans*, who, being often worſted by *Cleomenes*, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their ſtrong holds. Neither were theſe able to ſtop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign took the cities of *Caphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phliunte*, *Cleonæ*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itſelf. Theſe ſucceſſes allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate; and accordingly, *Aratus*, at their entreaties, diſpatched his ſon to *Antigonus*, inviting that prince to come with all ſpeed to their aſſiſtance, and aſſuring him that, on his arrival, *Acro-Corinth* ſhould be put into his hands. *Antigonus* immediately began his march towards *Peloponneſus*, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and fourteen hundred horſe, and arriving at the iſthmus encamped juſt oppoſite to *Cleomenes*, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole ſpace between *Acro-Corinth* and the *Onion* hills. As *Antigonus* did not think it adviſeable, nor even practicable, to force his way through, and on the other hand had not a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to ſubſiſt his army till the *Achæans* joined him, he was preparing to decamp, and tranſport his troops by ſea to *Sicyon*. But in the mean time a meſſenger arriving at the camp acquainted *Aratus*, who was come to meet *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes*, and were then beſieging the citadel. Whereupon *Aratus*, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to ſea, and arriving at *Epidaurus* marched from thence to *Argos*, and made himſelf maſter both of the city and caſtle, after having defeated in a ſkirmiſh the partizans of *Cleomenes*, and killed *Megiſtones* who had been detached from the army to their relief [k]. This ſucceſs proved of great conſequence to the *Achæans*, and firſt of all gave riſe to the proſperity of the allies; for *Cleomenes*, hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehenſive that the enemies would ſurround him, abandoned his lines and retired with great precipitation, firſt to *Argos*, and then to *Mantinea*. He appeared before *Argos* quite unexpected, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of *Aratus*, and *Antigonus* purſuing him cloſe with all his forces.

Antigonus *arrives in* Greece. Year of the Flood 2774. Year Before Chriſt, 225.

Antigonus, having thus entered *Peloponneſus* without the loſs of one ſingle man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately ſurrendered, and thence to *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchome-*

[i] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Cleom. & Arat. [k] Plut. in Arat. & Cleom. Polyb. ubi ſupra.

nus,

nus, *Hærea*, and *Telphuſſa*; all which places, terrified at the approach of the *Macedonians*, either voluntarily ſubmitted, or made but a faint reſiſtance. And now winter drawing near, he ſent home his troops, and went himſelf to *Ægium* to aſſiſt at the general aſſembly of the *Achæans*, where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was choſen general of the confederate army, and the important caſtle of *Acro-Corinth* was, by a decree of the council, made over to him.

Megalopolis *taken and deſtroyed by* Cleomenes.

IN the mean time *Cleomenes*, receiving intelligence that *Antigonus* had ſent home his army while he himſelf continued at *Ægium*, formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city of *Megalopolis*, very conſiderable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and extent to *Sparta* itſelf. As the gariſon was not very ſtrong at that time, nor the guards very ſtrict in their duty, ſince *Antigonus* was near at hand, and the enemy weakened with frequent loſſes, *Cleomenes*, imagined he might eaſily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain ſome of the inhabitants over to his intereſt; and accordingly applied himſelf to certain *Meſſenians*, who, having been baniſhed their country, had taken ſanctuary in *Megalopolis*. Being conducted by theſe, he arrived at the city by night, ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of the place without the leaſt oppoſition. Moſt of the inhabitants retired to *Meſſene*, whither *Cleomenes* ſent a herald to acquaint them, that he would reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achæan* league and join the *Lacedemonians*. But they choſe rather to ſee themſelves diveſted of all that was moſt dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had ſwore to their allies. The famous *Philopœmen*, whom we ſhall have frequently occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory, contributed not a little to this generous reſolution. This refuſal highly enraged *Cleomenes*, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, ſent all the ſtatues and pictures to *Sparta*, demoliſhed the houſes, threw down the walls, and committed ſo many outrages, that he left not ſo much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place [1].

Antigonus having ſent his troops, as we have already obſerved, into winter quarters in *Macedonia*, *Cleomenes* aſſembled his early in the ſpring with a deſign to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the reſult of temerity and deſpair, but according to *Polybius*, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all im-

[1] PLUT. & POLYB. ibidem.

aginable

aginable prudence and ſagacity. As the *Macedonians* were diſperſed in their winter quarters, and *Antigonus* enjoying himſelf with his friends at *Argos*, without any other forces but a few mercenaries, *Cleomenes* taking the field made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, laying waſte the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he propoſed in this enterprize was, to bring *Antigonus* to hazard an engagement, which in all probability he would have loſt; or, if he declined it, to leſſen his reputation among the *Achæans*, and raiſe complaints againſt him, chiefly in the city of *Argos*. This project ſucceeded according to his expectation; for the *Argians*, ſeeing their country ravaged and laid waſte under the king's eyes while he continued inactive, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats preſſed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to reſign the command of their troops to thoſe who were leſs timorous than himſelf. But *Antigonus* was deaf to all their reproaches and remonſtrances, and, in ſpite of the many reflections that were publicly caſt upon him on that occaſion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy inſulting him at the very gates. Thus *Cleomenes*, having frightened the enemy, and inſpired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to *Sparta*. In the beginning of the ſummer, *Antigonus*, being deſirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeſervedly loſt among the *Achæans*, took the field with an army of twenty eight thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and advanced into *Laconia*.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the enemy would ſoon viſit him, took care to guard all the paſſes with ſtrong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid acroſs. He marched himſelf with a body of twenty thouſand men, and encamped at a certain place called *Sellaſia*, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the enemy propoſed to paſs that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This paſs was formed by two mountains, the one called *Eva*, the other *Olympus*; between theſe runs the river *Oenus*, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of theſe mountains, poſted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount *Eva*, under the command of his brother *Euclidas*, while he himſelf encamped on mount *Olympus* with the *Spartan* troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river ſuſtained by a body of mercenary foot. When *Antigonus* arrived, and viewed the ſituation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that *Cleomenes* had made, and obſerved

observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it adviseable to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the banks of the *Gorgulus*, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days, the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts, and the disposition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but finding every post well guarded, and *Cleomenes* warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemies camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having stood thus to their defence some days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at last agreed on a decisive battle.

IT is not easy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to such a resolution; he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedemon*? *Polybius* indeed seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us [m], that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the same time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

The battle of Sellasia. Year of the Flood 2776. Year before Christ, 223.

BOTH armies being drawn up and the signals given, *Antigonus* detached a body of *Illyrians* against *Euclidas*, who was posted on mount *Eva*; but while they were ascending the hill some light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while *Euclidas*, who was posted on the top of the hill, pressed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. *Philopœmen*, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the *Illyrians* were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of *Megalopolitans* his countrymen, the enemies horse, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on

[m] POLYB. lib. ii.

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The battle of Sellaſia. Year of the Flood 2776. Year before Chriſt, 223.

IT is not eaſy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to ſuch a reſolution; he was poſted very advantageouſly; his troops were not ſo numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedemon*? *Polybius* indeed ſeems to inſinuate the cauſe of this proceeding; for he tells us [m], that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the ſame time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no proſpect of any ſupplies from foreign ſtates, we may ſuppoſe that the deſperate poſture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

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[m] POLYB. lib. ii.

the *Illyrians* rear, to haſten to the relief of the cavalry; for *Cleomenes* had poſted them at firſt near the cavalry on purpoſe to ſupport and cover them. By this means the *Illyrians* being diſengaged reſolutely marched up the hill againſt *Euclidas*, who, inſtead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the ſhock which the deſcent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was firſt poſted. The *Illyrians*, having gained the top of the hill without any oppoſition, now advanced againſt *Euclidas* on even ground, and attacked him with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was ſoon defeated and moſt of his men cut in pieces. This ſucceſs againſt *Euclidas* was entirely owing to *Philopœmen*, as *Antigonus* himſelf acknowledged; for, after the battle, having aſked the officer that engaged the enemy's horſe, how he came to fall upon them before the ſignal, and the officer excuſing himſelf by ſaying, that a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction, the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw ſoldier [n].

During this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewiſe engaged on the plain by the river. The *Achæans* behaved with uncommon bravery, being ſenſible that this battle would decide their liberties. *Philopœmen* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt, for his horſe being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemies, till he was with a javelin ſtruck through both thighs at one ſtroke.

But the ſharpeſt encounter was on mount *Olympus*, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, conſiſting of about five thouſand on each ſide. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man ſtrove to ſignalize himſelf, and perform ſomething worthy of ſuch ſpectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either ſide; but at laſt *Cleomenes*, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehenſive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviſeable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having ſounded the ſignal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both ſides with equal animoſity; but the *Lacedemonian* phalanx, not being able to ſuſtain the

Cleomenes defeated.

[n] Idem, ibid.

ſhock

ſhock of the double *Macedonian* phalanx, gave ground, and ſoon fell into the utmoſt confuſion. The overthrow then became general; the *Lacedemonians* were every where cut in pieces, and thoſe who found means to make their eſcape fled from the field of battle in the greateſt diſorder. *Cleomenes* with a ſmall party of horſe retreated to *Sparta*, whence he departed the night following to *Gythium*, where he embarked on a veſſel, that attended him there according to his directions, and ſailed to *Alexandria*, accompanied by a ſmall number only of his intimate friends [o]. *Plutarch* aſſures us, that moſt of the foreign troops in both armies were ſlain in this engagement, and that of ſix thouſand *Lacedemonians* two hundred only outlived the action.

Cleomenes had ſcarce ſet ſail when *Antigonus* arrived at *Sparta*, and made himſelf maſter of it without reſiſtance; for *Cleomenes* had adviſed the citizens to receive *Antigonus*, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war againſt the *Spartans*, but againſt *Cleomenes*, whoſe flight had diſarmed his reſentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory ſo glorious in future ages as to have it ſaid, that *Sparta* had been preſerved by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addreſſed the citizens, he declared them free and reſtored them to the full enjoyment of their antient privileges. He ſhewed an inclination to continue ſome time among them, but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occaſioned by the intelligence he received that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If *Cleomenes* had reſpited giving battle three days only, or had fortified himſelf in *Sparta* and held out for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, he would have preſerved his dominions. From *Sparta Antigonus* marched to *Tegæa*, which city he likewiſe declared free, and from thence to *Argos*, where the general aſſembly of the *Achæan* confederacy was then ſitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the *Achæan* league, and by a decree of the council declared the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded by long journies to *Macedon*, where he gained a ſignal victory over the *Illyrians*; but on that occaſion ſtraining his voice to animate his men, he burſt a vein, and having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill ſtate of

[o] POLYB. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Cleom.

health, which soon after took him out of the world [p]. Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquility.

The war of the confederates.

But the *Ætolians* were soon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honestly, and abstain from plunder and rapine which they used to subsist on, leading much the same life on land as pirates do at sea; they had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all those as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of *Antigonus*, the fear they were under lest he should fall upon them kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the *Messenians*, and carrying off their cattle and whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magistrates of such proceedings; but they seemed rather enclined to encourage than restrain such robberies, being sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders was one *Dorimachus* of *Trichonia*, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him [q], every way an *Ætolian*, who being sent to *Phigalia*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, but of the *Ætolian* confederacy, to be as a spy upon the *Achæans*, encouraged the loose rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the *Messenians* had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquility. *Dorimachus* told their deputies, that he would come himself to *Messene*, and there hear their complaints and see all their grievances redressed. He went to *Messene* accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, while he still remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers from *Phigalia* attacked in the night a certain country-house called *Chyron*, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the *Messenians*, having cited *Dorimachus* to appear before their assembly, arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison, till he promised, in the most solemn manner, that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered, and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he

[p] Polyb. lib. ii. [q] Polyb. lib. iv.

prevailed

prevailed upon the *Ætolians* to revenge the treatment he had met with at *Meſſene*, by declaring war againſt the *Meſſenians*, which being proclaimed, the *Ætolian* pirates began to infeſt the neighbouring ſeas, taking all the ſhips they met with; they even made prize of a ſhip belonging to the king of *Macedon*, and carrying her to *Cythera* ſold there both the ſhip and her company. In ſhort, they plundered all the coaſt of *Epirus*, made an attempt on *Thyrea* a city of *Acarnania*, and, conveying ſome troops privately into *Peloponneſus*, ſurpriſed and kept poſſeſſion of a ſtrong hold called *Clarium* in the *Megalopolitan* territory, making uſe of it to lodge and ſecure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very heart of *Peloponneſus*, they began their march towards *Meſſene*, plundering the cities of *Patræ* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achæan* alliance, and laying waſte all the countries through which they paſſed, till they came to *Phigalia*, which they made their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the *Meſſenians* [r].

THE *Achæans* in the mean time aſſembling according to cuſtom at *Ægium*, the complaints of the *Patræans* and *Pharæans* were heard, and the deputies of the *Meſſenians* ſent to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans* againſt the common enemy. After the aſſembly had deliberated on theſe matters, it was agreed, that the ſtate had been affronted by this inſolent proceeding of the *Ætolians*, who had preſumed to enter *Achaia* in a hoſtile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace. Whereupon, juſtly provoked by theſe infractions, they reſolved to ſend ſuccours to the *Meſſenians*, and that, as ſoon as the prætor ſhould have raiſed them, they would then proceed further to execute what ſhould be thought expedient by the aſſembly. *Timaxenus*, who was then prætor of the *Achæans*, was not at all pleaſed with the decree of the aſſembly; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the *Achæan* ſoldiery. But *Aratus*, provoked at the indignities they had ſuffered by the audacious *Ætolians*, loſt no time in putting the *Achæans* under arms, being determined to come ſpeedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he diſpatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day, when all their young men fit for the ſervice ſhould aſſemble at *Megalopolis*. All the *Achæan* youth being drawn together purſuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he ſent a meſſenger to the *Ætolians*, requiring them to depart

[r] POLYB. lib. iv.

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the territories of *Meſſenia*, and not to march into *Achäia* on peril of being treated as enemies. The *Ætolians*, not being at that time in a condition to make head againſt the army of the *Achæans*, complied with his demand. Whereupon *Aratus* diſmiſſed the *Achæans* and *Lacedemonians* who had joined him, marching only with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he obſerved, that they were marching off with an immenſe booty, which ſo provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the diſadvantages imaginable. The diſpute was long and obſtinate, but at laſt the *Achæans*, having the diſadvantage of the ground and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The *Ætolians* purſued them cloſe with great ſhouts and acclamations, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the fugitives, that they muſt have all been cut off, had they not had at hand the ſafe retreats of *Orchomenus* and *Caphya*. The *Megalopolitans*, who had drawn all their forces together in order to join *Aratus*, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other uſe than to bury thoſe whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the *Ætolians*, having gained a complete victory contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite croſs the *Peloponneſus*, made an unſucceſsful attempt on the *Pellene*, plundered the territory of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the iſthmus.

Battle of Caphya *loſt by* Aratus. Year of the Flood 2778. Before Chriſt, 221.

Aratus *accuſed before the aſſembly of the* Achæans.

In the mean time, the *Achæans* having called their general aſſembly, complaints were made againſt *Aratus* by all the allies, as the cauſe of the loſs and diſhonour which they had ſuſtained. And indeed there was no diſpute, but *Aratus* had greatly erred in having, we may ſay, uſurped the magiſtracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had ſucceeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loſs of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his paſt ſervices they would not cenſure him with more rigour than humanity. His ſubmiſſion on this occaſion changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accuſers, who, privately withdrawing, left *Aratus* in greater eſteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the aſſembly gave themſelves entirely up to his counſel and conduct, and re-inſtated him in the command of the allied army. However,

ver, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior; and though the *Ætolians* often gave him opportunities to distress them, he made no advantage of them, but suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole country [r] (D).

THE *Achæans* were therefore forced to address *Macedonia* again, and call in *Philip*, in hopes that the affection he bore to *Aratus*, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to send them speedy succours. For *Antigonus* on his death-bed had above all things entreated *Philip* to join with *Aratus*, and follow his counsel in all things relating to *Greece*; he had also sent him when very young into *Peloponnesus*, to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. *Philip*, having given audience to the *Achæan* deputies, and understood by their speech the injuries they had suffered from the *Ætolians*, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of *Antigonus*, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly soon after set out for *Greece* and arrived at *Corinth*. Upon his arrival the embassadors of the confederates, who were already met at *Corinth*, began to concert with him what measures they should take with relation to the *Ætolians*. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in *Peloponnesus* against them, and war unanimously declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly, with the concurrence and approbation of *Philip*, that all those who had been sufferers by the *Ætolians*, since the death of *Demetrius* father to *Philip*, should be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or state had been awed into an alliance with the *Ætolians*, and paid them tribute, they should be forthwith set at liberty, the security

[r] POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Arat.

(D) *Aratus* was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected: secondly, he was blamed for having dismissed the *Achæan* troops, while the *Ætolians* were still in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, notwithstanding he had before been well assured, that they did all they could to engage *Peloponnesus* in a war. The third article against him was, his venturing to join battle with so few troops, when he might have made with great ease a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that, after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one soldier-like step in the whole conduct of the action.

of

of their respective governments committed to their own hands, and all garisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, to the end, that, it being every where received and ratified by the suffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different states proclaim war against the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the *confederate war* [t].

The *Ætolians* on the other side prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. *Philip*, having concerted with the *Achæans* the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into *Macedon*, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He won over *Scerdilaidas* to the *Achæan* league. He was a petty king of *Illyria*, and had engaged in an alliance with the *Ætolians*, but was at that time highly incensed against them for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils which had been got at the taking of *Cynætha*. This breach of articles so disgusted him, that he was easily prevailed upon by *Philip* to enter into the common alliance, and furnish a fleet of thirty ships, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents [u]. The *Achæans* likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The *Acarnanians* without any hesitation declared war against the *Ætolians*, though they were most exposed to the enemy's insults, as lying nearest the *Ætolian* territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themselves. Our author bestows the highest encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the *Greeks* with which friendship may be more safely contracted, there being none that profess more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other considerations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greatest dangers [w]. The *Epirots* refused to declare war, till *Philip* should first proclaim it. The *Messenians*, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unless *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the *Ætolian* league. The *Lacedæmonians* had declared at first for the *Achæans*, but the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the *Ætolians*. Thus all things falling out to the wish of the *Ætolians*, they entered on

[t] Polyb. ibid. p. 294, 299. [u] Idem, ibid. p. 305, 306. [w] Idem, ibid. p 330.

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the war with great hopes of ſucceſs, while the *Achæans* had but a melancholy proſpect of their affairs. For *Philip*, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the *Epirots* were ſlow in their preparations, and the *Meſſenians* continued neuter, while the *Ætolians*, aſſiſted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attacked them on all ſides [x] and gained very conſiderable advantages. Embaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to *Philip*, who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, and croſſing *Theſſaly* arrived in *Epirus*. Here he was prevailed upon by the *Epirots* to lay ſiege to *Ambracia*, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare againſt his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into *Ætolia*, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While *Philip* was employed at *Ambracia*, *Scopas*, at the head of a numerous body of *Ætolians*, took his march through *Theſſaly*, and entering *Macedonia* ravaged the country without the leaſt oppoſition, returning home in a ſhort time with an immenſe booty. However, this did not hinder *Philip* from purſuing the ſiege of *Ambracia*, and, after the ſurrender of that city, entering *Ætolia* and ſeizing on a great many important places. He would have ſoon reduced all *Ætolia*, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the *Dardanians* were upon the point of invading. At his departure he aſſured the embaſſadors of the *Achæans*, that as ſoon as he ſhould be able to compoſe his affairs at home, he would return into *Greece* and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power. His unexpected arrival ſo terrified the *Dardanians*, that they diſmiſſed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of *Macedonia*, and retired home. Whereupon *Philip* returning to *Theſſaly* ſpent there the remaining part of the ſummer in the city of *Lariſſa* [y].

IN the mean time *Dorimachus*, whom the *Ætolians* had juſt before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops led them into the upper *Epirus*, laying waſte the whole country, not ſo much in proſpect of profit to himſelf, as out of malice to the *Epirots*. He did not even ſpare the temple of *Dodona*, but laid it in aſhes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that ſtately edifice. *Philip* having notice of theſe ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left *Lariſſa*, and taking with him three thouſand *Chalcaſpides*, ſo called from their carrying brazen ſhields, two thouſand buckler-men, three hundred *Candiots*, and about

[x] Idem, ibid. p. 334. [y] POLYB. ibid.

four hundred horſe, marched through *Theſſaly* and *Eubœa* to *Corinth*, where he arrived without any one's having the leaſt notice of his march. On his arrival he ſent for *Aratus*, and diſpatched letters to his ſon, who bore the ſame name, and was that year prætor and commander in chief of the *Achean* forces, requiring him to aſſemble the troops as ſoon as poſſible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. *Caphya* was the place agreed on, whither while *Philip* was marching, he met with a detachment of two thouſand *Eleans*, who under the command of *Euripidas*, were advancing to plunder the territory of *Sicyon*, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of *Philip*'s return, he took about twelve hundred of them, and cut the reſt in pieces. Three days after he arrived at *Caphya*, where he halted two days to refreſh his troops, and then together with *Aratus* the younger, who had there drawn together ten thouſand *Acheans*, he advanced to *Pſophis*, with a deſign to beſiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable, both on account of its natural ſituation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and beſides was furniſhed with a ſtrong gariſon commanded by *Euripidas*, who had eſcaped from the late defeat. *Philip* encamped on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the town, and, after viewing the fortifications and ſituation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he ſhould attempt it or not; but at length, reflecting on the great importance of ſuch a fortreſs, he reſolved at all adventures to begin the ſiege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refreſh themſelves, and be in a readineſs under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and paſs the bridge over the *Erymanthus*; which they did without oppoſition, the gariſon not ſuſpecting they would venture on ſuch a dangerous enterprize. Having croſſed the river they approached the town, and lodged themſelves at the very foot of the wall. This ſtruck *Euripidas* and the gariſon with great terror; for they never imagined, that the enemy would be ſo bold as to make an eſſay of their ſtrength againſt

Pſophis *taken by the conſiderates.*

(E) *Pſophis* was the moſt antient city of *Arcadia*, ſituated in the very heart of *Peloponneſus*, and on the weſt borders of *Arcadia* towards the frontiers of *Achaia*. It was ſurrounded on the weſt ſide by a rapid ſtream, which during the winter was no where fordable; on the eaſt by the *Erymanthus*, a great and violent river; on the ſouth by a torrent which emptied itſelf into the *Erymanthus*; on the north it was defended by an eminence very ſtrong by nature and greatly improved by art, which ſerved for a citadel; and beſides, the walls and works about the town were very conſiderable, both for their height and thickneſs.

a place

a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege by reason of the winter and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that *Philip* might become master of the place by intelligence. But when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the *Ætolians* mounting the walls, while the *Elean* mercenaries made a sally by a gate in the upper part of the town, in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time the king, having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised by men destined for that particular service against each place, with a strong guard of *Macedonians* to support them; then commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault on all quarters of the town. The garison for some time made a brave resistance, overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the *Macedonians* bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, they deserted at length their posts, and betook themselves by flight to the citadel, leaving the *Macedonians* possessed of the walls. At the same time the *Candiots*, who had engaged the party that had made the sally, beat them back, and in the pursuit entered pell-mell with them into the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants with their wives and children took sanctuary in the citadel, as did *Euripidas* and such as had time to provide for their safety [z]. *Euripidas*, foreseeing what must inevitably befal him, capitulated with *Philip*, and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both towns-men and strangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode here for some days, he assembled all the *Achæans* that were with him, and after shewing them of what importance the city of *Psophis* was to them in the war they had on their hands, generously gave it up to their deputies, assuring them at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest.

FROM *Psophis* the king led his army to *Lasion*, which he found abandoned both by the *Elean* garison and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the *Achæans*, as he did the city of *Stratus* to the *Telphusians*, whom the *Eleans* had driven out. From *Stratus* he continued his march to *Olympia*, where after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the *Eleans*, sending detach-

[z] POLYB. ibid. p. 336.

ments abroad to plunder and lay waſte the country, while he encamped with the main body of the army in the neighbourhood of *Artemiſſium*. This territory had been formerly accounted ſacred in regard of the *Olympic* games, which were ſolemnized there every fourth year; and all the nations of *Greece* had agreed never to turn their arms againſt it. But the *Eleans* had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of *Greece*, and adhering to one party againſt another. As the territory of the *Eleans* was the beſt peopled and the moſt fruitful of all *Peloponneſus*, and the inhabitants ſo fond of a country life, that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here ſo great a booty that they could ſcarce carry it off, the ſoldiers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houſes, beſides the many priſoners and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embaraſſed them in their march. *Philip* therefore found it neceſſary to retire out of the *Elean* territory, and re-encamp at *Olympia*, taking on his march the fortreſs of *Thaleme*, whither many of the *Eleans* had conveyed their moſt valuable effects [a].

Diſturbances raiſed by Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achæan* liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by *Antigonus* to king *Philip*, who came a child to the crown, *Apelles* held the chief rank, and had preſerved a powerful influence over the young prince. This miniſter took it into his head to reduce the *Acheans* to the ſame condition in which the *Theſſalians* were at that time; that is, to ſubject them to the caprice of the miniſters of *Macedon*, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which was the caſe of the *Theſſalians*. To compaſs this deſign, his firſt eſſay was on the patience of the *Achean* ſoldiery, whom the *Macedonians* by his orders often diſlodged, taking poſſeſſion of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themſelves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard uſage he cauſed them to be put under arreſt, and ſeverely puniſhed by the common executioner, imagining, that by this ſort of uſage he ſhould be able by degrees to bring the *Acheans* to bear any burden the king ſhould think fit to lay upon them. But *Aratus* complaining to the king of this injurious treatment, and imparting to him the project of *Apelles*, that prince aſſured him, that care ſhould be taken for the future to prevent any ſuch injuries. And accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay any commands on

[a] Idem, ibid.

the

the *Acheans* without the concurrence of their prætor or chief officer. The *Acheans*, over-joyed at the favour the king ſhewed them, and the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were ever beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe virtues which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an uncommon underſtanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aſpect heightened by a majeſtic air, which beſpoke the greatneſs of his mind; but his brighteſt virtues were the ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, and a great deſire to pleaſe and content all who lived under his government [b]. How he forfeited this great character our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

THE king, having thus ſettled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Acheans*, decamped from *Olympia*, and, having cauſed a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, entered the territory of the *Triphalians* (F), reduced the city of *Aliphera* (G), and in a few days brought all that country under ſubjection. The rapidity of his conqueſts ſtruck ſuch terror into all the neighbouring ſtates, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted, and the reſt, after a faint reſiſtance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the *Ætolian* confederacy, he returned loaded with ſpoils and glory to *Argos*, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter [c].

[b] POLYB. ubi ſupra. p. 338, 339. [c] Idem, p. 343.

(F) This country, which took its name from an *Arcadian* youth, lies on the ſea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus* between the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, on the north-weſt ſkirts of *Achaia*. Its towns were *Sanctium*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpyum*, *Bolax*, *Stillagium*, and *Phryxa*. All theſe places the *Eleans* had lately reduced to their obedience, together with *Alipheræa*, a town of *Arcadia*, and *Megalopolis* itſelf, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) *Aliphera* was ſeated on the top of a high and ſteep hill, which was defended by a ſtrong fortreſs. In this fortreſs was to be ſeen a brazen ſtatue of *Minerva*, famous for its ſize and the excellence of the workmanſhip. The inhabitants themſelves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whoſe charge. It was the work of *Hecatodorus* and *Soſtratus*, and generally eſteemed the moſt beautiful and finiſhed piece they ever performed (4).

(3) *Polyb. lib.* iv *p.* 339, 342. (4) *Idem, ibid. p.* 343.

Apollo

Apelles *endeavours to put* Aratus *in disgrace with the king.*

Apelles had not yet so given over his project, as to be without hopes of bringing by degrees the *Achæans* to a servile subjection. But he well knew, that both the *Aratus*'s, father and son, withstood his design, and that the king held them in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He therefore resolved to attack them both, and by fraud and address put them, if possible, in disgrace with the king. With this view he sent for all those who were of the opposite faction among the *Achæans*, and enemies to *Aratus*, and having instructed himself in their several interests and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendship, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that if he continued to treat *Aratus* with so much deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the *Achæans* further than was stipulated by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleased to countenance those he should recommend, he might soon compass whatever he desired, and dispose of all matters in *Peloponnesus* at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these reflections, and improved on the arguments of *Apelles*. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be present at the *Achæan* assembly, and to employ all his interest in favour of one *Eperatus* a declared enemy to *Aratus*, who was accordingly elected in preference to *Timozenus*, whom *Aratus* had set up. Thus *Philip*, notwithstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime minister; what then can be expected from a weak prince that devotes himself to the will of a crafty intrigueing *Apelles?* And now *Apelles* began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an *Achæan* prætor of his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of *Aratus* with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new calumnies. *Amphidamus* chief of the *Eleans*, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would be no difficult matter, to procure him the friendship of his countrymen, and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, impowering him to assure the *Eleans*, that on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garisons and tribute. But the *Eleans* would not listen to any conditions how advantageous soever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their antient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal

Apelles

Apelles aſcribed to the ill ſervices done clandeſtinely by *Aratus*, telling the king, that he had kept *Amphidamus* from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of *Elis*, and that, on *Amphidamus*'s departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him perſuaded that it would be no-ways for the intereſt of *Peloponneſus* that *Philip* ſhould acquire any power over the *Eleans*. The king immediately ſent for *Aratus*, and inſiſted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought againſt him in private. This *Apelles* did not ſcruple to do, and that with ſuch an air of aſſurance as might have diſconcerted innocence itſelf. He even added, that ſince the king had diſcovered his inſincerity, by which he had rendered himſelf ſo unworthy of his kindneſs and good offices, the whole matter ſhould be referred to the general aſſembly of the *Acheans*, and the king in the mean time return with his army into *Macedon*. This was what he wanted, not doubting but he ſhould get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. *Aratus* beſeeched the king not to give credit over-haſtily to what he heard, ſhewing, that it was a piece of juſtice owing by a king, more than by any other man, to a perſon accuſed, to command that a ſtrict enquiry be made into the ſeveral articles of impeachment, and till then ſuſpend his judgment. In conſequence of this he required, that *Apelles* ſhould be obliged to produce thoſe who were witneſſes to the conference whereof he had been accuſed, and likewiſe the perſon who had given *Apelles* the information, and that in ſhort nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he diſcovered any thing to the aſſembly. The king thought *Aratus*'s requeſt very juſt and reaſonable, and engaged his royal word that he ſhould be gratified in it. Not long after *Amphidamus*, being ſuſpected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country and retire to *Dymas*, whither the king was come to ſettle ſome affairs. *Aratus* laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himſelf would examine *Amphidamus*, ſince the ſecret was ſaid to have been imparted to him. He complied with his requeſt, and upon a ſtrict examination found that there was not the leaſt grounds for the charge. Accordingly *Aratus* was pronounced innocent, and reſtored to the king's favour and confidence [d].

[d] Idem ibid. p. 344. 349.

As

As *Philip* began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the *Achean* magistrates, by means of *Aratus*, to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*, where, on the report he made of the state of his exchequer and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that, the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive seventeen talents a month. This renewed his esteem for *Aratus*, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of *Apelles*, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever [c].

And now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more ease whithersoever they should judge it most expedient, for they had to do at once with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Eleans*. Pursuant to this resolution the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the *Achean* ships, to rendezvous at the port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the *Macedonian* phalanx to be instructed in the use of the oar.

Treasonable practices of Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employed in training up his *Macedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor suffer that the counsels of *Aratus* should be followed and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at *Chalcis*, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies, so that he should be obliged, for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him by the ill posture of his affairs to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his own part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions that were send-

[c] Idem, l. v. p. 350.

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ing to the king, he reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to ſupply his wants.

Philip, thinking his *Macedonians* now ſufficiently inſtructed in the uſe of the oar, embarked with ſix thouſand of them, and twelve hundred mercenaries, ſteering his courſe towards *Patræ*, where he arrived the next day. From *Patræ* he diſpatched meſſengers to the *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Scardilaidas*, requiring them to haſten with their ſhips and join him at *Cephalenia*. He then left *Patræ*, and came to *Paleis* a ſtrong city in the iſland of *Cephalenia*. Here, finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he diſembarqued and ſet down before the place, drawing his veſſels aſhore, and ſecuring them with a good ditch and paliſadoe. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty deſirous to become maſter of it before their arrival. It was of great uſe to the *Ætolians*, who from thence made all their deſcents in *Peloponneſus*, and plundered the coaſts of *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Philip* therefore, having viewed the ſituation of the town, cauſed the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his *Macedonians* to undermine the walls. They went chearfully to work, and in a very ſhort time undermined great part of the wall, propping and ſupporting it with great wooden ſtakes. The king then ſummoned the town to ſurrender, which the gariſon refuſing to do, fire was ſet to the poſts that ſuſtained the walls, and a breach made ſix hundred fathoms wide. *Leontius* was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall. But he, mindful of his agreement with *Apelles*, having corrupted ſome of the chief officers that ſerved under him, attacked the enemy ſo faintly, that he was repulſed with great loſs, when he had the faireſt opportunity that could be wiſhed for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raiſe the ſiege, though he was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, *Meſſenians*, and by fifteen veſſels ſent him by *Scardilaidas* [f].

Paleis *beſieged.*

Treachery of Leontius.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed at the ſiege of *Paleis*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* marched at the head of a numerous army into the territories of *Meſſenia*, and *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian* with a ſtrong detachment into *Theſſaly*, both with the ſame deſign of obliging the king by this double diverſion to break up the ſiege. Whereupon ambaſſadors were diſpatched to him from the *Acarnanians* and *Meſſenians*, the former adviſing him to make an inroad into *Ætolia*, and

[f] Idem, ibid. p. 350, 365.

thereby oblige *Dorimachus* to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter intreating him to sail directly to *Messenia*, where he might easily surprize *Lycurgus*, who was not under any apprehension of being attacked. *Leontius* strongly seconded this advice, foreseeing, that if the king followed it he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in *Thessaly* and *Epirus*; for during the season of the *Etesian* winds, which continued most part of the summer, it was impossible to return back, as they were not in those days very expert mariners. *Aratus* therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, shewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the *Ætolians*, while their country was unfurnished with troops, and adding, that the opportunity of making descents was not to be neglected now that *Dorimachus* with the *Ætolian* troops was employed elsewhere. The king, who, ever since the cowardly behaviour of *Leontius* at *Paleis*, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of *Aratus*, and having wrote to *Eperatus* the *Achean* prætor to assemble his troops, and march to the relief of the *Messenians*, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at *Leucas*. There he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulph of *Ambracia*, which runs far up into *Ætolia*, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march without any baggage but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from *Lemnæa*, *Aristophontes* the *Acarnanian* general came to join him with all his forces; for that people, having been great sufferers by the *Ætolians*, greedily embraced so fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and on this occasion not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted, in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The *Epirots* incited by the like motives were not less forward, though, by reason of the extent of their country and the sudden arrival of king *Philip*, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from *Lemnæa* in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river *Achelous*, intending to surprize the important town of *Thermæ*. *Leontius*, foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended in all likelihood with success, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the *Achelous*, and allow the army some rest after so fatiguing a night's march, being willing

ling that the *Ætolians* ſhould have ſome time to bethink themſelves and provide for their defence. But *Aratus*, being now ſenſible that *Leontius* oppoſed all promiſing deſigns, preſſed *Philip* by no means to conſent to any delay, nor upon any reaſon whatſoever reſpite his march, the ſucceſs whereof lay in diſpatch. The king followed his advice, and ſetting out that inſtant marched directly to *Thermæ*, through a very rugged and almoſt impracticable road, cut between two ſteep rocks and exceeding narrow. *Thermæ* was the capital of *Ætolia*, and the place where their yearly aſſemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable by reaſon of its ſituation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their moſt valuable effects. So great therefore was their ſurprize when they ſaw *Philip* all on a ſudden appear before it, that they had not ſo much preſence of mind as to ſhut the gates or make the leaſt reſiſtance. The *Macedonians* and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, military ſtores, and valuable movcables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chuſing out of the booty what was moſt valuable and eaſy to be carried away, they made a heap of the reſt and burnt it before the camp. They likewiſe ſaved the beſt arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them for ſuch of their own as were leſs ſerviceable, and burning the reſt to the number of fifteen thouſand ſuits [g].

Thermæ, *the metropolis of* Ætolia, *ſurprized and plundered.*

THE *Macedonians* did not ſtop here; but calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they ſet fire to the porticoes of the temple, and levelled that magnifi-cent ſtructure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces to the number of two thouſand ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, and at that time greatly eſteemed even in *Greece*. They reſpected, however, ſuch as were known, either by their form or the inſcription, to repreſent any of the gods. The deſolation was ſuch as to ſtrike the king himſelf and thoſe about him with a kind of terror, though at the ſame time they believed, that they had not over-acted their revenge for the ſacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

Philip having plundered the town marched back the ſame way he came; the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the *Acarnanians* and mercenaries were poſted in the rear, and the king himſelf with a body of

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 365, & ſeq.

light-armed *Macedonians* ready to face the enemy in what part ſoever they ſhould appear; for he was extremely ſolicitous to paſs the ſtraits before the *Ætolians* could draw together a body of troops to oppoſe his paſſage. But he had ſcarce begun his march when three thouſand *Ætolians*, headed by *Alexander* the *Trichonian*, fell on his rear, and put them in great confuſion. This *Philip* had foreſeen, and accordingly placed a detachment of *Illyrians* in ambuſh behind a riſing ground. Theſe, unexpectedly appearing, fell on the enemy who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many priſoners, obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near *Stratus*, but having repulſed the enemy with great courage and reſolution, he arrived ſafe and unmoleſted at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and veſſels. Here he ſacrificed to the gods by way of thankſgiving for the ſucceſs that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the ſame time to expreſs his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were preſent, but every one ſoon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their maſter. During the whole entertainment they could not help throwing out againſt *Aratus* the moſt injurious and ſhocking railleries. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, they purſued him with ſtones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the *Acheans*, but the *Macedonians* themſelves, running from all quarters to his aſſiſtance. The noiſe ſoon reached the king's ears, who, after a ſtrict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megaleas*, for *Leontius* abſconded, in a fine of twenty talents and put him under arreſt. The next day he ſent for *Aratus*, and after expreſſing his ſenſe of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new aſſurances of his protection. *Leontius*, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly with a crowd of ſoldiers to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into ſome apprehenſion, and awe him into another reſolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's preſence, *Who has been ſo bold*, ſays he, *as to lay hands on* Megaleas? *It was I*, replied the king with a majeſtic tone, *and whatever has been done is by my expreſs command.* This reſolution in the king ſo frightened *Leontius*, that he immediately retired from his preſence. He no ſooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alledged againſt *Leontius*,

Leontius, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices. *Aratus* charged them with all thoſe criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and diſcovered the whole conſpiracy of *Apelles*. As he urged nothing againſt them but what was vouched by competent witneſſes, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unſeaſonable clemency, pardoned them, and even ſet *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himſelf for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him [h].

DURING *Philip*'s expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made an inroad into the territories of the *Meſſenians*, but did nothing worth recording. *Dorimachus* likewiſe, who had led a conſiderable body of *Ætolians* into *Theſſaly*, with a deſign to lay waſte the country, and thereby oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege of *Paleis*, returned without compaſſing either, having found the *Theſſalians* ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains, till he heard that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, when he left *Theſſaly* and haſtened to the relief of his own country. But before he arrived the king was retired [i].

The confederates enter the country of the Lacedemonians.

IN the mean time *Philip*, having embarqued his troops at *Leucas* and plundered the coaſt of *Hyanthes* in his way, arrived at *Corinth*, where landing his forces and ordering the veſſels to be carried over to *Lechæum*, he diſpatched meſſengers to the confederate towns of *Peloponneſus*, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at *Tegæa*. He then marched from *Corinth*, and came the next day to *Tegæa*, whence he proceeded with ſuch of the *Achæan* horſe as were there ready, holding his rout over the mountains, with a deſign to fall by ſurprize on the *Lacedemonian* territories. After four days march through a deſert country, he gained the top of thoſe hills that command the city of *Sparta*, and thence advanced to *Amyclæ*, a town diſtant from *Sparta* about four miles. The *Spartans*, who had heard of the ſucceſs he met with at *Thermæ*, were ſtrangely alarmed, when they ſaw the young monarch appear ſo ſuddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought, in which *Philip* was always victorious; but we ſhall omit the particulars, which would ſwell the hiſtory to an undue length, and only ſay, that this expedition proved no leſs glorious to the king's arms than that of *Ætolia*; for he laid waſte the enemy's country far and near, took and deſtroyed ſeveral towns, beat *Lycurgus*, who with a body of two thouſand *Lacedemonians* had attempted to cut

[h] POLYB. ubi ſupra, p. 368, 376. PLUT. in Arat. p. 1049.
[i] Idem, p. 372.

off

off his retreat, and returned with an immenſe booty to *Corinth*. Here he found embaſſadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer their mediation and incline both parties to a peace. The king, diſſembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reaſonable terms, and charged them on their return to diſpoſe his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a deſcent on the territories of the *Phocians*, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he haſtened to *Leontium*, propoſing to embarque his troops there.

Leontius, Megaleas, *and* Ptolomy *raiſe a tumult among the troops.*

BUT he was ſcarce gone, when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who was alſo one of *Philip*'s chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at *Corinth*, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own intereſt. They repreſented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops and the king's guards, that they, who were the firſt in all hazards and ſecured the reſt of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by any particular reward for their ſervice, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken, notwithſtanding the conſtant cuſtom in like caſes to the contrary. The ſoldiers, eſpecially the youth, were ſo inflamed by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, that aſſembling in parties they plundered the houſes of the king's chief favourites, and carried their inſolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*, and aſſembling the *Macedonians* made them ſenſible of their fault, in a long harangue intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity. The tumult being appeaſed, ſome adviſed the king to ſeize on the authors of the ſedition and puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; others thought it more adviſeable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being ſtill young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the preſent, ſtifling his reſentment and pretending to be very well ſatisfied, he returned to *Lechæum*, after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing againſt the *Phocians*, who had drawn together their forces, and were prepared to receive him.

IN the mean time, *Leontius*, being well appriſed that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent his juſt reſentment upon him, had recourſe to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and preſſing him to leave *Chalcis*

and

and haſten to court. *Philip* had been informed by *Aratus* of the whole conduct of *Apelles*, but had kept his thoughts ſo cloſe, that no body could diſcover from his behaviour any change in him with reſpect to his prime miniſter, who continued to govern at *Chalcis* more like a ſovereign prince than a ſubject (H). He therefore no ſooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting, but he ſhould be received at court after the uſual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleaſure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet him, and attend him by way of guard into the town; ſo that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace, and had received orders to that effect, ſtopped him, and told him that he muſt wait, for the king was not then at leiſure. *Apelles* was thunder-ſtruck at ſo unexpected a reception, and after having waited ſome time in ſilence retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domeſtics, all the reſt having already deſerted him (I). *Megaleas*, ſeeing the prime miniſter, on whoſe protection he relied, fallen into diſgrace, made his eſcape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius*, who was his ſurety for the ſum of twenty talents, to ſhift for himſelf. Hereupon the king having ſent the buckler-men, whoſe chief officer was *Leontius*, to *Triphalia* under the command of *Taurion*, pretending to have ſome extraordinary occaſion for their ſervice, cauſed *Leontius* to be arreſted,

Apelles *how received by* Philip.

Leontius *arreſted.*

(H) *Apelles*, during his reſidence at *Chalcis*, governed all things with an arbitrary ſway, as if he, and not *Philip*, had been inveſted with the ſovereign power. Wherefore the magiſtrates, and ſuch as had charge of the affairs in *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the *Greek* towns had occaſion to publiſh new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was ſcarce ever any mention made of the king, but of *Apelles* (5).

(I) Behold the uncertain ſtate of mortal greatneſs, ſays our author; in one and the ſame moment men are raiſed to the higheſt preferments, and ſunk to the loweſt ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where, like counters, their value riſes and falls according to the place they are ſet in; for thoſe who follow the court are great and little at the pleaſure of their maſter, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(5) *Idem, lib.* v. *p.* 350, *& ſeq.*

(6) *Idem, ibid. p.* 351.

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During this interval, the ambaſſadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them propoſals for a truce of thirty days; they aſſured the king, that the *Ætolians* were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general aſſembly to meet at *Rhium*, where they prayed the king to be preſent, promiſing all the advances poſſible on their part towards a general pacification. *Philip* accepted of the truce, and ſent his diſpatches to the confederates, requiring them to ſend their reſpective deputies to *Patræ*, to negotiate a peace with the *Ætolians*. He himſelf immediately ſet out from *Lechæum* in order to aſſiſt at it, and arrived the next day at *Patræ*. There letters were delivered to him directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, encouraging them to purſue the war againſt *Philip* and the *Achæans*, ſince the king was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of money and proviſions. They contained likewiſe moſt reproachful and injurious reflections on the king, which ſhewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of *Apelles* ſought his deſtruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into cuſtody, together with his ſon and a youth his favourite, and ſo ſent to *Corinth*. At the ſame time he enjoined the magiſtrates of *Thebes* to proſecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from *Athens*; but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himſelf. Not long after *Leontius* received ſentence of death, and likewiſe *Apelles* with his ſon and favourite. Hiſtory can ſcarce furniſh us with a more remarkable example of the aſcendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his ſovereign, in order to ſatiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with

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[l] Idem, ibid p. 376. [m] Idem, p. 377.

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[1] Idem, ibid. p. 276. [m] Idem, p. 317.

ly exhorted their deputies to the profecution of the war, he wrefted from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thoufand mercenary foot and five hundred horfe, befides three thoufand foot and three hundred horfe which were to be raifed at home. By the fame decree the *Megalopolitans* were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horfe, and the *Argians* the like number [n].

While the *Achæans* were thus preparing for the profecution of the war, *Lycurgus* and *Pyrrhias*, prætor of the *Eleans*, taking the field, made an inroad into the territories of the *Meffenians*, but were foon forced to retire by *Aratus*, who advanced with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of *Meffene*, *Megalopolis*, *Tegæa*, and *Argos*, which were moft expofed to the infults of the *Lacedemonians*. Not long after *Lycus*, whom *Aratus* had appointed to command the troops while he affifted at the general aflembly, gained a confiderable victory over the *Eleans*, who, under the conduct of *Euripidas* their new prætor, had advanced as far as *Pharæa*, plundering and laying wafte the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occafion produced a great fum of money; fo that the troops took better heart in profpect of better pay, and the people conceived hopes that they fhould now be exempt from taxes and contributions towards the war.

Thebes *of* Phthiotis *taken by the confederates.* Year of the flood, 2782. Before Chrift, 217.

In the mean time, *Philip*, having ordered fuch ftores and provifions as he had provided during the winter to be brought from *Lariffa*, fet out on his march towards *Greece*, with a defign to begin the campaign with the fiege of *Thebes* called *Phthiotis* (L), whence the *Ætolians* ufed to make continual inroads into the territories of *Demetrias*, *Pharfalia*, and even *Lariffa*. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he inveflted the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults and other engines for cafting of ftones, began to batter the walls night and day without intermiffion. The inhabitants at firft made a vigorous refiftance; but great numbers of them being killed, by the many darts and ftones that had been caft into the town, and the reft quite tired out by inceffant attacks, which kept them continually in action, their refolution began to fail, and the *Macedonians* advancing their mines, and

[n] Idem, p 378.

(L) This city was fituate near the fea about eight and thirty miles diftance from *Lariffa*; and was on the frontiers of *Magnefia* and *Theffaly*, its territory bordering on *Magnefia* towards *Demetrias*, and on *Theffaly* towards that tract which was inhabited by the *Pharfalians* and *Pheræans*.

now

now preparing to give the aſſault, they thought fit to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Philip* plundered the town, ſold the inhabitants, and, re-peopling it with a colony of *Macedonians*, changed the name of *Thebes* into that of *Philippopolis*.

NOT long after the town had ſurrendered, new ambaſſadors came to him from *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, to propoſe the concluding of a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the *Ætolians*, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in reſtoring *Greece* to its former tranquility. *Philip* was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he only told the ambaſſadors, that in the mean time he was determined to purſue his enterprizes.

HE afterwards ſet out with his friends and favourites for *Argos*, to be preſent at the *Nemæan* games. While he was one day aſſiſting at one of theſe public ſports, he was interrupted by an expreſs ſent him from *Macedon*, with advice, that the *Romans* had loſt a great battle in *Tuſcany* near the lake *Thraſymenus*, and that *Hannibal* was maſter of all the open country. This news *Philip* imparted to none but *Demetrius* of *Pharus*, enjoining him all poſſible ſecreſy. *Demetrius*, glad of this opportunity, adviſed him to put a period to the *Ætolian* war with what expedition he could, in order to invade *Illyricum* (M), and afterwards croſs over into *Italy*. He added, that ſuch a deſign would gain him the affections of the whole *Greek* nation, that the *Achæans* would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the *Ætolians* through fear, after the calamities they had ſuffered in the preſent war; that ſuch an expedition would be his firſt ſtep to univerſal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himſelf; and that the preſent diſtreſs of the *Romans* offered him a favourable opportunity of executing ſo mighty a project. Such council as this could not

(M) *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himſelf ill treated by *Philip*, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him, according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a ſquadron, with orders to take by repriſal what was due by agreement. This ſquadron being admitted into the port of *Leucas*, for *Scerdilaidas* was in alliance with the *Achæans*, ſeized there ſome *Macedonian* veſſels, and ſent them together with the *Macedonians* that were aboard into *Illyricum*. From thence they ſailed to *Malea*, taking all the king's veſſels they could meet with. A war with this prince *Demetrius* thought would prove very favourable to his preſent project.

but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, ſucceſsful in his exploits, bold, enterpriſing, and of a race which had always graſped at univerſal empire.

Philip inclined to conclude a peace.

However, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in ſo young a prince, he did not ſhew that ſtrong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only diſpatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the aſſembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to *Loſion*, and, after taking a ſmall fortreſs which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Elea*. Both parties were grown ſo tired of the war, that his ſummons was received every where with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts haſtened to *Naupactus* which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious iſſue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and encamping within leſs than a league of the place attended there the reſult of their conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the *Ætolians*, by the ambaſſadors of the confederate cities, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts; which article being agreed upon, the reſt met with no difficulty, ſo that the treaty was ſoon concluded and ratified by *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one ſide, and the *Ætolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Eleans* on the other [o].

The ſpeech of Agelas of Naupactus, at the opening of the aſſembly.

At the firſt opening of the aſſembly, *Agelas* of *Naupactus* made a ſpeech before the king and the confederates, which deſerves a place here, ſince *Polybius* has thought it worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He told them, that the *Greeks* ought above all things to ſhun all occaſions of war among themſelves, and render thanks to the gods, that becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like thoſe who ford a river, they had a proſpect of uniting in a mutual defence of themſelves and their cities againſt the barbarians, whoſe deſigns they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. That, though they could not give perpetuity to the preſent union, it behoved them, at leaſt in that juncture, to agree as one man in the preſervation of their liberties, ſince none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever ſo little ſkilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians*

[o] Polyb. ibid. p. 435.

thaginians or *Romans*, would not confine themſelves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but extend their conqueſt further, even to *Greece* itſelf. Wherefore he exhorted them, eſpecially *Philip*, to keep a watchful eye on the danger that threatened them; ſaying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, inſtead of impairing the ſtrength of the *Greeks*, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an eaſier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole *Greek* nation as if *Greece* were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the *Greeks*, who would be inviolably attached to him, and concur in all his meaſures. That, if his mind was bent on great enterprizes and he thirſted after glory, he ſhould extend his proſpect towards the weſt, and keep an eye on the war which had ſet all *Italy* in a flame; that he ſhould watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generouſly aſpire to the dominion of the world. That if he had any diſputes with the *Greeks*, he ſhould leave the deciſion of them to another ſeaſon; for if he once ſuffered the ſtorm, that was gathering in the weſt, to reach *Greece*, it might juſtly be feared, that it would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage their affairs as they pleaſed.

THIS ſpeech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to *Greece*, inſpired both the confederates and *Philip* with an eager deſire of peace. And this is the firſt time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced thoſe of *Greece*. For after this neither *Philip* nor the other powers of *Greece* regulated their conduct from the ſtate of their reſpective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on *Italy*, as the only object of their attention. The *Aſiatics* and the inhabitants of the iſlands did the ſame ſoon after, having no more recourſe in their diſputes to *Antiochus* or *Ptolemy*, to ſouthern or eaſtern princes, but turning their eyes weſtward, and ſending ambaſſadors, ſome to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like manner the *Romans*, awakened by the growing power and enterpriſing genius of *Philip*, diſpatched ambaſſadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be ſeen in the ſequel of this hiſtory[P].

A peace concluded.

As ſoon as the peace was ratified, the *Achæans* raiſed *Timoxenus* to the prætorſhip, and then returned to their ancient manner and cuſtom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, eſtabliſhed

[P] Idem, ibid p 436, 437.

their

their worſhip, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had ſuſtained during the war.

Philip changes his conduct.

But this happy ſtate of tranquility was ſoon diſturbed by that very prince who had procured it. *Philip*, having concluded an alliance with *Hannibal*, began to change his conduct, and thinking it neceſſary to bring all *Greece* to an abſolute ſubjection, before he made any attempts upon *Italy*, he began with the *Meſſenians*, who had been lately admitted into the *Achæan* confederacy. The city of *Meſſene* was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility ſtriving to humble the people, and the people to leſſen the power of the nobility. Theſe contentions became ſo violent, that both factions agreed to call in *Philip*, and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to *Meſſene*, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the city. On his arrival he found *Aratus* employing his beſt endeavours to compoſe their differences, in a manner that no ways ſuited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to adviſe with him, but held private conferences with ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as reſorted to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the inſolence of the unruly rabble with the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws; but uſed a quite different ſtile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for ſuffering themſelves, being ſo many, to be oppreſſed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themſelves againſt tyrants. Thus both parties, preſuming on the king's aſſiſtance, thought it adviſeable to exert themſelves before he was gone, ſince he ſeemed ſo well diſpoſed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of ſome orators, who ſtirred up, ſaid they, the people to ſedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. This was what *Philip* had propoſed from the very beginning, being well appriſed, that if one party were deſtroyed, it would be no hard taſk for him to get the better of the other. Neither did *Aratus* the younger forbear reproaching him with it, in very bitter and offenſive terms. But the king, who on ſuch occaſions had a marvellous command of his temper, ſmothered his reſentment, and taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, he aſked him, whether he would not attend him up to the caſtle of *Ithome* where he intended to ſacrifice. This caſtle commanded the city of *Meſſene*, and kept the further parts of *Peloponnejus* in awe, as *Acro-Corinth*, which he was already poſſeſſed of, did the hither. *Ithome* was held by ſome of the popular faction, who, looking upon *Philip* as their deliverer, admitted him without the leaſt jealouſy.

Diſturbances at Meſſene.

While

While the ſacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to cuſtom, put into his hands, he ſhewed them to *Aratus*, and with a ſmile aſked him, whether they prognoſticated, that, being now in poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, he ſhould tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own uſe. *Aratus* made no reply, but *Demetrius Pharius*, though the king had not aſked his advice, gave this officious anſwer: If you are a ſoothſayer you muſt quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king you muſt not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, but hold the ox faſt by both his horns; alluding thereby to *Ithome* and *Acro-Corinth*, which were called the two horns of *Peloponneſus*. The king, however, would have *Aratus* by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by ſeizing of *Ithome* he muſt loſe the ſtrongeſt caſtle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviſeable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice *Philip* followed for the preſent, but ever after maintained a private grudge againſt *Aratus*, which he perceiving retired from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*, where he had leaſure to repent his ever calling the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*. *Philip*, having now got rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, marched his forces into *Epirus*, where he ſeized on the town of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*, which he was ſoon forced to raiſe in a moſt ſhameful manner, his camp being ſurprized by the *Roman* prætor *Lævinus*, and he forced to make his eſcape half naked. After this diſappointment he returned to *Peloponneſus*, not having yet laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting the *Meſſenians*. But they, being now on their guard, refuſed to admit him into their city; whereupon calling them his enemies, he laid waſte the whole country, and retired without being able to reduce the city, the *Achæans*, who were his confederates, refuſing to lend him any help for ſuch an enterprize; for *Meſſene*, as we have obſerved above, was at that time a member of the *Achæan* body. This backwardneſs of his confederates he aſcribed to *Aratus*, and therefore, as he did not now ſcruple to commit the moſt heinous crimes, he reſolved to ſacrifice both the father and ſon to his reſentment. He dared not employ open force and violence, in regard of their great reputation and the reſpect which was univerſally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged *Taurion*, one of his officers, to diſpatch firſt the elder *Aratus* ſecretly during his abſence. *Taurion* obeyed the wicked command, though not without ſome reluctance; he inſinuated himſelf into *Aratus*'s friendſhip and often invited him to ſupper, where he gave him an opportunity of poiſoning him with a potion, which

Philip recalls him from court.

Philip cauſes him to be poiſoned.

Year of the Flood 2758. Before Chriſt, 246.

which was sure, but slow in its operation. *Aratus* was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only stir up the *Achæans* against him, and create new disturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural disease. One day only happening to spit blood before one *Cephalion*, who was his bosom friend, and seemed somewhat surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear* Cephalion, *the effect of friendship with kings.* This brought him to his end in *Ægium*, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and prætor of the *Achæans* the seventeenth time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died; but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to *Sicyon*, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmost pomp and solemnity in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed, that divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose. *Plutarch* tells us, that in his time two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually; the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this sacrifice was called *Soteria*, the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar, singing odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the senate crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the procession. To this they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollo* [q].

Aratus was without all doubt one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be styled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor by which it became one of the most powerful states of *Greece*. However his talent lay more in contriving a warlike stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his administration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the assistance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve of, and was the more dishonourable in him, as he was prompted to it out of jealousy to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. For that prince, after having reduced the *Achæans* to the last extremity, was willing to restore them their prisoners and all the places

[q] Polyb. lib viii. p. 518, 519. Plut. in Arato.

he

he had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Acheans* were inclined to accept of a peace on theſe terms: But *Aratus*, thinking it would be very diſhonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief ſway in the republic, to be thus ſupplanted by a young man, uſed his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the *Acheans* from yielding to the conditions propoſed by *Cleomenes*; and becauſe they could no longer hold out againſt that warlike prince with their own ſtrength, he had recourſe to *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, put him into poſſeſſion of *Acro-Corinth*, and thereby enabled him and his ſucceſſors to manage the affairs of *Greece* at their pleaſure [r]. But for this he atoned, both with his own death and with that of his ſon, which was more deplorable; for *Philip*, growing completely wicked, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, commanded a kind of poiſon to be given him, which deprived him of his underſtanding, and prompted him to commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately, and while he was in his ſenſes; inſomuch, that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greateſt bleſſing that could befal himſelf and his family [s].

THESE inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in *Philip* highly incenſed the *Acheans* againſt him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleaſed. At preſent they were not in a condition to ſupport themſelves without him, the *Ætolians*, their irreconcileable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans* againſt the king and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conqueſts ſhould belong to the allies, but the booty and ſlaves to the *Romans*. Their calling in thus the *Barbarians*, for ſo the *Greeks* ſtiled all nations except their own, provoked them more againſt the *Ætolians*, than all the miſchief *Philip* had done them. Wherefore they reſolved in their general aſſembly to join the king againſt the *Ætolians* and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in *Greece*, between *Philip* and the *Acheans* on one ſide, and the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Eleans*, king *Attalus*, and *Scerdilaidas* on the other. The *Ætolians* immediately began hoſtilities, invading and laying waſte the *Achean* territories. Whereupon the *Achæans* diſpatched deputies to *Philip*, who was then in *Thrace*, imploring his aſſiſtance. *Philip* readily complied with their re-

New troubles in Greece. Year of the Flood 2788. Year Before Chriſt, 211.

[r] PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat. [s] PLUT. ibid.

queſt; but the *Ætolians*, being joined by ſome *Romans* and the forces which *Attalus* had brought with him out of *Aſia*, marched out to meet him before his conjunction with the *Acheans*. Both armies met near *Lamia* a city of *Theſſaly*. The *Ætolians* were commanded by *Pyrrhius*, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king *Attalus*. *Philip* proffered him battle, and he, thinking it would be diſreputable in him to decline it the very firſt year of his command, raſhly engaged and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the ſcattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing ſome worthy action before the end of the campaign. But *Philip* attacked him the ſecond time, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhut themſelves up in *Lamia*. This double overthrow ſo diſheartened the *Ætolians*, that they ſent ambaſſadors to treat of a peace with *Philip* and the *Acheans*; for the *Romans*, after having put the *Ætolians* in motion, were retired to *Corcyra*, fully perſuaded, that the king had ſo much buſineſs upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of *Italy* or *Hannibal*. *Philip* put off the negotiations of peace till the next aſſembly of the *Acheans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. When the aſſembly met, the *Ætolian* ambaſſadors being introduced made ſuch unreaſonable propoſals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon *Philip* and the *Acheans*, being reſolved to purſue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having ſo many enemies to oppoſe at the ſame time. The king, leaving four thouſand men with the *Acheans* to defend their country, went to aſſiſt at the *Nemæan* games in the city of *Argos*, and from thence returning into *Achaia* marched, in conjunction with *Cycliadas* the *Achean* prætor, againſt the city of *Elis*, which had received an *Ætolian* gariſon. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the *Ætolians* to an engagement. Accordingly they ſallied out, when *Philip* was greatly ſurprized to find, that the gariſon partly conſiſted of *Romans*. For *Sulpitius*, having left *Naupactus* with fifteen gallies, and landed four thouſand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both ſides. In the heat of the combat *Damophantes*, general of the *Elean* horſe, ſpying *Philopœmen*, who commanded that of the *Acheans*, advanced againſt him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without ſtirring from his poſt, and having unhorſed him at the

The Ætolians defeated.

Philopœmen's *gallant behaviour.*

the firſt encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with ſuch reſolution, that they quickly betook themſelves to flight. But the *Romans* charging the *Macedonians* with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which *Philip* obſerving ſpurred on his horſe, and ruſhed headlong into the midſt of the *Romans*, where his horſe being wounded threw him. The *Macedonians* then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party ſignalizing themſelves in a very extraordinary manner, the *Romans* with a view to take the king priſoner, and the *Macedonians* to ſave him. The king was carried off in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians* obliged to retire at a greater diſtance from the town. The next day *Philip* inveſted and took a ſtrong hold of the *Eleans*, where he found a great booty conſiſting of twenty thouſand head of cattle, beſides four thouſand *Eleans* whom he ſold for ſlaves. This made amends for his diſappointment at *Elis* [t]: But in the mean time news was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had made an incurſion into *Macedon*; whereupon he immediately ſet out to defend his own country, leaving with the *Acheans* a body of two thouſand five hundred men. At the ſame time *Sulpitius* ſailed back with his fleet to *Ægina*, where he joined king *Attalus*, and paſſed the winter. During the king's abſence, the *Acheans* gained a conſiderable victory over the *Ætolians* and *Eleans* near the city of *Meſſene*.

EARLY in the ſpring *Sulpitius* and *Attalus*, quitting their winter quarters, ſailed with their fleets to *Lemnos*, and thence advanced to *Oreum* a chief city of *Eubœa*, which was treacherouſly delivered up to them by *Plator* the *Macedonian* commander. *Attalus* laid ſiege to the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*, which *Philip* having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of ſixty miles in one day. The city had ſurrendered a little before his arrival, but *Attalus* the inſtant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ſhips [u].

Oreum *in* Eubœa *betrayed to the* Romans. Year of the Flood 2792. Year before Chriſt, 207.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed againſt *Attalus* and the *Romans*, *Machanidas*, who had ſucceeded *Lycurgus* tyrant of *Lacedemon*, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of *Achaia*, with a deſign to lay waſte the country, and by that means oblige *Philip* to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have choſe a more improper ſeaſon for

[t] POLYB. lib. x. p. 612. & ſeq. LIV. lib. xxvii. n. 29. 33. PLUT. in Philop. [u] LIV. ibid.

Philopœmen *appointed prætor of the* Acheans.

such an expedition; for *Philopœmen* had been that year appointed for the first time commander in chief of the *Achean* forces. As we shall often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all those honours, that were afterwards heaped upon him by the *Achean* republic. He was born in *Megalopolis* a city of *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and from his very infancy discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly educated by *Cassander* of *Mantinea*, a man of great probity and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the troops which the city of *Megalopolis* sent to make incursions into *Laconia*, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, and such other manly exercises. Thus he spent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* attacked *Megalopolis*. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less sometime after in the battle of *Sellasia*, where *Antigonus* gained a complete victory over *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus*, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest. But he rejected them with scorn, having an utter aversion to a court life, which he compared to that of a slave, saying, that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and unactive, he went over to the isle of *Crete*, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were in those days accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace among themselves. *Philopœmen*, having served some years among the troops of that island, returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horse, in which command he behaved so well, that the *Achean* horse, heretofore of no reputation, became in a short time famous all over *Greece*. He was soon after appointed general of all the *Achean* forces, when he applied himself in good earnest to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. *Aratus* indeed was the first that raised the *Achean* state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived. But the success of his enterprizes was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of

His character.

foreign

foreign princes and their powerful ſuccours, he neglected the military diſcipline at home. But the inſtant *Philopœmen* was created prætor or commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he rouzed the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them in a condition to defend themſelves without the aſſiſtance of, or dependence on, foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the diſcipline, changing the manner of their exerciſe, and likewiſe their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus for the ſpace of eight months exerciſed his troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions, and accuſtoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was brought him, that *Machanidas* was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade *Achaia*. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his diſcipline, and accordingly taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of *Mantinea*. *Machanidas* had brought into the field a vaſt quantity of military engines to gall the *Acheans* during the engagement, and diſorder their ranks. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before the reſt of the army, which *Machanidas* obſerving, thought proper to ſend his light-armed foot to make head againſt them and obſerve their motions. Thus the battle began, and each general ſending new ſupplies, the mercenary foot came to a cloſe engagement, being ſo far advanced before the main bodies of their reſpective armies, that they could know only by the duſt they raiſed which party advanced, and which gave ground. By this means the engines, which *Machanidas* chiefly relied upon, were hindered from doing execution by the interpoſition of his own men. The firſt onſet was very furious, and the ſucceſs a long time doubtful; but at laſt the mercenaries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers and the ſkill they had acquired, by being ſo long inured to a military life, giving them the ſuperiority. The *Illyrians* in *Philopœmen*'s army being but lately come, and not yet well exerciſed in the uſe of their arms, could not withſtand ſo furious an onſet, and were therefore intirely broke, and obliged to ſave themſelves with the utmoſt precipitation under the walls of *Mantinea*, about a mile from the field of battle. *Philopœmen* was ſo far from being diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt attack, that turning to thoſe who were about him, *The flight of our mercenaries*, ſaid he, *will give us a complete victory*. He obſerved, that *Machanidas*, inſtead of making uſe of this diſadvantage, and falling that inſtant on the main body, ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the fire and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, in purſuit of thoſe who

He defeats Machanidas *tyrant of* Sparta. Year of the Flood 2793. Before Chriſt 206.

who were flying. He was no sooner out of sight, but *Philopœmen* advanced against the *Lacedemonians* that were drawn up before him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time, and therefore easily passable, especially by the foot. The *Lacedemonians*, elated with the success of their mercenaries, and despising the *Acheans*, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but as that put them into some disorder, *Philopœmen*, taking advantage of their confusion, charged them with such vigour, that they were drove into the ditch again; which so disordered their ranks, that not being able to make head against the *Acheans*, who pursued them close and in good order, they betook themselves to flight. *Philopœmen*, who knew better how to use his victory than *Machanidas* had done, suffered only part of his army to pursue the flying enemy; a strong body he kept with himself to guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that *Machanidas* must return that way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly dispirited when he found that the enemies were masters of it, and his own army driven out of the field. However, with a strong body of horse he attempted to make his way through, and join the rest of his army; but he met with so warm a reception from *Philopœmen*, that his horse were at the first onset put to the rout.

Philopœmen *kills* Machanidas.

Machanidas himself, attended only by two horsemen, rode along the ditch, looking for a convenient place to get over. He was easily known by his purple mantle and the costly trappings of his horse. *Philopœmen*, therefore, appointing another to command at the bridge in his room, followed *Machanidas* at a small distance, waiting till he should attempt to cross the ditch, which he no sooner did, than *Philopœmen* spurring on his horse attacked him in the ditch, and there slew him with his own hand. His head he struck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious *Acheans*, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter and incredible ardor to the city of *Tegæa*, which they entered together with the fugitives. The *Lacedemonians* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the *Acheans* was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries [w].

The *Acheans*, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing to the conduct of their general, cast a brazen statue, representing *Philopœmen* in the same attitude

[w] Polyb. l. xi. p. 629, 631. Plutarch. in Philop.

in

in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

THIS victory over the *Lacedemonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to sue for a peace in good earnest. King *Attalus* was returned home to defend his own kingdom, against *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who had invaded it. The *Romans* had so much business on their hands at home, *Asdrubal* being ready to enter *Italy* and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of *Greece*, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves. The *Ætolians* therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their most powerful allies, concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Acheans* upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on when *P. Sempronius* the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, to succour the *Ætolians*. When he heard how affairs went in *Greece*, he was very much offended at the *Ætolians*, for concluding a peace without the consent of the *Roman* senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and in the name of his republic strike up a peace with *Philip* and his allies. For the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots* and *Acarnanians*, that the *Romans* and *Philip* should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. *Philip* caused the king of *Bithynia*, the *Acheans*, the *Bœotians*, the *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*, to be included in the treaty; the *Romans* on their side named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* a petty prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the people of *Elis*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to *Philip*, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the *Romans*, that they might carry on the war against the *Carthaginians* with more vigour *.

A general peace concluded.

Year of the Flood 2795. Before Christ 204.

THE peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. *Philip* having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the *Carthaginians* his friends in the west declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the east. Accordingly he invaded at the same time the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians*, and king *Attalus*, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared against him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius* the consul appointed to carry it on. The *Acheans* and *Lacedemonians* joined with *Philip*;

The Acheans join Philip against the Romans.

* LIV. l. xxix. n. 12.

the former he gained over to his intereſt by reſtoring to them the cities of *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himſelf. He likewiſe put the *Megalopolitans* in poſſeſſion of the city of *Aliphera*, to which they laid claim, and by theſe means kept them for ſome time in his alliance [y]. The *Romans* watched all opportunities of engaging ſo powerful a people in their intereſt, and at laſt found a very favourable one. When the *Roman* conſul *Sulpitius* arrived firſt in *Greece*, one *Cycliades* was prætor of the *Acheans*, a man entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party, being ſupported in his tyrannical government by the protection of *Philip*. The *Acheans*, ſuſpecting that he aimed at an abſolute power, and was concerting meaſures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under ſubjection, as *Nabis* had lately done at *Sparta*, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of *Ariſtenes*, who, on all occaſions, had given ſignal proofs of his affection to the *Romans*. This opportunity the conſul laid hold of to bring *Achaia* into an alliance with *Rome*, but left the execution of the deſign to his brother *Quinctius*, who immediately ſent a deputation to the *Acheans*, offering to put them in poſſeſſion of *Corinth* which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the *Romans*. This was a powerful attractive. However, as *Philip* had done them many important ſervices, they were unwilling to diſoblige him. Beſides, they were under no ſmall apprehenſion of *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had openly declared for *Philip*. At the ſame time they were afraid of the *Romans*, who ſeemed to be an over-match for the *Macedonians*. Theſe were the diſpoſitions of the *Acheans*, when they aſſembled at *Sicyon* to hear the *Roman* ambaſſadors, who came attended with deputies from king *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, on purpoſe to diſpel their fears, and make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the minds of ſo wary a people. *Philip* likewiſe ſent an ambaſſador to the aſſembly, named *Cleomedon*, whoſe intrigues the *Romans* had reaſon to fear, he being a man of great intereſt in *Achaia*. The ambaſſadors being introduced, *L. Calpurnius*, who ſpoke for the *Romans*, was firſt heard; after him the deputies from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; and then *Cleomedon*. What the latter ſaid was heard with great attention; but the *Athenians*, who ſpoke the laſt, effaced in a great meaſure the prejudices which *Cleomedon* had raiſed. All theſe different ſpeeches divided the *Acheans* more than ever; inſomuch, that they broke up the ſeſſion, which had laſted the whole day, without coming to any reſolution.

The Acheans ſolicited by Quinctius to declare for the Romans.

[y] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 5.

THE next day the aſſembly met again, the deputies only of the *Achean* cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to ſome final reſolution. An herald, as was the cuſtom, invited thoſe to ſpeak who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep ſilence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in ſo perplexed an affair. At laſt *Ariſtenes*, preſident of the aſſembly, broke ſilence, and addreſſed the deputies in this manner: What is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you uſed to diſpute at your banquets, ſometimes contending for *Philip* againſt the *Romans*, and ſometimes for the *Romans* againſt *Philip*? You were then deciſive, and now in an aſſembly ſummoned for no other purpoſe, after hearing the ſpeeches and reaſons on both ſides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party looſe your tongues? eſpecially as you know that it will be too late to ſpeak after the reſolution ſhall be once taken[z].

THESE reproaches, however reaſonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an univerſal ſilence in the aſſembly, till *Ariſtenes* reſumed the diſcourſe, and in a long harangue repreſented to them the ſituation of their affairs, urging the neceſſity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had condeſcended to requeſt. But his diſcourſe did not bring the *Acheans* to an agreement among themſelves. The diſputes grew warm, ſome applauding what *Ariſtenes* had ſaid, and others oppoſing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the depaties were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the *Romans*. The other five proteſted againſt it, declaring, that it was againſt law to decree any thing in the aſſembly with relation to their alliance with *Philip*. And indeed that prince had cauſed a clauſe to be inſerted in his treaty with the *Acheans* to this effect, that the affair of his alliance ſhould no more be canvaſſed in the general aſſembly. The aſſembly was to ſit but one day longer, and even this ſhort time was ſpent in warm diſputes, the father diſagreeing with the ſon, and the deputies of one and the ſame city being ready to fall upon one another. *Memnon* of *Pellene* was ſteady for *Philip*; and his father, whoſe name was *Rhiaſius*, no leſs ſanguine for *Rome*. The father conjured

[z] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 22.

him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country; but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly protested, that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made so deep an impression in the mind of *Memnon*, that he immediately came over to the party of *Rome*. At last the majority were for the *Romans*; but before the decree was passed, the deputies of *Dymæ*, and *Megalopolis*, and some of the *Argians* withdrew from the assembly; which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to *Philip*. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred the entire conclusion of that with the *Romans*, till the return of the ambassadors they sent to *Rome* to obtain the ratification from the senate [a].

After long debates the Acheans *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.

Corinth besieged by the Romans *and* Achæans.

But in the mean time the *Acheans* lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quinctius*, at the gate *Sicyon* by the *Acheans*, and on the side of the port *Lechæum* by *Attalus*. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garison and the inhabitants. But *Androsthenes*, who commanded in the place for *Philip*, had gained the affection of the *Corinthians*, and being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many *Roman* deserters, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize [b].

The siege raised.

The Macedonians *possess themselves of* Argos. Year of the Flood 2802. Before Christ, 197.

They were no sooner retired than *Philocles*, one of king *Philip*'s generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined the *Romans*, and drew near the city of *Argos*. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the *Macedonian* party; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the *Argians* to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of *Macedon*. But after the *Acheans* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit *Philip*'s name. This omission displeased the *Argians*, who loudly demanded that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. *Philocles* therefore, depending on this affection for his master, advanced

[a] Liv. ibid. [b] Liv ibid. n. 25.

vanced his troops near *Argos*, and in the night poſted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a ſtrong gariſon, which the *Achæans* had placed there under the command of one *Æneſidemus*, who was greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt. To him therefore *Philocles* ſent a meſſenger, ſummoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend againſt the *Macedonians* without, and the citizens within the walls, who were all of the ſame mind, and determined to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. This ſummons did not move the brave commander, who thought himſelf in a condition to withſtand the menaces of the *Macedonian*, though his gariſon conſiſted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little ſurpriſed, when he ſaw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. *Æneſidemus* well knew it was a raſh and fruitleſs attempt to oppoſe the multitude with ſuch an handful of men; he had alſo compaſſion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they ſhould march out unmoleſted, continued himſelf in the city with a ſmall number of his friends and clients. *Philocles*, ſurpriſed to ſee the commander remain in his poſt after the ſoldiers were gone, ſent to aſk him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achæan* anſwered, *To die in the place committed to my care*; whereupon *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to diſcharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithſtanding the alliance which the *Achæans* had concluded with the *Romans*, *Philip* ſtill poſſeſſed two of their ſtrongeſt cities, *Corinth* and *Argos*[c].

It was of the utmoſt importance for *Philip* to preſerve the city of *Argos*; but the difficulty was how to continue maſter of a place in the heart of *Achaia*, and at ſo great a diſtance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous *Nabis*, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of *Lacedemon*, and was in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he ſhould poſſeſs it as his own, if *Philip* loſt his life in the war, but reſtore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with theſe conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of the unfortunate *Argians*, who, foreſeeing what muſt befal them, refuſed to admit the *Lacedemonians* within their

Argos *delivered up to* Nabis.

[c] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 2.

walls. But *Nabis*, by the help of *Philocles*, was brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the advantageous poſts, and cauſed the gates to be ſhut. Some of the chief magiſtrates made their eſcape in the tumult, and this the tyrant made uſe of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe that had fled; and then, knowing that no body was able to oppoſe him, ſet no bounds to his oppreſſions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, ſilver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like ſlaves, ſuch as he ſuſpected to conceal any part of their riches. He aſſembled the magiſtrates, and at their firſt meeting notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to paſs; by the firſt, he cancelled all old debts; and by the ſecond ordered a new diviſion to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen ſhould have an equal ſhare. Thus he ſet the rich againſt the poor, and put the whole city in a flame[d].

Nabis *joins the* Romans.

Nabis was ſenſible he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, ambaſſadors were ſent to *Flaminius* and *Attalus* inviting them to an interview. The proconſul and *Attalus* accepted of the invitation, without examining over-nicely into the injuſtice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near *Argos* was appointed for their conferences. In the interview *Flaminius* inſiſted upon two conditions; firſt, that *Nabis* ſhould put an end to the war in *Achaia*; and ſecondly, that he ſhould furniſh the confederates with his contingent of troops to act againſt *Philip*. The tyrant agreed to the ſecond article, but would allow only a four months truce with the *Achæans*. The treaty, however, was concluded, and *Nabis*, who was ſo infamous for his cruelty and injuſtice, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*, which reflected no ſmall diſhonour on their general[e].

The *Achæans* continued ſteady in the *Roman* intereſt during the whole courſe of this war, and their prætor *Nicoſtratus* ſignalized himſelf on the following occaſion. *Philip* had left one *Androſthenes* with a body of ſix thouſand men in *Corinth*, to protect that city and its diſtricts from the inſults of the *Achæans*, and other *Greeks* of the *Roman* faction. *Androſthenes*, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the *Corinthian* territory, marched out at the head of his little army, and over-run great part of *Achaia*. *Nicoſtratus* the *Achæan* prætor had but two thouſand

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 28. [e] Liv. ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. xiii. Plut. in Flamin.

men under his command, and theſe were too few to oppoſe the ſuperior forces of the *Macedonian*, who advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon*, to inſult the prætor there in gariſon. As *Androſthenes* was under no apprehenſion of being attacked by ſo contemptible a foe, his troops were often diſperſed in ſmall bodies, and his army ſcarce ever in one place. This gave *Nicoſtratus* hopes of being able to ſurpriſe him. And accordingly he ſent orders to the gariſons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called *Apelaurum* in *Argolis*. His orders were obeyed, and the prætor ſet out from thence at the head of five thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The horſe he detached to obſerve the enemies motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river *Nemea* (N), between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and that the *Macedonian*, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene* (O), and the third towards *Phlius* (P). Upon this advice *Nicoſtratus* placed his mercenaries in a foreſt, through which the *Macedonians* were to paſs in their return to *Corinth*; while he led the reſt in two bodies to attack *Androſthenes* in his camp. The *Macedonians* were greatly ſurpriſed when they ſaw the *Acheans* making directly to their camp. *Androſthenes*, ordering the trumpets to give the ſignal for aſſembling the troops that were ſtraggling about in the villages, drew up the ſmall body he had with him on the banks of the river. But, the parties that were out not returning ſoon enough to join him, he was eaſily defeated. This advantage encouraged *Nicoſtratus* to fall upon the *Macedonians* that were laying waſte the territory of *Sicyon*; there few of them eſcaped, being ſurrounded on all ſides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for thoſe who were ravaging the country about *Pellene* and *Phlius*, they were ei-

The Macedonians *defeated by the* Acheans.

(N) The river *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponneſus*, and diſcharged itſelf into the gulph of *Corinth*. It is now called the *Largia*

(O) *Pellene*, called by *Stephanus Pellina*, was a city of *Achaia Propria*, and bordered upon the territory of *Sicyon*. *Cluverius* calls it *Cocolon*, and *Le Noir* gives it the name of *Xylocastro*. The natives now call it *Diacopton*. It is about ſixty furlongs diſtant from the gulph of *Corinth*.

(P) This city *Livy* calls *Phliaſus* 7) We muſt take care not to confound it with another bearing the ſame name in *Argolis*. That *Phlius* here ſpoke of was in *Achaia*.

7) *Liv. lib.* xxxiii. c. 14.

ther murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the foreſt. This action freed *Achaia* from all fear of the *Macedonians*, and doubled *Philip*'s concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of *Cynocephalæ* [f].

A peace concluded with Philip. Year of the Flood 2803. Before Chriſt 196.

These repeated loſſes obliged *Philip* at length to accept of a peace, on ſuch conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleaſed to impoſe. The main article relating to *Greece* was, that *Philip* ſhould evacuate all the places he poſſeſſed in *Greece*, and withdraw his gariſons before the celebration of the *Iſthmian* games (Q). Purſuant to this article ten commiſſioners were ſent from *Rome*, to ſettle the affairs of *Greece*, and reſtore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All *Greece* received the news of this peace with the greateſt tranſports of joy. The *Ætolians* alone were diſcontented, and inveighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, becauſe among the cities that were to be ſet at liberty, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreos*, *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*, which were all in the hands of the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* ſuſpected, that *Rome* deſigned to appropriate them to herſelf, in which caſe *Greece*, ſaid they, would indeed change its maſters, but not its condition. The ſuſpicion of the *Ætolians* was not ill grounded; for the ten commiſſioners, purſuant to the inſtruction of the ſenate, had omitted the names of theſe cities with a deſign to keep them, as they were the keys of *Greece*, and thereby prevent *Antiochus* from entering that country. But the proconſul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*, not one excepted. By this means the *Acheans* were put in poſſeſſion of *Corinth*. Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved in the council of the ten commiſſioners, that the citadel of *Corinth*, and the two cities of *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*, ſhould be held by the *Romans*, as long as they were under any apprehenſions of a war with *Antiochus* [g].

And now, the time of the *Iſthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be tranſacted there kept eve-

[f] Liv. ibid. [g] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30, 35. Polyb. excerp. Legat. p. 735. See. Plut. in Flam.

(Q) On the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth* ſome games were annually celebrated, and thence called *Iſthmian*. They are ſaid to have been inſtituted by *Theſeus* in honour of *Neptune*. The moſt ſkilful athletæ in *Greece* came thither to diſpute the prize in running, leaping, wreſtling, &c. This was one of the moſt numerous aſſemblies of *Greece*.

ry body in ſuſpenſe. The decree of the *Roman* commiſſioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of *Greece* was the topic of all converſations. Some, but very few, hoped well; moſt of that numerous aſſembly could not be perſuaded, that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconſul *Flaminius*, attended by the ten commiſſioners, took his place; ſilence was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the uſual form of words; but the *Greeks*, to their great ſurprize, heard him pronounce the following words: *The ſenate and people of* Rome, *and* Quinctius Flaminius *proconſul, after having overcome* Philip, *and quieted* Macedon, *declare the* Corinthians, *the* Phocians, *the* Locri, *all the* Eubœans *in the iſland, the* Magneſians, *the* Theſſalians, *the* Perrhœbi, *the* Achæans, and *Phthiotes, free from all kind of ſervitude. All theſe nations ſhall live in an independent ſtate, and be governed only by their own laws.* In this vaſt aſſembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reaſon of the noiſe and confuſion which immediately aroſe. Such as were at a greater diſtance left their places to aſk thoſe who were nearer what they had heard. At laſt there was an univerſal outcry from all corners of the ſtadium, demanding that the herald ſhould repeat the proclamation. Then the trumpet ſounded again, and the herald, with a more diſtinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the *Greeks* without exception. He was heard with the moſt profound ſilence, and not a ſingle word of the decree was loſt. And now, being fully aſſured of their happineſs, they expreſſed their ſatisfaction with ſuch tranſports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crouded round *Flaminius*, calling him *the deliverer of Greece*, and preſſing to kiſs his hand. The croud was ſo great, and they threw ſo many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being ſtifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty third year, and that joy which ſo glorious a day raiſed in his breaſt, enabled him to undergo ſo great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the ſpectators could look at no-

The Greeks declared free by the Romans.

(R) *Plutarch* tells us, that the air was put into ſuch a violent agitation by the acclamations and ſhouts of ſo numerous a body of people, that ſome crows which were accidentally flying over the aſſembly, fell down in the arena (*S*).

(S) *Plutarch in Flam.*

thing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in particular [h]. But after all, *Rome* found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the *Greek* nation, and by that means increased her power without enlarging her dominions.

Demetrias, Chalcis, *and* Acro-Corinth *evacuated by the* Romans.

After this the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared, that he would evacuate *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and *Acro-Corinth*, which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, with tears in their eyes, assured him, that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, they sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and sold to the *Greeks*. The *Achæans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconsul, after having withdrawn the *Roman* forces from *Acro-Corinth*, *Demetrias*, and *Chalcis*, embarked at *Oricum* on his return to *Italy*, leaving *Greece* to enjoy the happiness which he had procured it [i].

Nabis *left in possession of* Sparta.

The only thing that reflected some dishonour on *Flamininus*, and stained his reputation was, his leaving the usurper *Nabis* in possession of *Lacedemon*, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy *Agesipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the *Roman* standards. *Plutarch* accounts for this strange proceeding, and tells us, that *Flamininus* proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to *Rome*, because the reputation of *Philopœmen* began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp and in the same confederacy, and the soldiers in their discourses often compared them together, always preferring the *Greek* general to the *Roman*. They imputed the proconsul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that *Philopœmen*'s victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, [illegible] better than *Philopœmen* how to [illegible] advantageous posts, [illegible] the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably,

[h] Paragraph [illegible] c. 4 Plutarch. [illegible]

to

or judge of the critical time for a retreat [k]. *Flaminius* on the other side, though inferior to the *Achæan* in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a *Greek*, in that character which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the *Greeks*, who were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities, knowing that *Greece* would never enjoy a lasting peace, so long as *Nabis* enjoyed the crown of *Lacedemon*.

WHAT they foresaw was soon brought to pass: For, not long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garisoned by the *Achæans*, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to *Gythium*, an important maritime city, which *Flaminius* had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent the great *Flaminius* again into *Greece* to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*, and the *Achæans* assembled at their general diet which was held at *Sicyon*: They had immediately recourse to him and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately and invading the *Lacedemonian* territories; but *Flaminius* advised them to wait till the *Roman* fleet arrived, which the prætor *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless the assembly was still in suspence what part to act, and the leading men were divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of *Flaminius*, others for falling on the *Lacedemonians* without loss of time; they only waited for the decision of *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: *It is a wise institution of ours*, said he, *that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to *Philopœmen* [l].

The Achæans *declare war against* Nabis *tyrant of* Sparta. Year of the Flood 2808. Before Christ 191.

[k] PLUT. in Flamin. & Philopœm. LIV. lib. xxxv. c. 15.

[l] PLUT. in Philop.

The brave *Achæan*, being inveſted with this power, was at firſt in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, according to the advice of *Flaminius*; on the other ſide he judged it might be dangerous to ſuffer *Nabis* to purſue the ſiege of *Gythium*, and expoſe the *Achæan* gariſon to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the *Achæan* ſhips with a deſign to give the beſieged ſome relief, and ſuſpend the attacks of the enemy, at leaſt towards the ſea. But this deſign required a man of ſome experience in maritime affairs; whereas *Philopœmen*, tho' not inferior to any land-officer whatſoever, had never been on board a ſhip, but in order to go over to *Crete* as a paſſenger.

Philopœmen defeated by ſea.

However, he took upon him the command of the *Achæan* fleet, imagining that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land. But he found to his coſt, how uſeful experience is on all occaſions; for *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ſhips filled with rowers and ſoldiers uſed to ſea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very firſt onſet diſperſed his fleet, took ſome of his ſhips, and ſunk others. *Philopœmen* himſelf was very near being taken, but, as he had the caution to go on board a light veſſel before the engagement, he made his eſcape, and, though purſued cloſe by the enemy, got ſafe into the port of *Patræ* [m].

He gains a complete victory over Nabis *by land.*

The ſhame of this ill-concerted expedition did not diſcourage the brave *Philopœmen*, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. *Nabis*, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any ſuccours into *Gythium*, and therefore turning the ſiege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the reſt guarded the paſſes through which ſuccours might be brought to the beſieged city, eſpecially a port called *Pleiæ*. In this camp *Philopœmen* reſolved to attack the *Lacedemonians*; and accordingly having gathered together ſome boats, and manned them with *Achæans*, he ordered them to advance towards *Pleiæ*, while he himſelf marched along the ſhore to the ſame place. Both the boats and *Philopœmen* with his army arrived at *Pleiæ* in the dead of the night, and found the enemy faſt aſleep without any watch, as thinking themſelves in a ſecure place. Upon the firſt ſignal firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the *Achæan* general at the ſame time ſurrounded the camp to fall on thoſe who made their eſcape. As the *Lacedemonians* were not furniſhed with tents, they had made barracks of branches

[m] Plut. & Liv. ibid.

ot

of trees, which taking fire obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the *Achæans*, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few got safe to the camp before *Gythium*. *Philopœmen* having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been somewhat lessened by his maritime expedition, assembled the *Achæans*, in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of *Gythium*. It was resolved in the assembly, that he should advance to *Lacedemon*, as if he designed to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diversion, and force *Nabis* to raise the siege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the *Achæan* army appeared before *Lacedemon*. *Nabis* therefore, without loss of time, hastened to *Lacedemon*, and found the *Achæans* marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. *Philopœmen* was not a little surprised at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern. However, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible. He posted his *Achæans* in the first line, and behind them the *Cretan* auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the side of a brook for the convenience of watering their horses. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. *Philopœmen* in the night-time posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first; the *Achæan* cavalry was commanded by *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal. But *Lycortas*, according to the orders he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and, retiring in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; and then facing about attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the *Lacedemonian* cavalry betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and most of them would have been cut in pieces, had not the *Achæan* general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, sounded a retreat. *Nabis*, suspecting that *Philopœmen* designed to seize the passes leading to *Lacedemon*, and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of

his troops to prevent him. This report *Philopœmen* had caused to be spread in the *Lacedemonian* camp, by one of his own men who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly took his advantage of it. For *Nabis* was no sooner gone, but he attacked his son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches possessed himself of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemies camp, and with the rest of the army pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The *Lacedemonians* being now entirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of *Lacedemon*, being well apprised, that by the favour of the night such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the *Lacedemonians* were either cut in pieces or taken prisoners, as they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops, and *Philopœmen*, after having laid waste great part of *Laconia*, returned home loaded with spoils and glory [n].

Sparta *joined to the* Achæan *league.* Year of the Flood 2808. Before Christ, 191.

But what most of all raised the fame and reputation of *Philopœmen* was, his joining the powerful city of *Lacedemon* to the *Achæan* commonwealth, by which means the *Achæans* came to eclipse all the other states of *Greece*. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which in in our opinion reflects greater lustre on *Philopœmen* than all his warlike exploits. The *Lacedemonians*, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of *Nabis* to be sold, and the sum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents, to be presented to *Philopœmen* as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were to be appointed, who should carry the money, and desire *Philopœmen* in the name of the senate to accept of the present. And on this occasion it was, says *Plutarch*, that the virtue of the generous *Achæan* appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the *Spartans* had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present. Struck with veneration and fear of disobliging him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged by a public decree one *Timolaus*, who had formerly been his guest, to go to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopœmen* lived, and offer him the present. *Timolaus* with great reluctance set out for *Megalopolis*, where he was kindly re-

A great instance of Philopœmen's disinterestedness.

[n] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28.

ceived

ceived and entertained by *Philopœmen*. Here he had an opportunity of obſerving the ſeverity of his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which ſtruck him with ſuch awe, that he did not dare once to mention the preſent he was come to offer him; inſomuch, that, giving ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the preſent. The *Lacedemonians* ſent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himſelf now, than the firſt time, to mention the true cauſe of his journey. At laſt going a third time, he ventured with the utmoſt reluctance to acquaint *Philopœmen* with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the *Lacedemonians*. *Philopœmen* heard him with great calmneſs; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking he ſet out with him to *Sparta*, where, after expreſſing the greateſt obligations to the *Spartans*, he adviſed them to lay out their money in corrupting and purchaſing the wicked, and ſuch as divided the citizens, and ſet them at variance with their ſeditious diſcourſes, to the end that, being paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government. For it is much more adviſeable, ſaid he, to ſtop an enemy's mouth than a friend's; as for me, I ſhall always be your friend, and you ſhall reap the benefit of my friendſhip without expence [o]. Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of this brave *Achæan*.

THE *Achæan* republic was now become formidable; the addition of *Lacedemon* had greatly increaſed its power; but, at the ſame time diviſions ariſing among the confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them know, that the republic of *Achaia* was in ſome degree ſubject to that of *Rome*. *Meſſene* and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, had ſided with *Antiochus*, and refuſed to come to the *Achæan* diet. Whereupon *Diophanes* at that time prætor raiſed ſome troops, and advanced at the head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waſte the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourſe to *Flaminius*, who then reſided at *Chalcis*, proteſting, that they had rather ſurrender themſelves up to the *Romans*, than live ſubject to the *Achæans*. *Flaminius* immediately left *Chalcis*, and haſtening to *Megalopolis* ſent orders from thence to *Diophanes*, enjoining him to deſiſt from hoſtilities and meet him at *Megalopolis*. The prætor obeyed, and *Flaminius*, after having gently reproved him for diſturbing the peace, adviſed him to diſband his troops, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he would ſettle the affair of the *Meſſenians* and *Eleans* to the ſatisfaction of the *Achæans*. Ac-

Meſſene and Elis revolt from the Achæans.

[o] PLUT. in Philop.

cordingly,

cordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of *Flaminius* was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*, for the *Messenians* earnestly entreated him to put a *Roman* garison into the city, protesting that they had rather be subject to *Rome* than to *Achaia*. But *Flaminius* in so doing had another point in view, which was to persuade the *Achæans* to deliver up to him the island of *Zacynthus* (S) which they had lately purchased. *Diophanes* could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon *Flaminius* ordered the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the *Achæans*, that the parting with an island which they had lately purchased would prove very advantageous to their republic. The speech he made on this occasion is intirely accomodated to the genius of the *Greeks*. "I look on *Achaia*, said he, as a sort of tortoise which na-
"ture hath guarded with its shell. If it thrusts out its head or
"feet ever so little beyond its armour, it is in danger of be-
"ing trod upon and hurt. The frontier cities, which sur-
"round you, *Achæans*, are your shell and your natural de-
"fence. But as to any acquisitions beyond the continent,
"those are parts of your state which are exposed to insults,
"and which you cannot secure without being at a greater
"charge than they are worth". This speech, which was founded on good sense, convinced the *Achæans*, that their new purchase would prove rather prejudicial than useful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimously voted that it should be delivered up to the *Romans* [q].

New disputes among the Achæans.

It was not long, ere new disputes arose among the *Achæans*, which gave the *Romans* a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies, and those very nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the *Achæans* had been held time out of mind at *Ægium*; but *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages, which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league,

[q] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

(S) *Zacynthus*, now *Zante*, is a pretty considerable island in the *Ionian* sea. It is said to be twentyfive miles in length, twenty in breadth, and sixty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had given it up to *Amynander* king of the *Athamanes*. This prince made the famous *Philip* of *Megalopolis* governor of it, and he transferred it to *Hierocles* of *Sicily*, who after the defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ* sold it to the *Achæans*.

and

and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of *Ægium* oppoſed this regulation, and had recourſe to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, after having reduced the *Ætolians* and made himſelf maſter of *Cephalenia*, reſided in that iſland to decide, as he ſaid, ſuch diſputes as ſhould ariſe between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the ſovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. The iſland of *Cephalenia* being now in the hands of the *Romans*, a way was open for the legions into *Peloponneſus*, which was only divided from it by a ſmall arm of the ſea about twenty-four miles over. *Fulvius* therefore, upon the firſt notice of this diſpute, croſſed over into *Peloponneſus*, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but ſeeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the aſſembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the diſpute had been brought to his tribunal [r].

THE quarrel that aroſe between the *Lacedemonians* and *Achæans* was of more conſequence. *Flaminius* had given all the places on the coaſt of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garriſons in them, even after *Lacedemon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This ſome of the leading men among the *Lacedemonians* could not brook, and therefore, to deliver themſelves from this ſlavery, they attacked in the night a ſmall city on the coaſt called *Las* (T), but were repulſed by the inhabitants and the *Lacedemonian* exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of *Achaia*. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the *Achæans*. *Philopœmen*, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for oppoſing the tyrant, was then prætor. He repreſented to the aſſembly the attempt upon *Las* as an inſult offered to all *Achaia*, and cauſed a decree to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize on pain of being treated as enemies. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Lacedemon* to give them notice of this decree; but this ſerved only to exaſperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of thoſe who were known to be in the

The Lacedæmonians attempt to withdraw themſelves from the Achæan league. Year of the Flood 2810. Before Chriſt, 189.

[r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28—30.

(T) *Las* was ſituated on the *Laconic* gulph ſouth of *Sparta*, on a ſtony ſoil, and in a country full of rocks, whence it borrowed its name; the word Λᾶς ſignifying in *Greek a ſtone*.

Achæan

Achæan intereſt, diſſolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Fulvius* the proconſul, entreating him to come and take poſſeſſion of their city. But theſe proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter *Philopæmen* from declaring war againſt *Lacedemon*. However, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, the *Achæans* contented themſelves with plundering part of the *Lacedemonian* territory, and haraſſing the inhabitants with frequent incurſions.

At the return of the ſpring, both parties made preparations for war, and hoſtilities were carried ſo far, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephalenia* and come into *Peloponneſus*. On his arrival he ordered an aſſembly to be convened at *Elis*, to diſcuſs the pretenſions of *Achaia* over *Lacedemon*. But, after hearing both parties, he was ſo perplexed that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accomodation. He therefore adviſed them to ſend ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and while the cauſe was trying there to ſuſpend all hoſtilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately diſpatched to *Rome*. The *Achæans* appointed two great men to plead their cauſe, who were of a very different character. Theſe were *Diophanes*, a man of moderation and of a tractable diſpoſition, and *Lycortas* the father of *Polybius*, a man entirely addicted to *Philopœmen*. *Diophanes* referred the deciſion of the cauſe to the arbitration of the ſenate. *Lycortas* maintained the decree of *Philopœmen*, and urged, that it could not be reverſed without making void the regulations of *Flaminius*, who had committed the care of the coaſt to the *Achæans*. The ſenate was unwilling to diſguſt the *Achæans*, but at the ſame time thought the *Lacedemonians* worthy of compaſſion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous anſwer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The *Achæans* pretended, that it gave them full power to inflict on the *Lacedemonians* the puniſhment they deſerved. Whereupon *Philopœmen*, who was continued in his prætorſhip, taking the field, marched to the very walls of *Lacedemon*, and there ſummoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*, promiſing that they ſhould not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promiſe all thoſe, whom *Philopœmen* demanded by name, ſet out for the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedemon*, who looked upon their cauſe as their own. Being arrived at the camp their malecontent countrymen crouded round them, and with an inſulting air began to vent the moſt injurious expreſſions againſt them.

Nay from words they came to blows, and the *Achæan* officers had occaſion to exert all their authority to appeaſe the tumult. As the *Lacedemonian* exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the *Achæan* ſoldiers in their quarrel, and all on a ſudden fell upon the *Lacedemonians* with ſuch fury, that ſeventeen of them were killed upon the ſpot. Seventy three were with the greateſt difficulty reſcued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopœmen* did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it ſhould be ſaid that they had not been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without ſcarce ſuffering them to anſwer for themſelves, condemned and executed them all. This ſevere proceeding ſtruck all the *Lacedemonians* with ſuch terror, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion; and *Philopœmen*, whoſe main point in view was to humble the *Lacedemonians*, treated them as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. He commanded them to demoliſh their walls, diſband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the ſlaves whom the tyrants had ſet at liberty, receive the exiles, and laſtly renounce the laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future govern themſelves only by thoſe men of *Achaia*[r].

Lacedæmon reduced by the Achæans.

Hard conditions impoſed upon the city by Philopœmen.

THE *Lacedemonians* readily demoliſhed their walls; for *Lacedemon* had long ſubſiſted without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were moſt averſe to; but *Philopœmen* and the *Achæans* were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-inſtated in their antient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the moſt fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wiſe *Lycurgus*, which, ſevere as they were, the *Lacedemonians* had obſerved for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years [t]. Such was the fate of one of the moſt illuſtrious cities of *Greece* (U).

[r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30—34. [t] Liv. ibid.

(U) This cruel treatment of ſo renowned a city as *Sparta* reflects no great honour on *Philopœmen*. *Plutarch*, who juſtly ranks him among the greateſt commanders of *Greece*, ſeems in a certain manner to palliate this action, ſince he could not juſtify it. His inſiſting upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles was no way blameable; for moſt of them had been baniſhed by *Nabidas*, *Lycurgus*, and *Nabis*, for attempting to place on the throne *Agenpolis*, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* of right belonged. But all the other ſteps *Philopœmen* took on this occaſion betrayed a great deal of paſſion, and a revengeful temper, which could not be ſatisfied but by the utter deſtruction of his enemies.

The Lacedemonians *carry their complaints to* Rome.

The *Lacedemonians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of this cruel treatment; and *Lepidus*, who was then conſul, writ a letter to the *Achæan* confederacy, acquainting them, that the ſenate did not at all approve of ſuch inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the *Achæans* immediately diſpatched *Nicodamus* of *Elis* to *Rome* to juſtify their conduct. Upon his return he acquainted his republic, that *Rome* was not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of *Sparta*, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death ſo many of the inhabitants; but at the ſame time did not annul the decrees which the aſſembly had enacted. *Rome* had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the diſcuſſion of this point to a more proper ſeaſon [u].

The friendſhip of the Achæans *courted by the princes of* Aſia.

The *Achæan* league was at this time in great repute all over the eaſt, and the friendſhip of ſo powerful a ſtate courted by all the princes of *Aſia*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* ſent embaſſadors to renew his antient alliance with the *Achæans*, and to offer the republic ſix thouſand ſhields and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and *Lycorias* with two others deputed to thank him for the preſent, and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the intereſt of which ſhould be ſettled on the members of the public council. Embaſſadors came likewiſe from *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, offering the republic in the name of their ſovereign ten ſhips of war completely equipped, and deſiring to have the antient treaty of alliance confirmed by the aſſembly. All theſe embaſſadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ſhips which the latter offered. As for *Eumenes*, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* exhorted in a long ſpeech the *Achæans*, not only to reject the preſent that was offered by his ambaſſadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, ſince he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable aſſembly; which he would not have done, if he had not ſomething in view prejudicial to their true intereſt. His ſpeech was heard with great applauſe, and the renewing of the alliance poſtponed till a further opportunity [x].

The Romans get the better of their powerful enemies in the eaſt.

The *Romans*, having now got the better of all their enemies in the eaſt, reſumed the cauſe of the *Lacedemonians*, with a deſign to humble the *Achæans*, whoſe great power began to raiſe no ſmall jealouſy at *Rome*. Three commiſſioners were therefore named, of which *C. Cornelius* was the chief,

[u] Polyb. in legat. 91. p. 938. [x] Polyb. ibid.

to

to go firſt into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Achaia*, to examine matters on the ſpot. Theſe having ſettled the affairs of *Macedon*, purſuant to their commiſſion, haſtened to *Peloponneſus*. *Ariſtenes*, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, aſſembled all the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited *Cæcilius* with his collegues thither. *Cæcilius*, being introduced to the council, began his ſpeech by commending the zeal of the *Achæans* for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wiſdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the *Lacedemonians* had been very much cenſured at *Rome*; and therefore he exhorted them to atone ſome way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occaſion. *Ariſtenes*, who acted under-hand in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes* of *Megalopolis*, who was a profeſſed enemy to *Philopœmen*, made other complaints againſt him; but took no notice of his proceedings at *Lacedemon*. Upon this *Philopœmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon* ſpoke in their turns, and their ſpeeches in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta* made ſuch an impreſſion on the council, that when *Cæcilius* withdrew they came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this anſwer ſhould be given to the *Roman* commiſſioners. When *Cæcilius* heard it, he deſired that the general aſſembly might be convened. But they replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of *Rome*, whereby the *Achæans* ſhould be deſired to meet. As *Cæcilius* had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly that they would not aſſemble. This exaſperated the *Roman* to ſuch a degree, that he left *Achaia* without making any further inquiries[x].

On his return to *Rome*, he acquainted the ſenate with what he had tranſacted in *Peloponneſus*. Whereupon *Apollonidas*, whom the *Achæans* had ſent to plead their cauſe before the ſenate, was introduced. He endeavoured to juſtify the conduct of *Philopœmen* and his countrymen, with reſpect to the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them for what reaſon they had refuſed to call, at the inſtance of *Cæcilius*, a general aſſembly. After the *Achæan* embaſſador, thoſe from *Sparta* were admitted. *Philopœmen*, as we have obſerved above, reſtored the *Spartan* exiles; and theſe very exiles were the men, who ſince their return had moſt zealouſly contended for the recovery of the antient ſplendor and liberty of their native country. Two of theſe, *Arcas* and *Alcibiades*, were, on this occaſion, appointed by the *Lacedæmonians* to implore the juſtice of the

[x] Polyb. in legat. 91. p. 953, 954.

[y] Polyb. ibid. c. 92.

Roman

Roman ſenate. They repreſented, with great eloquence and in a very moving manner, the miſerable condition to which *Sparta*, once miſtreſs of *Greece*, was reduced; how its walls were demoliſhed, and the citizens dragged into *Achaia*, and there ſold for ſlaves (W); how the ſacred laws of *Lycurgus*, to which *Sparta* owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely aboliſhed, *&c.*

The ſenate, after hearing and weighing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered *Appius Claudius* and two others, who were ſoon to ſet out for *Macedon*, to put an end to this diſpute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they ſhould give on the ſpot in the aſſembly of the *Achæans*. In the mean time they required the *Achæans* to convene their general aſſembly whenever the *Roman* embaſſadors ſhould deſire it; ſince the *Roman* ſenate admitted them as often as they required an audience[y].

Sometime before the arrival of the *Roman* commiſſioners in *Peloponneſus*, *Lycortas*, at that time prætor, ſummoned the general aſſembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedemonians*, that he might be ready to anſwer the queſtions which the commiſſioners ſhould aſk him, and at the ſame time know how his countrymen ſtood affected. He repreſented to them ſuch things as they might fear from the *Romans*, who ſeemed to favour the intereſt of *Lacedemon* more than that of *Achaia*; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the *Achæans*, had yet been ſo baſe as to ſpeak in the ſenate againſt them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his ſpeech with theſe words: "But after all they are our ſubjects, and it is rebellion in them to "bring a proceſs againſt their maſters. What puniſhment "then have they deſerved"? At theſe words loud cries were heard from all parts of the aſſembly, deſiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote, and, nothing being liſtened to but paſſion, a decree paſſed, condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their embaſſy, to be put to death. But in the mean time the *Roman* commiſſioners arrived, and the ſcene was changed. The aſſembly of the *Achæans* was then ſitting at *Clitor*, a little city of *Arcadia*, and as ſoon as

The Romans oppoſe the cauſe of the Lacedemonians.

[y] Polyb. ibid. c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) *Philopœmen* ordered thoſe ſlaves, who had been ſet free by the tyrants, to be ſought out and ſold; and with the money ariſing from the ſale he rebuilt a portico, which the *Lacedemonians* had deſtroyed at *Megalopolis* his native city.

Appius

Appius appeared there he took the higheſt place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began diſcovered his intentions, and made the *Achæans* fear the worſt. He told them, that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the *Lacedemonians*, and could not but diſapprove of all the ſteps that had been taken on that occaſion. He inveighed againſt the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of thoſe who had maſſacred the envoys from *Lacedemon*, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed againſt the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been ſo much admired by all the nations of the world. *Lycortas* the prætor, who was a friend to *Philopæmen* on whom the accuſation fell, undertook to defend the common cauſe of the republic, and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His ſpeech, for which we refer our readers to *Livy* [z], was very appoſite, and well becoming the head of a nation. But *Appius* was little affected with it; without deſcending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments *Lycortas* had produced to juſtify their conduct, he deſired them to reſtore *Lacedemon* her antient rights and privileges voluntarily, leſt *Rome* ſhould force them to it. Theſe words drew ſighs from the whole aſſembly; but fear had got the better of their reſentment. They deſired the commiſſioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath, by annulling themſelves the decree which they had ſwore to obſerve. This ſubmiſſion appeaſed the anger of *Appius*, who contented himſelf at preſent with only repealing the ſentence that was juſt before pronounced againſt *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the ſeſſions, and leaving *Greece* returned to *Italy* [a].

THE commiſſioners having made their report in the ſenate, it was decreed, that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the *Achæans*, ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences pronounced in the aſſembly of *Achaia* againſt *Lacedemon* ſhould be repealed; and laſtly, that for the future the *Lacedemonians* ſhould be deemed members of the *Achæan* body, and treated accordingly. *Pauſanias* adds an article that is not mentioned by *Livy*, *viz.* that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt [b]. *Q. Marcius* was appointed to go into *Greece*, and ſee this ſentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and ſign the decree.

[z] LIV. l. xxxix. c. 35—37. [a] LIV. ibid. [b] PAUSAN. in Achaic. p. 414.

BUT

The city of Meſſene withdraws itſelf from the Achean league.

But this ſtorm was ſcarce appeaſed, when a new one aroſe. The city of *Meſſene* had been a member of the *Achæan* body ever ſince the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one *Dinocrates*, who had a particular enmity to *Philopœmen*, drew it off from the league, and was arming the *Meſſenians*, his countrymen, in order to defend the city againſt *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave *Achæan* no ſooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haſte he could to ſeize the city of *Corone* (X), before the rebel had made himſelf maſter of it. But as he was ſick and actually kept his bed with a fever when the firſt news was brought him of the diſturbances at *Meſſene*, *Dinocrates* got to *Corone* before him. Then the *Achæan* general aſſembling the *Megalopolitan* youth, who had offered to follow him as voluntiers, and making a counter-march, advanced towards *Meſſene*, with a deſign to fall upon the revolters, while *Dinocrates* was buſy at *Corone*. But on his march he

Philopœmen *marches a-*

met with *Dinocrates*, attacked him, and put him to flight at the firſt onſet. *Philopœmen* on this occaſion forgot his ſick-

gainſt the rebels.

neſs, and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from *Argos* to *Megalopolis*, which was above ſixty miles, in twelve hours. While the *Megalopolitans* were purſuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom *Dinocrates* had had the precaution to leave in the open country about *Meſſene* to defend it, came and joined him. The *Meſſenians*, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The *Megalopolitans*, though led on by *Philopœmen* and *Lycortas*, were too weak to make head againſt ſuch a body of freſh men; *Philopœmen* therefore made it his chief

But is defeated.

buſineſs to retire in good order, which branch of the military art he underſtood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed *Lycortas* and the *Megalopolitans* in the van, and brought up the rear himſelf, facing about from time to time, and keeping the enemy at ſome diſtance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile, and ſurrounded by the enemy. However, they durſt not even then attack him, but keeping at a diſtance drove him with

(X) *Coron* or *Corone* was a city of *Meſſenia*, and is ſtill in being in the province of *Belvedere*, and known by the ſame name. *Plutarch* (o) inſtead of *Corone* puts *Colonis* or *Colone*, which was alſo a city in the territory of *Meſſene*, as appears from *Ptolemy*.

(o) *Plutarch in Philop.*

flowers

ſhowers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horſe. Yet ſtill he ſupported himſelf, though quite worn out with ſickneſs, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his ſeventieth year. He ſpurred on his horſe croſs the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his ſmall army, when his horſe ſtumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay ſenſeleſs, till the enemies thinking him dead began to ſtrip him. He then opened his eyes and ſeemed to revive, when *Dinocrates*, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and in that condition carried him to *Meſſene*. When the *Meſſenians* received the news of this victory, and heard that *Philopœmen* was taken priſoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to ſee what they could no otherwiſe believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of thoſe very *Meſſenians* who had taken him. But upon the ſight of the hero of *Greece* reduced to captivity, more by an accident than any want of valour, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much touched with compaſſion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppreſſions of the tyrant *Nabis*. As many had not been able to ſee him by reaſon of the croud, they deſired he might be carried to the theatre, and there ſhewn to the multitude. But the magiſtrates, fearing leſt the eſteem and love which the *Meſſenians* had formerly ſhewn him ſhould revive, did not ſuffer the illuſtrious priſoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a ſudden to a vault called the *treaſury*, without doubt, becauſe the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was ſtopped by a large ſtone raiſed up and let down by a crane. In this cavern *Philopœmen* wounded, ſick, and fatigued, ſpent a miſerable night. Early in the morning the ſenate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their priſoner, and ſending him back to his own country. But the ſenators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and conſequently were afraid they ſhould find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay ſent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the priſoner to drink a doſe of poiſon. The moment the illuſtrious *Megalopolitan* ſaw him carrying a cup in

Philopœmen *taken priſoner.*

Philopœmen *put to death by the* Meſſenians. Year of the Flood, 2816. Before Chriſt, 183.

in his hand, he gueſſed what he was bringing him, and raiſing himſelf up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he aſked the executioner with great tranquility, *Whether* Lycortas *and the* Megalopolitan *youth had got into a place of ſafety. Not one of them is killed,* anſwered the executioner, *they have all made their eſcape. That is enough,* replied *Philopœmen, I die content.* He then took the cup of poiſon with great chearfulneſs, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died one of the greateſt heroes that *Greece* or any other country ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boaſted heroes of *Rome*. Had *Achaia* been nearer to an equality with *Rome*, he would have preſerved his country from the yoke which the *Roman* republic forced it to bear. Both the *Greek* and *Roman* writers put him upon the level with *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who were his contemporaries, and happened to die the ſame year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greateſt commanders, but one of the greateſt ſtateſmen, of his age. To his valour and prudence *Achaia* owed all her glory, which upon his death began to decline, there being none after him in that republic able to oppoſe her enemies, with the like ſteadineſs and prudence; whence *Philopœmen* was called the laſt of the *Greeks*, as *Brutus* was afterwards ſtiled the laſt of the *Romans*[c].

When the news of his death was ſpread among the cities of the *Achæan* league, the rage of the people againſt his aſſaſſins was as great as their grief for the loſs of ſo great a man. The general aſſembly was immediately convened at *Megalopolis*, and *Lycortas*, at that time the moſt famous general in *Achaia*, put in the room of the deceaſed. The new general without loſs of time entered the *Meſſenian* territory at the head of an army which was ſoon raiſed, all the young men, that were fit to bear arms, ſhewing a great eagerneſs to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its ſplendor. *Lycortas* had been his particular friend, and therefore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his death to condign puniſhment. Thus both the general and ſoldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of *Meſſene*, after having laid waſte the whole territory, and ſummoned the rebellious city to ſurrender. The people, in ſpite of the prætor and ſenate, opened the gates to the *Achæan* troops, and put them in poſſeſſion both of the city and

Meſſene *ſurrenders to the* Achæans.

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366, 368. Polyb. in legat. c. 52, 53.

caſtle.

caſtle. This ſubmiſſive behaviour aſſwaged the wrath of *Lycortas*, who did not think it adviſeable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He only inſiſted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and ſuch as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopœmen*. They readily complied with his requeſt, and the aſſaſſins loaded with irons were brought before him; but *Dinocrates*, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himſelf; the reſt were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis*, in order to be ſacrificed at the tomb of the deceaſed hero [d].

Philopœmen's *aſhes carried in great pomp to* Megalopolis.

AND now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of *Philopœmen*, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp, burnt according to cuſtom on a funeral pile, and his aſhes depoſited in an urn adorned with feſtoons and fillets. *Lycortas*, being now to leave the conquered city, did not diſband his troops and ſend them to their reſpective homes as uſual. They all marched out of the city in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched firſt crowned with laurel to ſhew their victory, but ſhedding floods of tears for the deceaſed hero. Next came the urn carried by *Polybius the Hiſtorian*, ſon of *Lycortas*, ſurrounded by the prime nobility of *Achaia*, and the *Meſſenian* priſoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richeſt apparel and capariſons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the ſolemn proceſſion; but it was viſible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occaſion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*, *Philopœmen*'s native city, and arriving there paid him the laſt honours, with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. The *Meſſenian* captives were ſtoned at his tomb, and each city of *Achaia* gave ſome ſignal proof of the eſteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loſs of ſo great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in moſt cities of *Greece* with noble inſcriptions. The magiſtrates of *Megalopolis* paſſed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly ſacrificed at his tomb; during which ſacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children ſung hymns in his praiſe [e] (Y).

WHEN

[d] LIV. PLUT. POLYB. ubi ſupra. [e] Idem, ibid.

(Y) Several years after when *Corinth* was taken and deſtroyed by *Mummius*, a *Roman* brought articles of impeachment againſt *Philopœmen*,

When news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Achæans* had reſtored the city of *Meſſene* to the league, their embaſſadors there were addreſſed in quite different terms from thoſe which had been uſed before. The ſenate told them, that they had been careful not to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from *Italy* to *Meſſene*. This plainly ſhews the inſincerity of the *Romans*, and the little regard they had to truth in their tranſactions with other nations. For when the *Achæans* demanded the ſuccours which they were obliged to furniſh them according to the treaty, and deſired, at leaſt, that they would not ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of *Italy* to *Meſſene*, it was anſwered, that when any city broke off from the *Achæan* league, the ſenate did not think themſelves obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes, nor concern themſelves with the claims and pretenſions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the *Achæan* league to take up arms, and ſeparate as they pleaſed from the alliance. But now they endeavour to perſuade the *Achæans* that they had prohibited the ſubjects of the republic from lending any kind of aſſiſtance to the *Meſſenian* rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The *Achæans* at this time were maſters of all *Peloponneſus*, *Philip* king of *Macedon* was preparing a-new for war, the *Ætolians* were diſguſted with *Rome*, and *Antiochus* ready to paſs over into *Greece*. No wonder then, that *Rome* was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in ſo critical a juncture.

We have obſerved above, that the *Roman* ſenate had decreed, among many other articles, that *Sparta* ſhould be admitted into the *Achæan* league, and that *Marcius* had been ſent into *Greece* to ſee this decree put in execution. However, the *Achæan* ambaſſadors on their return from *Rome* acquainted the aſſembly, that the *Lacedemonian* exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and conſequently might be driven a-new from the city without diſobliging the ſenate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition made by *Diophanes*, who undertook to defend their cauſe. Being thus reduced to

Philopœmen, in order to have the ſtatues and monuments, erected all over *Greece* to the memory of this great man, thrown down and abolithed He accuſed him of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and ſhewn on all occaſions his hatred to the republic. The cauſe was heard in council before *Mummius*, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and ſolidity by *Polybius*.

their

their former ſtate of miſery, they ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, imploring the protection of the ſenate. The ſenators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of *Achaia*, deſiring them to give the *Lacedemonian* exiles leave to ſettle again in their native country. Theſe letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of *Achaia*, which returned no other anſwer, than that the matter ſhould be conſidered after the arrival of the *Achæan* ambaſſadors from *Rome*. Not long after the ambaſſadors returned, and declared before the council, that the ſenate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themſelves from their importunities f.

The Lacedemonian *exiles recur to the* Romans.

AFTER the ambaſſadors had been heard, *Lycortas* was of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of the letters which the ſenate had wrote; but *Hyperbates*, who was then prætor, and *Callicrates*, were of a different opini n. *Lycortas*, however, carried it, and it was reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to acquaint the *Roman* ſenate with the reaſons which had moved them to adhere to their former reſolutions, notwithſtanding their recommendation. *Callicrates*, *Lyſiades*, and *Aratus*, were appointed ambaſſadors, and inſtructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Callicrates* acted in direct oppoſition to his orders; for being introduced to the ſenate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his ſtubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the *Greeks* paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themſelves for it, ſuch a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. "In our commonwealth, *ſaid he*, "there are two parties, one of which maintains, that an "implicit obedience ſhould be paid to all your orders; the "other party pretends that the laws of the country ſhould "prevail over your will; and this ſuits beſt with the genius "of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the popu"lace. Hence ſuch as blindly comply with your ordinances "are hated by the people, while thoſe who oppoſe them are "honoured and applauded. We ſee at this preſent time the "firſt employments of our republic filled by men, whoſe "only merit conſiſts in a pretended zeal for the laws of their "country, in contradiction to the expreſs orders of this au"guſt aſſembly. If you continue to ſhew ſuch an indiffe"rence on this head, all the chief men will certainly oppoſe

Callicrates *betrays his country, to ingratiate himſelf with the* Romans.

f POLYB. in Legat. c. 54.

" you, this being a ſure way to preferment. But if you " ſhew favour to thoſe only who eſpouſe your intereſt, the " leading men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for " you, and the populace ſoon follow their example. What " I have ſaid is plainly confirmed by the preſent conduct of " my countrymen. How long is it ſince you deſired them " to recal the *Lacedemonian* exiles? Nevertheleſs they are " ſo far from complying with your requeſt, that they have " bound themſelves by oath never to reſtore them [u]". Thus the *Greeks* began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men proſtitute to their private intereſt that liberty which their anceſtors had purchaſed and maintained at the expence of their lives. *Callicrates* was ſo tranſported with ambition, that he choſe rather to betray and ruin his country, than ſuffer any other to have more authority in it than himſelf.

A ſpeech ſo well calculated to favour the intereſt of *Rome* could not but be very agreeable to the ſenate. As *Callicrates* had treacherouſly pointed out the methods by which they might eaſily weaken and cruſh the *Greek* republics, it was concluded, that they ſhould exert themſelves in heaping favours upon ſuch as maintained the authority of *Rome*, and humbling thoſe who preſumed to oppoſe it. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that this was the firſt time the fatal reſolution was taken of depreciating thoſe, who in their reſpective countries had the moſt noble way of thinking, and raiſing ſuch as declared right or wrong for the *Romans*; a reſolution which in all countries leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. Henceforth it was a conſtant maxim of the *Roman* policy, to increaſe the power and authority of ſuch as favoured their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and conſtitutions of their reſpective countries, and oppreſs by all poſſible methods thoſe who were ſincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their anceſtors. This ſingle maxim is ſufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and moderation which the *Romans* diſcovered on ſome occaſions.

The Achæans commanded to reſtore the Lacedemonian exiles.

FROM this period *Rome* began to treat the *Achæans* in a quite different manner from what ſhe had done in former times. Peremptory orders were ſent them to reſtore the *Lacedemonian* exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the ſenate. Letters were at the ſame time directed to the *Ætolians*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and other free ſtates of

[u] POLYB. in Legat. c. 58.

Greece,

Greece, enjoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their respective commonwealths men only of such noble sentiments as *Callicrates*. Thus the *Romans* requited the eminent services which the *Achæans* had done them in their wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, when they were despised by the other states of *Greece* (Z). *Callicrates*, on his return to *Peloponnesus*, spread so artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the *Lacedemonian* and *Messenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the *Romans*.

BY these violent methods *Rome* got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and on the other side *Perses*, who had succeeded *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the *Romans*. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a distant republic, he advanced towards *Delphos* under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in *Greece*. With this view he crossed mount *Oeta*, and surprized the *Greeks* with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into *Asia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perses* after consulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, passing through *Phthiotis* and *Thessaly*, without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters, remonstrating,

(Z) *Polybius* ascribes this violent proceeding of the *Romans* to the compassion which the *Spartan* exiles raised in the breasts of the senators. The *Romans*, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the *Lacedemonian* exiles. But we must remember, that this (in other respects impartial) historian wrote this in *Rome*, and under the eyes of the *Romans*, after they were absolute lords of *Greece* (10).

(10) *Polyb. Legat.* 58.

ing, that they ought not to continue the hatred they might have conceived againſt the father, to the ſon who courted their friendſhip [h].

Perſes *endeavours to gain over the* Achæans.

Year of the Flood, 2821. Before Chriſt, 178.

The *Macedonian*'s chief attention was to gain over the *Achæan* rebublic, which had carried its hatred ſo far againſt the *Macedonians*, that they were not ſuffered upon any pretence to enter *Achaia*. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make ſuch a decree. For though *Philip* had greatly diſobliged them, eſpecially by putting the two *Aratus*'s to death, yet he had proved in many other reſpects very beneficent to them; whence they were with much ado prevailed upon to forſake him; and even after they had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſome of their leading men ſtill favoured their antient ally. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, for the preſervation of concord among themſelves, to uſe great circumſpection, leſt by his agents he ſhould foment diviſions in the ſtate. Beſides, by hearkening to his meſſages they might give jealouſy to their new allies. On theſe conſiderations the general aſſembly of *Achaia* had enacted a decree, forbidding any *Macedonian*, on what pretence ſoever, to enter into *Achaia*, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the ſtate. This decree cut off all intercourſe and means of reconciliation with the *Macedonians*, and thereby quaſhed at once the *Macedonian* faction. But at the ſame time it proved very prejudicial both to the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*; for the ſlaves on both ſides uſed to fly to the enemies of their maſters, where they found a ſure aſylum, knowing they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, *Perſes* made the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, by ſending back to the *Achæans* ſuch of their ſlaves as had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable preſent he ſent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This was courting their friendſhip, and tacitly demanding the reeſtabliſhment of their antient commerce. One *Xenarchus*, who was then prætor of *Achaia*, read the king's letter in a full aſſembly; it was heard with great applauſe, eſpecially by thoſe who had received their ſlaves, and moſt of the leading men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*. But *Callicrates* repreſented to them the bad conſequences of repealing the decree in ſo critical a juncture; he told them, that the *Romans* deſigned to make war upon

[h] Liv. l. xli. c. 12.

Perſes,

Perſes, that *Perſes* had nothing elſe in view by ſending back their ſlaves than to involve them and all *Greece* in this war, and that to enter into the leaſt engagement with *Perſes* was to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and draw all the weſt upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuſe the dangerous preſents, live as utter ſtrangers to *Macedon*, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

Arcon Xenarchus's brother ſpoke after *Callicrates*, and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, ſince *Perſes* had renewed his alliance with the *Romans*, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their embaſſadors with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; why then might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Epirots*, *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, and the other nations of *Greece*, reap the advantage of his neighbourhood? Why might not the *Achæans*, like the other free ſtates, ceaſe to be enemies to *Perſes*, without ceaſing to be friends to *Rome*? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare againſt the *Macedonians* when they were come to an open rupture with *Rome*; but till then they had no reaſon to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themſelves [i].

Arcon's diſcourſe would have determined the aſſembly to comply with the requeſt of *Perſes*, had not *Callicrates* obſerved, that the king had not vouchſafed to treat with them otherwiſe than by a ſhort letter. This want of reſpect, as *Callicrates* ſtiled it, being artfully repreſented, made the aſſembly poſtpone the determination, and refuſe for the preſent the king's offer. As ſoon as *Perſes* was acquainted with what had paſſed at the diet, he ſent ambaſſadors to make the ſame offers. But the advocates of *Rome* found means to render all their negotiations fruitleſs [k].

The Achæans declare for the Romans. Year of the Flood 2830. Before Chriſt 169.

SOME years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perſes*, great diviſions aroſe in all the cities and free ſtates of *Greece*, ſome favouring the *Macedonians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The aſſembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from theſe diſturbances; but *Arcon* wiſely prevented the ill conſequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of *Achaia* to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Romans*. *Arcon* was not, as we have ſeen above, greatly inclined to the *Romans*, but rather favoured in his heart the *Macedonian* faction; however, as he foreſaw that *Rome* would at laſt prevail, he

[i] LIV. ubi ſupra. c. 27. [k] LIV. ibid. c. 28.

was

was no sooner chosen prætor, but he got the diet to pass a decree, impowering him to raise what forces he pleased, and march with them to join the *Romans*. In the same assembly it was resolved, that embassadors should be sent to *Marcius* the *Roman* consul, who had already penetrated into *Thessaly*, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know when, and where, the *Achæan* army should join him. *Polybius* the historian being named for this embassy, he immediately set out for the *Roman* camp, in order to suppress the reports that were spread, as if *Achaia* intended to assist the *Macedonians*. When he arrived he was received by the consul with great demonstrations of kindness. The good will of so powerful a nation, at a time when so many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindest terms, and told them, that they might spare themselves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, since in the present posture of affairs he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer *Polybius* sent back his collegues, but remained himself in the *Roman* camp. In the mean time the *Achæans* acquainted *Polybius*, that *Appius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Epirus*, had demanded of their republic five thousand men, which body they were ready to send into *Epirus*, if the consul approved of it. But *Marcius* was so far from consenting that any succours should be sent to *Appius*, that he immediately dispatched *Polybius* home with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to *Appius*, nor his republic to be put to such useless expences. It is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that induced *Marcius* to act in this manner. Was he for saving the *Achæans* the trouble and charges of so long a march? or did he intend to put it out of *Appius*'s power to undertake any thing, since he had not been able to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the inclinations of the consul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of *Achaia*, difficulties were started by *Polybius*'s friends and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the consul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge; so on the other hand orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to *Appius*, who really wanted them. In this case therefore they had recourse to a decree which had been lately published, in all the cities of *Greece*, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from *Rome*. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the *Roman* generals to exact any thing of the nations in

confederacy with *Rome* without an expreſs order from the ſenate, and prohibiting the allies to ſubmit to any exaction or even demands of the conſuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without ſuch an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exerciſed over their moſt faithful allies, gave occaſion to this decree. For want of an order from the ſenate, the meſſenger ſent by *Appius* was diſmiſſed without the ſuccours he demanded. Thus *Polybius* made his court to the conſul, and at the ſame time conſulted the intereſt of his country [1].

THE enſuing year *Paulus Æmilius*, who, ſucceeded *Marcius* in the command of the army in *Macedon*, being informed, that *Perſes* was drawing together a mighty army with a deſign to come to a deciſive battle, ſent to ſolicit ſuccours from the allies, eſpecially the *Achæans*, who upon the firſt ſummons ſent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the moſt experienced commanders they had. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, *Perſes* being entirely defeated, and ſoon after reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to deliver up himſelf and all his children to the conquerors. And now the *Romans*, having by this victory triumphed over their enemies in the eaſt, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had uſed while they ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the affairs of *Macedon* and inſpect thoſe of *Greece*, that is to proſecute and puniſh, without any regard to juſtice and equity, all thoſe who during the war had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*. Theſe haughty judges ſummoned all the heads of the *Greek* nations to appear before their tribunal at *Amphipolis*, in order to compoſe their differences, as they gave out, and reſtore *Greece* to its antient tranquility. The *Ætolians* appeared firſt, in mourning habits and making great lamentations. The ſubject of their complaints was, that two members of their aſſembly, *Lyſiſcus* and *Tiſippus*, whom the protection of the *Romans*, to whoſe intereſt they were devoted, rendered very powerful in *Ætolia*, had ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers lent them by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the country for the *Romans*, and put to death five hundred and fifty of their ſenators for no other crime, but becauſe they were thought to favour *Perſes*. The commiſſioners after hearing their complaints confined their enquiries to this point alone, whether thoſe who had been thus maſſacred were for the *Romans* or *Perſes*, and having

The haughty behaviour of the Romans *after the defeat of* Perſes.

[1] LIV. ibid. POLYB. legat. c. 77.

found that they had ſpoke in the ſenate for *Perſes*, the council paſſed a decree, by which the muderers were acquitted, and thoſe who had been put to death declared to have ſuffered juſtly. *Bœbius* alone was blamed, for employing the *Roman* ſoldiers in an execution which had no relation to military affairs[m].

Year of the Flood 2832. Before Chriſt, 167.

This ſentence ſpread great terror among thoſe who had ſhewn any affection for *Perſes*, and increaſed beyond meaſure the pride and inſolence of the partiſans of *Rome*. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The firſt, and without doubt the moſt numerous, adhered to the *Macedonians*; the ſecond was devoted to the *Romans*, and the third in oppoſition to the other two were neither for the *Macedonians* nor the *Romans*. The latter, whoſe party was leaſt numerous, as it conſiſted only of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party ſhould prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preſerve their country both from the *Macedonian* and *Roman* tyranny. Theſe were in great eſteem and beloved in their reſpective cities, and had acted prudently in all the meaſures they had taken. But this was not ſufficient, as we ſhall ſee, to ſcreen them from the vengeance of the *Romans*. The commiſſioners firſt wreaked their anger on thoſe who had favoured *Perſes*, for the emiſſaries of *Rome* flocked to *Amphipolis* from all the countries of *Greece* to accuſe them before the council. Theſe treacherous men informed the commiſſioners, that, beſides thoſe who had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Perſes*, there were many others, who were no leſs averſe from the *Romans* in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly ſettled in *Greece*, till they had utterly deſtroyed both the favourers of *Perſes* and thoſe who had affected to ſtand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commiſſioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quaſh in all the *Greek* cities not only the *Macedonian*, but the neutral, party, and confer honours on thoſe only who preferred the intereſt of *Rome* to all other regards whatſoever. What juſtice could be expected from an aſſembly that was determined to treat all thoſe as criminals who were not of the *Roman* party, and confer employments on ſuch only as declared themſelves their accuſers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the ſo much boaſted equity of the *Romans*. They were juſt and honeſt when they found their account in juſtice and honeſty,

[m] Liv. l. xlv. c. 28, 32.

but

but ever ready to ſacrifice both to their boundleſs ambition.

THE moſt ſanguine of theſe informers were *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*, both *Achæans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman* party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themſelves in them with the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. With this view they informed againſt all thoſe among their countrymen who were in a condition to diſpute the higheſt poſts with them; and their accuſations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partiſans of *Perſes* before his overthrow. Beſides the *Achæans*, *Callicrates* accuſed a great many others, and gave in a long liſt of ſuch as had either declared for the *Macedonian*, or ſtood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*. All theſe were ordered by *Paulus Æmilius* to follow him to *Rome*, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the *Achæans*, the commiſſioners thought it adviſeable to judge them in their own country, and to ſend two of the chief members of the council into *Achaia* to try them there; and accordingly *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were named and ſet out for *Achaia*. Three reaſons induced them to act in this manner: the firſt was, becauſe they apprehended, that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful and no leſs jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders, ſhould they be commanded to juſtify themſelves at *Rome*; the ſecond, becauſe they had not found any of their letters among *Perſes*'s papers; and the third, becauſe it was neceſſary to protect *Callicrates* and the other informers againſt the inſults of their countrymen [n].

Unwarrantable proceedings of the Romans.

ONE of the two commiſſioners ſent into *Achaia*, *Pauſanias* does not ſay which, a man of a moſt vile character, complained in the aſſembly of the *Achæans*, that many of the chief men of the league had aſſiſted *Perſes* againſt the *Romans*, and therefore deſired that all thoſe might be condemned to die, whom he ſhould name after ſentence given. *After ſentence given*, cried out the whole aſſembly, *What juſtice is that? Name them firſt, and let them anſwer for themſelves; which if they cannot do, we engage to condemn them. Since you promiſe to condemn them*, replied the haughty *Roman* with an aſſuming air, *all your prætors, all who have bore any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime.* At theſe words *Xenon*, a perſon of great credit, and highly reſpected by the whole league, ſpoke to this effect: *I have commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief ma-*

[n] JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 1. PAUSAN. in Achaic. p. 416

giſtrate of the league; I proteſt I have never done any thing contrary to the intereſt of Rome; *and if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now ſtiled, let him appear; I am ready a thouſand to clear myſelf, either in the aſſembly of the* Achæans, *or before the* Achæans *or the* Roman *ſenate.* The *Roman* took hold of this expreſſion, and ſaid, that ſince *Xenon* had named the ſenate, he and the reſt could not appeal to a more impartial judge; then he began to name all thoſe who had been accuſed by *Callicrates*, as more in the *Macedonian* than the *Roman* intereſt, ordering them to appear and plead their cauſe before the ſenate. They were above a thouſand, all men of diſtinguiſhed merit, and who had nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This ſentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of *Achaia*. That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all thoſe who had ſhewn any zeal for the preſervation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under *Philip* and his ſon *Alexander*; for neither of theſe princes ever thought of cauſing thoſe who oppoſed them to be ſent into *Macedon*, but referred their trials to the council of the *Amphictyons* their natural judges. Upon the arrival of theſe unhappy men at *Rome*, they were baniſhed into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there cloſe priſoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the aſſembly of the *Achæans*. When news of theſe tyrannical proceedings was brought into *Achaia*, the aſſembly ſent embaſſy after embaſſy to acquaint the ſenate, that their baniſhed countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the *Roman* ſenate; they begged, that they would give them a hearing, condemn ſuch as they ſhould find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; ſhe obſtinately inſiſted upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, and ſent to *Rome* only to hear what puniſhment ſhe was pleaſed to inflict upon them. Hereupon the *Achæans* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſenate, to proteſt that the pretended guilty perſons had never been tried, or even heard, by their aſſembly. *Xenon*, who was at the head of this embaſſy, being introduced to the ſenate, declared the orders he had received, earneſtly entreating the ſenate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the perſons accuſed, and not ſuffer them to periſh without being condemned. "It were to be wiſhed, ſaid he, that the "*Roman* ſenate, that auguſt and venerable aſſembly which has "never been known to ſwerve in its deciſions from the ſtricteſt "rules of equity, would take the cauſe of theſe unhappy "men into their own hands; but if affairs of greater impor-"tance do not allow them leiſure to examine the matter "themſelves,

to appear before the Roman *ſenate.*

" themſelves, let them refer it to the aſſembly of the *Achæ-*
" *ans*, who are ready to puniſh with the utmoſt rigour ſuch
" as they ſhall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to
" their charge". As this demand was very equitable, the ſenate was greatly puzzled what to anſwer. They did not think it adviſeable to try the cauſe, as knowing that the accuſation was groundleſs. On the other hand, to diſmiſs the exiles, and ſuffer them to return to their own country, was to diſoblige their partiſans in *Greece*, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in the ruin of thoſe who had a better title to favour than themſelves. After ſeveral conſultations, the ſenate for want of a better anſwer returned this, " that they
" did not think it expedient for the welfare of *Achaia*, that
" theſe men ſhould return home". Such tyrannical proceedings cauſed an univerſal conſternation in *Achaia*, all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loſs of their countrymen no otherwiſe than if they had been their deareſt relations. *Callicrates* and *Andromidas* became more than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never mentioned in the aſſemblies but with horror and deteſtation. Even the children fell upon them in the public ſtreets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay the *Achæans* carried their rage ſo far, that when the two informers had one day gone into a public bath at *Sicyon*, no body would waſh with them, or even after them, till the water was let out and the place purified. This general uneaſineſs made *Achaia* ſtill the more ſuſpected by the *Roman* ſenate, who kept the priſoners more cloſely confined than ever. Theſe were the firſt ſeeds of a war, which we ſhall ſoon ſee break out between *Rome* and *Achaia*; the firſt ſparks of that fire which conſumed *Corinth* [o].

THE *Achæans*, however, did not give over ſolliciting the ſenate for the releaſe of the exiles. They ſent new deputies to beg their return as a favour, leaſt in taking upon them their defence they ſhould ſeem to oppoſe the will of the ſenate. The deputies appeared at *Rome* in the attire of ſuppliants, and took care not to ſay any thing, in the harangue they made before the ſenate, that could give offence. Their ſpeech was modeſt and extremely reſerved; but the conſcript fathers continued inexorable, declaring, that they would not upon any account whatſoever alter the meaſures they had taken. The *Achæans* on the other hand would not give over ſoliciting and importuning the ſenate in behalf of their countrymen

[o] Liv. l. xlv c. 31. Paſſeran in Athenæo, pag. Pers. n. legat 105.

They ſent ſeveral embaſſies at different times, and made what intereſt they could among their friends at *Rome* and elſewhere, to get their petition backed by perſons who were better received than themſelves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to ſuffer *Polybius*, who was one of the exiles, and kept under cloſe confinement at *Rome*, to appear before the ſenate and plead the common cauſe. This is the ſo much vaunted equity of the *Romans*; theſe the civilizers of barbarous nations, the aſſerters of the rights and liberties of mankind.

Seventeen years were already paſt, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the ſenate at laſt was prevailed upon to ſuffer thoſe few who were ſtill alive to return home. *Polybius*, as we have hinted above, was one of theſe unhappy *Achæans*; but had been kept at *Rome*, whither his reputation had reached before him, and procured him that diſtinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wiſdom, and learning, gained him the love and eſteem of the greateſt men in the ſenate. He was particularly dear to the two ſons of *Paulus Æmilius*; the eldeſt of theſe had been adopted into the family of the *Fabii*, and the youngeſt into that of the *Scipios*. The latter, who afterwards deſtroyed *Carthage* and *Numantia*, at the requeſt of his friend ſollicited *Cato* the cenſor to ſpeak in the ſenate in favour of the *Achæans*, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that aſſembly. *Cato*, out of complaiſance to young *Scipio*, promiſed to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from *Achaia* to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates aroſe, as uſual, among the ſenators, ſome few being for ſending them home, and the others oppoſing it, when *Cato* roſe up, and with great gravity ſaid, "that to ſee "the *Roman* ſenate diſpute with great warmth, whether ſome "poor old *Greeks* ſhould be buried in *Italy* or in their own "country, would make one think that they had nothing at "all to do. This pleaſantry, coming from ſo grave a man as *Cato*, made the ſenators aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and determined them at laſt to ſend back the exiles into *Peloponneſus*. *Polybius* was for ſupplicating the ſenate, that they might be reinſtated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their baniſhment; but before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thought proper to hear *Cato*'s opinion, who told him ſmiling: "*Polybius*, you do not imitate the wiſdom "of *Ulyſſes*. You are for returning into the cave of the *Cy*-"*clops* for ſome poor tatters you have left there". Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number

The Achæans *after ſeventeen years confinement are ſent home.*

was

was much diminiſhed; for of the thouſand and upwards that came from *Achaia*, no more than three hundred returned thither. The reſt had periſhed in *Italy* with hunger and grief, and ſome had ſuffered like criminals for attempting to make their eſcape [p]. Such inhuman proceedings deſerve no other name but that of the moſt wanton and oppreſſive tyranny: The republic of *Achaia* was not ſubject to, but upon a level with, that of *Rome*. Thoſe brave *Achæans*, who were thus barbarouſly treated, had moſt of them ſerved under the *Roman* ſtandards, and greatly contributed to that very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

As for *Polybius*, he made no uſe of this permiſſion, but remained in *Rome*, where that very virtue which had brought him into diſtreſs was not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than thoſe he loſt. He attended *Scipio Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and ſignalized himſelf no leſs in the ſervice of *Rome*, than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*.

THE exiles on their return found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely eſtranged from the *Romans*. They only wanted an opportunity to make *Rome* repent of the rigorous treatment ſhe had ſhewn to the *Achæan* priſoners. This averſion was artfully fomented by their chief magiſtrates and the leading men in the republic, who were for the moſt part profeſſed enemies to the *Romans*. Such an univerſal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it ſoon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of *Achaia* and the diſſolution of the *Achæan* league.

What gave riſe to the war with the Romans.

To trace this war back to its firſt origin; a certain diſpute ariſing between the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Oropus* (A), the latter had recourſe to the *Achæans*. *Menalcidas*, by birth a *Lacedemonian*, was then prætor of *Achaia*; to him the *Oropians* applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he preſided, to eſpouſe their cauſe and aſſiſt them with troops. The *Lacedemonian*, who

[p] PAUSAN. in Achaiac. PLUT. in Cat. cenſore. POLYB. in legat. 129, 130.

(A) The antient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by *Ariſtotle Græca*, ſtood in the iſland of *Eubœa*; another, the native city of *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*; the third, which is the city we are now ſpeaking of, ſtood in *Bœotia*, near the borders of *Attica*, forty four miles north of *Athens*. It is now a village called by the natives *Ropo*.

preferred

preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the propoſal, and, in order to gain his point, promiſed to divide the money with *Callicrates*, if he could by his intereſt extort from the general aſſembly their conſent to ſend troops to the defence of *Oropus*. *Callicrates*, allured with this bait, prevailed on the aſſembly to take the city of *Oropus* under their protection; and accordingly *Menalcidas* was immediately diſpatched, with a ſtrong body of choſen troops, to make head againſt the *Athenians* who had already taken the field. But *Menalcidas* came too late, the *Athenians* had already plundered *Oropus*, and retired with an immenſe booty; however, the avaritious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his aſſiſtance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himſelf to divide them with *Callicrates*; he firſt put him off with fair promiſes, and at laſt told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole ſum to himſelf. *Callicrates*, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accuſed him, as ſoon as he was out of his office, of having uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the *Roman* ſenate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. The proceſs was carried on with ſuch rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have been ſentenced to death, if he had not by a preſent of three talents prevailed upon *Diæus*, who ſucceeded him in the prætorſhip, to acquit him in ſpite of all the evidences that were produced againſt him. This drew on *Diæus* the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewiſe were inclined to the *Lacedemonians*. This was a great ſtain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold ſtep. He maintained in the general aſſembly, that the *Lacedemonians* were ſubject to the *Achæan* league even in criminal caſes. *Rome* had decreed the contrary; but this ſcreened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring *Menalcidas* the *Lacedemonian*. When news was brought to *Lacedemon*, that *Diæus* was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general aſſembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the *Roman* ſenate had in expreſs terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private aſſemblies; they were for ſending deputies to *Rome*, but *Diæus* pretended, that only the general aſſembly of the whole nation had a right of ſending ambaſſadors thither [q].

New troubles in Peloponneſus.

THESE arbitrary proceedings greatly exaſperated the *Lacedemonians*; but, as they were no ways in a condition to make head againſt the whole ſtrength of *Achaia*, they humbled themſelves ſo far as to ſend deputies to *Diæus*, who was advancing at the head of a conſiderable army, intreating him

[q] Pausan. in Achaic.

not

not to uſe force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitleſs. The prætor anſwered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the *Lacedemonians* in general, but only with a few diſturbers of the public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of *Lacedemon* aſſembled, when *Ageſiſthenes*, a man of great authority, moved, that thoſe who had been named by *Diæus* ſhould of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been baniſhed, and carry their complaints to *Rome*. The motion was applauded by the whole aſſembly, and the perſons that had been named withdrew without delay from their native country. When the council of *Lacedæmon* heard that they were got out of *Laconia*, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt them in a full aſſembly, which aſſwaged the anger of *Diæus* and his *Achæans*. But when they heard that the exiles, together with *Menalcidas*, were embarqued for *Italy* to lay their complaints before the ſenate, *Diæus* and *Callicrates* made what haſte they could after them to plead the cauſe of the *Achæans* againſt the *Lacedemonians*. But they did not both reach *Rome*; *Callicrates*, who had great intereſt in that city, died at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs had called him. *Diæus* therefore and *Menalcidas* only appeared before the ſenate, and by their *Greek* eloquence diſguiſed the truth with ſuch artifice, that the ſenators could not come to any determination. Commiſſioners were therefore appointed to determine the diſpute on the ſpot. But, as they were too dilatory in ſetting out, *Menalcidas* and *Diæus*, arriving in *Peloponneſus* long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they on their arrival could not extinguiſh. *Diæus* aſſured the *Achæan* aſſembly, that every thing would be determined by the commiſſioners in their favour. On the other hand, *Menalcidas* brought the *Lacedemonians* word, that in a ſhort time their city and territory would be ſeparated from the *Achæan* league, and declared an independent ſtate. The *Achæans* hearing this reſolved to take up arms, and force the *Lacedemonians* to change their language [r].

Metellus, who was then buſy in ſettling the affairs of *Macedon*, being informed of the troubles in *Peloponneſus*, deſired the ambaſſadors, which *Rome* was ſending into *Aſia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedemon* in their way, in order to perſuade the *Achæans* to ſuſpend all hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners; Metellus endeavours to compoſe them

[r] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. p. 421, 428. POLYB. legat. 143, 144 Id. in excerpt. de virt. & vit. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiv. c. 1. FLOR l. ii. c. 16.

commiſſioners, who had been nominated to compoſe their differences in an amicable manner. Theſe ambaſſadors arriving in *Achaia* found *Democritus*, who had ſucceeded *Diæus* in the office of prætor, in full march with a deſign to fall upon the *Lacedemonians*. They exhorted him to diſband his men, and return home; but the prætor, deſpiſing their advice, advanced to the very walls of *Lacedemon*, and there gained a conſiderable advantage over the *Lacedemonians*, who, having loſt a thouſand of their men, retired with ſuch precipitation into the city, that if *Democritus* had warmly purſued them, he might have entered *Lacedemon* with the fugitives. But he was over-haſty in ſounding a retreat, contenting himſelf with the advantage he had gained; which ſo diſpleaſed the general aſſembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, which ſum he not being able to raiſe, he was obliged to lay down his office, and ſave himſelf by flight out of the *Achæan* territories. Then *Diæus*, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to *Lacedemon*, was again elected prætor. *Metellus* no ſooner heard of his promotion, but he ſent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners. *Diæus* complied with his requeſt, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the *Achæans*, by ſecret negotiations, all the cities that bordered upon *Laconia*, and having fortified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this diſtreſs the *Lacedemonians* thinking no man ſo proper to extricate them out of theſe difficulties as *Menalcidas*, who had governed the whole *Achæan* republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. *Menalcidas* was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very firſt ſtep he took. For, to give ſome reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and ſurpriſing the city *Jaſos*, which was within the borders of *Laconia*, but ſubject to the *Achæans*, plundered it, and divided the booty among his ſoldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the *Achæans* at the inſtance of *Metellus*, and drawing upon himſelf the reſentment of the *Romans*. The *Lacedemonians* themſelves were well appriſed, that ſuch unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cauſe, and therefore would have puniſhed their general with the utmoſt ſeverity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himſelf[f].

Not long after the death of *Menalcidas*, the *Roman* commiſſioners arrived in *Peloponneſus*. As they were ſent to

[f] Pausan. Polyb. &c. ibid.

put

put an end to a civil war which was kindled in the heart of *Achaia*, they landed at *Corinth*, which was looked upon as the capital of the *Achæan* league. There they ſummoned the aſſembly, which *Aurelius Oreſtes*, who was at the head of the commiſſioners, opened with a ſpeech calculated rather to create than compoſe diviſions. *Polybius* is of opinion, that he exceeded the inſtructions he had brought from *Rome*, and changed the menaces of the ſenate into abſolute orders[t]; for he told them, that *Rome* had been long endeavouring to eſtabliſh a happy union among the free cities of *Greece*, but was at laſt convinced, that ſuch an union could never be effected ſo long as their preſent form of government ſubſiſted. "*Flaminius*, ſaid he, ſet your cities at liberty, a bleſſing which "they might have enjoyed ſeparately; but you choſe to "form a league among yourſelves, a league which ſhould "depend on a general aſſembly, and be governed by a præ-"tor choſen by a plurality of voices. In this you endea-"voured to ſecure your common ſafety; but your precau-"tion has only produced troubles and diviſions. Your "deputies do not agree among themſelves; your aſſemblïes "make laws which every particular city will not obſerve. "This obliges you to have recourſe to arms; and hence "theſe eternal diviſions, hence theſe hoſtilities, which make "it neceſſary for you to be always under arms, and to look "upon your confederates as enemies. *Rome* is concerned to "ſee ſo many inteſtine wars kindled among you, knows the "cauſe of theſe evils, and is reſolved to put a ſtop to them. "When you are leſs united you will be more happy, and "will never be completely ſo till you make the neceſſary "ſeparations. Attend then to the orders of the ſenate, "which I am going to declare, and put them in execution "with readineſs. It is the will and pleaſure of the *Roman* "ſenate and people, that all the cities which were not for-"merly of the *Achæan* league, that is *Corinth*, *Lacedemon*, "*Argos*, *Heraclea* (B), and *Orchomenus* (C), be ſeparated "from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws "independently of the confederacy[u]".

Commiſſioners ſent from Rome *into* Achaia.

[t] POLYB. legat. 143. [u] Idem, ibid.

(B) This city of *Heraclea* ſtood in *Phthiotis*, a province of *Theſſaly*, near the paſs of *Thermopylæ*. It was called *Heraclea Trachinea*, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities bearing the ſame name.

(C) *Orchomenus* was one of the largeſt cities of *Bœotia*, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the moſt antient and wealthy of *Greece*.

The commissioners ill used and insulted.

Year of the Flood, 2852. Before Christ, 147.

No sooner had *Aurelius* pronounced these words, but the *Achæan* deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and calling together the people of *Corinth* in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from *Rome*. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude, being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the *Lacedemonians* they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. *Aurelius* and his collegues in vain cried out, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the *Lacedemonians*; the incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight [w].

The commissioners on their return to *Rome* not only set the insults they had received at *Corinth* in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult, not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it advisable to use moderation: *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of *Perses* entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to be very cautious in treating with so powerful a republic, as that of *Achaia*, in so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into *Achaia*, instructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the *Achæans* not to give ear to bad counsel, lest by their imprudence they should draw upon themselves a war, which it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in *Peloponnesus* met a deputy sent by the *Achæans* to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against *Orestes*; but the commissioners carried him back with them to *Ægium*, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. *Sextus Julius*, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation; when he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, seasoning his reproaches with the most tender expressions. "We can excuse, said he, the first com-
"motions of a multitude led astray by a mistaken zeal for
"their country; we are sensible that the magistrates cannot

New commissioners sent to Achaia.

[w] Idem, ibid.

"govern

" govern them on ſuch occaſions. If our ambaſſadors have
" ſuffered any ill treatment in thoſe blind tranſports, the
" fault may be eaſily repaired. The *Romans* will be appeaſ-
" ed with the leaſt ſigns of repentance. All the ſatisfaction
" *Rome* requires of you is, that you leave *Lacedemon* in peace,
" and reſtore tranquility to *Peloponneſus* [*]".

THESE moderate remonſtrances, in which *Julius* deſign- Critolaus
edly omitted ſaying one word of ſeparating any cities from the *and* Diæus
Achæan league, were received with great applauſe by the ma- *ſtir up the*
jor part of the aſſembly. But *Critolaus* and *Diæus* endeavour- *people a-*
ed to efface the impreſſions, which *Julius*'s ſpeech had made *gainſt the*
on the minds of the aſſembly, by inſinuating, that it was dan- Romans.
gerous to truſt the ſeeming moderation of the *Romans*; that *Rome* only ſuſpended her revenge till *Carthage* was deſtroyed; that they would ſoon ſee her legions laying waſte *Peloponneſus*, as they had done *Africa*, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary to prevent ſuch hoſtilities, by raiſing up enemies againſt the *Romans*, and utterly deſtroying their friends. Such were the diſcourſes of *Critolaus* and *Diæus* in their private conventicles among men of their own ſtamp, and devoted to their faction. But in public they ſpoke a very different language, and treated the commiſſioners with great civility. *Critolaus*, who was then prætor, invited them to *Tegæa* to meet an extraordinary aſſembly, in which the affairs of *Lacedemon* ſhould be amicably adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Accordingly *Julius* and his collegues went with the *Lacedemonians* to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies: but no *Achæan* appeared. While the *Romans* were thus attending in a corner of the province, *Critolaus* was ſending expreſſes from city to city, forbidding them to ſend their deputies to the congreſs. *Julius* began to be impatient and expreſs his uneaſineſs, when *Critolaus* came all alone to *Tegæa*, and to the great ſurpriſe of the *Romans* told them, that the diſpute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedemonians* was of too great importance to be decided in a private aſſembly; that it was neceſſary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be aſſembled according to law in leſs than ſix months.

Julius was highly affronted at ſuch deceitful proceedings; he diſmiſſed the *Lacedemonians*, and returning to *Rome* complained, that the republic had been inſulted, and her ambaſſadors perſonally ill uſed and derided. On the other hand, the prætor gloried in having mortified *Rome* in her envoys, and took no one ſtep to appeaſe her wrath. He was out of hatred

[*] Idem, Legat. 144.

to

to the *Romans* desirous of war, but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the ambassadors in the manner we have related, being well apprised, that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people as open hostilities.

Metellus endeavours in vain to bring Critolaus *to reason.*

However, *Rome* was not in haste to come to an open rupture; notwithstanding the loud complaints of *Julius* and his collegues, the senate would not resolve on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to *Metellus*, who was settling the province of *Macedon*, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with *Critolaus*, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. *Metellus* immediately dispatched four *Romans* of distinguished birth, *viz. Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius* into *Peloponnesus*, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of *Achaia* the evils which *Critolaus* and his partisans were by their rash behaviour drawing upon them.

In the mean time *Critolaus* ran from city to city, summoning assemblies under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at *Tegæa*; but in fact to vent invectives against the *Romans*, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to encrease his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any *Achæan* for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and *Lacedemon* was at an end. By this means he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes nor those of his nation.

His deputies insulted and abused.

During these transactions the four deputies sent by *Metellus* landed at *Corinth*, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassy ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in *Macedon* within reach of *Greece*. But *Critolaus* treated them worse than those who had been sent from *Rome*. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly, but commanded them to declare their business to the populace assembled in the market-place. To this factious assembly, consisting of artificers and the refuse of the people of *Corinth*, *Cn. Papirius* spoke, with, at least, as much moderation as *Julius* had done before the heads of the nation. His discourse tended to shew, that it was the interest of *Achaia* to keep up a good correspondence with *Rome*; he took care not to mention the separation of *Lacedemon* and the other cities from the

Achæan

Achæan league. This was interpreted by *Critolaus* as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great croud of artificers fell upon the ambaſſadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with all manner of affronts out of the market-place[y]. All the cities of *Achaia* were at that time ſeized, we may ſay, with a kind of madneſs, but *Corinth* was more furious than the reſt. They were perſuaded, that *Rome* intended to enſlave them and abſolutely deſtroy the *Achæan* league, which perſuaſion made them deaf to all the remonſtrances of thoſe who diſapproved the wild meaſures of *Critolaus*.

THE turbulent prætor, finding all things ſucceed to his wiſh, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them againſt ſuch of the nobility as refuſed to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accuſing them of informing the *Roman* ambaſſadors of all that paſſed in the national aſſemblies. One of theſe by name *Strategius* immediately gave the prætor the lie, and ſteadily inſiſted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor, and *Strategius* condemned, notwithſtanding he called the gods to witneſs that he had never diſcovered any thing tranſacted in the aſſemblies. This notorious piece of injuſtice convinced *Critolaus* that he had gained an abſolute aſcendent over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmoſt extremity, in the ſame aſſembly he cauſed war to be declared with *Lacedemon*, and conſequently with the *Romans*[z].

War declared with the Lacedemonians and Romans.

UPON the declaration of war the ambaſſadors parted; *Papirius* repaired to *Lacedemon* to watch the enemies motions; *Ælius* ſet out for *Naupactus*, and the other two for the camp in *Macedon*, to excite *Metellus* not to delay revenging the affronts offered to *Rome* in her ambaſſadors. Accordingly *Metellus*, without waiting for the orders of the ſenate, put himſelf at the head of his army, and began his march towards *Achaia*, with a deſign to enter it by *Theſſaly*.

THE cities of *Thebes* in *Bœotia* and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, having been diſobliged by *Metellus* ſince his abode in *Macedon*, joined the *Achæans*. The inhabitants of *Thebes* had been condemned by *Metellus* to make the *Phocians* ſatisfaction for the loſſes the latter had ſuffered by their frequent incurſions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of *Amphiſſa* in *Locris*

[y] FLOR. in Epit. FLOR. l. 2. c. 16. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. OROSIUS, &c. [z] POLYB. Legat. 144. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

cris (D) the third part of their harveſt, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of *Chalcis* had ravaged part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had obliged them to make reſtitution. Upon theſe motives the two cities entered into the raſh meaſures of *Critolaus*, and joined him with their troops. With ſuch feeble aids the *Achæan* prætor believed himſelf able to cope with the moſt powerful ſtate in the world; ſo far had his rage and hatred againſt the *Romans* got the better of his reaſon. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of thoſe exiles, whom the *Romans* had kept ſo long in *Italy* in a kind of ſlavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themſelves even at the expence of their country.

Heraclea *beſieged by the* Achæans.

Critolaus, being joined by the troops of *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, took the field, and marched againſt *Heraclea*, a city of the *Achæan* league, which refuſed to ſend its contingent to the prætor. While he was beſieging this town, news was brought him that *Metellus* was drawing near, which ſtruck him with ſuch terror that he immediately broke up the ſiege, and withdrew into *Achaia*. He might eaſily have ſeized the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, and there ſtopped at leaſt, if not defeated, the *Roman* army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. *Metellus* purſued him cloſe, and at laſt came up with him, and routed him. Hiſtorians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it coſt the *Achæans* dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thouſand of them taken priſoners. *Critolaus* himſelf loſt his life on this occaſion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle: ſome ſay, he poiſoned himſelf in ſome remote corner of *Greece*, others, that he threw himſelf down from mount *Oeta* into a marſh and was drowned [a].

The ſiege raiſed and the Achæans *defeated.*

Diæus *ſucceeds* Critolaus, *and makes great preparations for the war.*

It was an eſtabliſhed law among the *Achæans*, that when their prætor died during his office, his immediate predeceſſor ſhould ſucceed him, and govern the republic, till the next general aſſembly, which met at a ſtated time. By this law *Diæus* took upon him the government of the republic, and the command of the ſcattered army. But ſcarce was he inveſted

[a] Polyb. Pausan. ibid.

(D) *Amphiſſa* ſtood on the banks of a little river bearing the ſame name, and was one of the greateſt cities in *Locris*. Some think it ſtood where *Solona* now ſtands; but *Niger* thinks, its antient ſituation agrees better with that of a little village now called *Lambino*.

ed with this dignity, when news was brought him, that a body of above a thouſand *Arcadians*, who had joined the *Achæans* and after the battle retired to *Elatea* in *Phocis*, had been all to a man cut in pieces by *Metellus*. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it; he therefore ſent deputies to all the cities of *Achaia*, enjoining them to raiſe new troops with all poſſible expedition, and cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in all the places that were ſubject to the *Achæan* league, to this purport; That no leſs than twelve thouſand ſlaves, who had been born in the country, ſhould be enliſted; and that, if it was neceſſary, ſome of the ſlaves that had been brought from foreign countries, ſhould be taken into the ſervice to complete that number; that all thoſe who were fit to bear arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, ſhould repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military oaths; that all perſons of ſubſtance, whether men or women, ſhould bring all their gold or ſilver into the public treaſury. This convinced all *Achaia* of the danger that threatened them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy whom they had ſo highly provoked, they blindly purſued the mad ſcheme. The cities of *Elea*, *Meſſene*, and *Patræ*, were ſo terrified, when they heard that a conſular army was coming from *Rome*, and that a conſul with new legions was to take place of the prætor *Metellus*, that the inhabitants gave themſelves up to deſpair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themſelves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. Theſe cities were expoſed to the firſt attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the moſt ſevere treatment. Some had recourſe to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed againſt the moſt factious among their countrymen, though no inquiry was yet made after them [b].

Thebes taken by Metellus.

In the mean time the *Roman* prætor entered *Arcadia*, and drew near *Thebes*, which had openly declared for the *Achæan* league. *Pythias*, the chief magiſtrate of that city, had ſtirred up all the inhabitants againſt the *Romans*, and treated with great ſeverity ſuch as were unwilling to enter into his meaſures. It was chiefly with a view to ſeize him that *Metellus* turned his arms againſt *Thebes*; but *Pythias* had retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the army. Moſt of the citizens had followed his ex-

[b] POLYB. & PAUSAN. ibid.

ample and abandoned the city, which *Metellus* entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and saved the temples and houses from being plundered, but set a price on *Pythias*'s head. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people, but struck the magistates with new terror. From *Thebes* the *Roman* general marched to *Megara*, which important post was guarded by one *Alcamenes*, with a detachment of four thousand men. But the cowardly governor at the approach of the prætorian army left the place, and retired to *Corinth* where he joined *Diæus*. The inhabitants of *Megara* opened their gates to the *Romans*, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of *Achaia*.

Megara *submits.*

Metellus *sends new deputies to treat of a peace.*

And now *Metellus*, seeing most of the *Achæans* struck with terror, and inclined to peace, thought that such a favourable opportunity of gaining *Diæus* and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the consul *Mummius* was charged with the war in *Achaia*, and had already set out from *Rome*, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in *Greece* by the destruction of *Corinth*. To deprive therefore *Mummius* of this glory, and at the same time save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse *Romans*, but three *Achæans* of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. These were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*, men well affected to the *Romans*, but strongly touched with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at *Corinth* they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into prison, after he had produced them before the assembly of the people and declared them traitors and enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of *Philo*, an *Achæan* of great authority who came on purpose from *Thessaly*, or by the entreaties of *Stratius*, a man of distinguished merit and his particular friend. In spite of all their efforts the mad prætor sentenced the three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; nay, they joined with them in the same condemnation one *Sosicrates*, a venerable senator, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the *Romans*. *Sosicrates* was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared to extort from him such a confession as *Diæus* wanted; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war, and thi

They are treated as enemies.

this inflexible conſtancy made no ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. As for *Andronidas* and his collegues, the avaricious prætor ſold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before, *Diæus* had cauſed one *Phillius* and his children to be put to death, only becauſe they were ſuſpected of correſponding with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedemon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* faction. Thus were the unfortunate *Achæans* governed by magiſtrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their paſſions, and no other talent for war, but a ſavage fierceneſs, and a blind deſire of revenge c.

AN account of the many advantages gained by *Metellus* being tranſmitted to *Rome* by one *Poſthumius*, without the general's knowledge, the conſul *Mummius* haſtened his departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his lot. Why the ſenate would not ſuffer *Metellus* to finiſh a war, which he had proſecuted ſo far, is what we find no where recorded. When the conſul landed the numerous army he brought with him, *Metellus* was advancing to *Corinth*, with a deſign to uſe his utmoſt efforts, in order to bring *Diæus* to accept of a peace before the arrival of the conſular army, and thereby deprive *Mummius* of the glory of finiſhing the war. But the obſtinate prætor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous ſoever, which gave *Metellus* great concern, and made him loſe all hopes of ſettling *Achaia* in peace before the arrival of the conſul.

THIS was the poſture of affairs in *Achaia*, when *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with a conſular army, conſiſting of three thouſand five hundred horſe, and twenty three thouſand foot, beſides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the *Pergamean* troops ſent by *Attalus* the ſon of *Eumenes*. His firſt care was to ſend back *Metellus* and his forces into *Macedon*, leſt he ſhould ſhare with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped on the iſthmus of *Corinth*, poſting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the *Achæan* army being ſhut up in the city, the *Romans* ſtraggled about the fields, and neglected their poſts; which the *Corinthians* obſerving made a vigorous ſally, fell upon the legionaries, and purſued them with great ſlaughter to their camp. This ſmall advantage encouraged the *Achæans*, and inſpired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the conſul, who on his ſide did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his fooliſh perſuaſion; he kept his legions cloſe in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the ſight of the enemy. *Diæus*, now becoming auda-

The conſul Mummius arrives in Greece. Year of the Flood 2853. Before Chriſt, 146.

c Idem ibid.

cious and ſure of victory, aſſembled all thoſe who were able to bear arms and formed them into a phalanx, which with the auxiliaries from *Chalcis* made up an army equal, if not ſuperior, in number to that of the *Romans*. They wanted experience and diſcipline; but *Diæus* thought that deſpair and the importance of their cauſe would ſupply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops and offered the conſul battle, which he declined, in order to draw the *Achæans* into a valley called *Leucopetra*, at the extremity of the iſthmus which joined *Attica* to *Peloponneſus*. Accordingly the prætor fell into the ſnare, and repaired thither long before the conſul. *Diæus* was ſo ſure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be ſpectators from the neighbouring hills of the ſlaughter he was going to make of the enemy; he had alſo ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the ſpoils of the *Romans* [d].

The Achæans defeated by Mummius

Never was there a more raſh and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of *Diæus* had removed from the ſervice and from the public councils all thoſe who were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs, and had ſubſtituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns: the ſoldiers had never before ſeen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military diſcipline; and nevertheleſs the raſh prætor promiſed himſelf victory, over a conſular army inured to the greateſt dangers. While the *Achæans* were thus triumphing in the plains of *Leucopetra*, and only ſolicitous leſt the conſul ſhould find means to make his eſcape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuſcade a ſtrong body of horſe, with orders to ſally out in the heat of the action, and attack the *Achæan* phalanx in flank. The *Achæans* advanced furiouſly, but their cavalry was ſoon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous reſiſtance; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and diſperſed. The ſlaughter then was dreadful; we are told that the two ſeas, which were divided by the iſthmus of *Corinth*, were dyed with blood. If *Diæus* had retired into *Corinth*, he might have held it a long time, notwithſtanding the loſs of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius*; for *Corinth* was at that time one of the ſtrongeſt places in the world, and the conſul's ſole

[d] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

aim.

aim was to deſerve a triumph by putting a ſpeedy end to the war. But *Diæus* abandoning himſelf to deſpair rode full ſpeed to *Megalopolis* his native country, and entering his houſe ſet fire to it, threw his wife into the flames leſt ſhe ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poiſon [e].

AFTER this defeat all things were in the utmoſt confuſion at *Corinth*. The inhabitants, finding themſelves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for ſafety, leaving the city deſerted. The gates were open and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The conſul hearing this could ſcarcely believe it, and fearing ſome ambuſcade reſtrained the ardour of his ſoldiers, who were very eager to enter *Corinth*, and enrich themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy a city. *Mummius* was thus in ſuſpenſe for the ſpace of three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly obſerved all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his ſoldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themſelves to forſake their native country, were all put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. Then the town was ranſacked by the greedy ſoldiers; and who can reckon up the immenſe treaſures they found? There were more veſſels of all ſorts of metals, more fine pictures, and ſtatues of the greateſt maſters in *Corinth*, than in any city in the world. All the princes of *Europe* and *Aſia*, who had any taſte in painting and ſculpture, furniſhed themſelves here with their richeſt moveables; here were caſt the fineſt ſtatues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greateſt perfection. Many inеſtimable pieces of the moſt famous painters and ſtatuaries fell into the hands of ſoldiers, who not knowing their value either deſtroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. *Polybius* was an eye-witneſs of the want of taſte in the *Romans* of thoſe days. This brave *Achæan*, upon the firſt news that his countrymen had taken up arms againſt *Rome*, left *Africa*, where he was attending *Scipio* at the ſiege of *Carthage*, and haſtened to *Achaia* to do his country what ſervice he could. He was in the *Roman* army when *Corinth* was plundered, and had the mortification to ſee the *Roman* ſoldiers playing at dice on a picture of *Ariſtides* (E), which

Mummius *enters* Corinth *and plunders it.*

[e] PAUSAN. in Achaic. ZONARAS l. 9. c 31.

(E) *Ariſtides*, who was contemporary with *Apelles*, flouriſhed at *Thebes*

which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They ſet no value on that maſter-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the ſpoils of *Corinth* were put up to ſale, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* offered for it ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is near five thouſand pounds of our money. The conſul, ſurprized that the price of a picture ſhould be carried ſo high, thought there was ſome magical virtue in it, and therefore interpoſing his authority retained it, notwithſtanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He was not actuated in ſo doing by his private intereſt, for he did not appropriate it to himſelf, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*, where *Strabo* had the pleaſure of ſeeing it before it was conſumed in the fire which reduced that temple to aſhes [f]. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but ſeems to have had no taſte for painting or ſculpture; for when he put the pictures and ſtatues he had taken in *Corinth* on board the tranſports, he told the maſters of the veſſels very ſeriouſly, that if any of them were either loſt or ſpoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt. As if any other pieces could have ſupplied the loſs of thoſe ineſtimable originals, done by the moſt celebrated maſters in *Greece* [g]. Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays the hiſtorian who has tranſmitted this fact to poſterity, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taſte for ſuch rarities which prevails in the preſent age [h]? He ſpoke at a time when the governors of the provinces uſed all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themſelves and their families with ſuch valuable moveables.

Corinth *reduced to aſhes.* *Corinth* being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to aſhes, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, which the conſul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was ſet to all the corners of the city at the ſame time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at laſt united there, and made one general conflagration, which is

[f] Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 35. c. 4. & 10. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 76, 77. [g] Vel. Pat. l. 1. c. 13. [h] Idem ibid.

Thebes about the 122d Olympiad. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that attempted to repreſent the paſſions of the ſoul in colours. The piece here ſpoke of was a *Bacchus*, ſo exquiſitely done, that it was proverbially ſaid of any extraordinary performance; *It is as well* [illegible] Bacchus *of* Ariſtides (11).

(11) Plin. l. 35. c. 4 & 10.

Said

ſaid to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, ſilver, and braſs, which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted and ran down the ſtreets in ſtreams. Some of the greedy ſoldiers in attempting to ſave part of thoſe metals periſhed in the flames. When the fire was extinguiſhed, a new metal was found compoſed of ſeveral different ones (F), and greatly eſteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demoliſhed and razed to the very foundations. Thus was *Corinth* deſtroyed the ſame year that *Carthage* was laid in aſhes. By the deſtruction of two ſuch cities the *Romans* intended to ſtrike terror into the reſt of the world, and keep all nations ſteady in their obedience to *Rome*. *Corinth* was deſtroyed nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by *Aletes* the ſon of *Hippotes*, ſixth in deſcent from *Hercules*. *Cicero*, who approved of the deſtruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, wiſhed that *Corinth*, where the arts of painting and ſculpture ſeemed to have taken up their habitation, had been ſpared [1].

IT does not appear, that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raiſing new troops for the defence of their country, or ſummoned any aſſembly to deliberate on the meaſures it was neceſſary to take. No one took upon him to propoſe any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appeaſe the *Romans* by ſending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the *Achæan* league had been buried under the ruins of *Corinth*; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of this city alarmed and univerſally diſmayed the whole confederacy.

IT was now neceſſary to determine the fate of the *Achæans* in general. As to the *Corinthians* and ſuch ſlaves as had taken up arms againſt *Rome*, they were all condemned to ſlavery, and carefully ſought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to aſſemble in the open fields, where they were ſurrounded by the *Roman* legions; and becauſe they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the na-

[1] Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.

(F) *Pliny* tells us, that there were three ſorts of *Corinthian* braſs, *viz.* the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, ſilver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) *Plin. l. 7. c. 38*

tives

tives of *Corinth*, and such slaves as had served in the troops, should be made captives and be sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of *Achaia* their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of *Corinth*, which were in great part purchased by the *Sicyonians*. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other cities, that had joined the *Achæans*, were by the consul's orders dismantled. *Achaia* was condemned to pay the *Lacedemonians* two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after ten commissioners arrived from *Rome* to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to govern each city according to their respective laws under the superintendency of a *Roman* prætor. Thus the *Achæan* league was dissolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*, because at the taking of *Corinth* the *Achæans* were the most powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to *Rome*, and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

The Achæan league dissolved, and Achaia reduced to a Roman province.

We have observed above, that *Polybius* on his return into *Peloponnesus* had the mortification to see the city of *Corinth* reduced to ashes, and his country become a *Roman* province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of *Philopœmen*, his master, in the science of war. A *Roman* out of some private grudge to that great hero accused him before *Mummius*, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and always opposing their designs to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of *Philopœmen* in most cities of the *Achæan* league should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave *Achæan* was a true friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the *Romans*, being well apprised, that nothing but the absolute subjection of *Greece* could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, *Polybius* boldly took upon him his defence, and represented him as the greatest man *Greece* had produced in latter times; he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the people of *Rome* considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed, that

that the ſtatues of *Philopœmen* ſhould not be touched, and that his monuments ſhould remain till they were over-turned by the deſtroyer of all things. *Polybius*, taking the advantage of *Mummius*'s good diſpoſition, begged of him the ſtatues of *Aratus* and *Achæus* the founder of the nation, which were granted him, though they had been already tranſported out of *Peloponneſus* into *Acarnania*. At the ſame time he gave a ſignal proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which gained him as much eſteem among his countrymen, as his defending the memory of *Philopœmen*. After the deſtruction of *Corinth*, the effects of thoſe who had been the authors of the inſults offered to the *Roman* ambaſſadors were ſold by auction. When thoſe of *Diæus* were put up, the commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor who ſold them, to let *Polybius* have out of them whatever he pleaſed, without taking any thing from him on that account. But *Polybius* refuſed the offer, ſaying, that he looked upon it as a very diſhonourable thing to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of his fellow-citizens [k].

THIS action gave the commiſſioners ſuch an idea of his virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving *Peloponneſus*, they appointed him to viſit all the cities of *Greece*, and every-where ſettle the new form of government. A very honourable commiſſion, which he diſcharged both to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate of *Rome*, and the people of *Achaia*, who erected many ſtatues in honour of their benefactor, and among others one with this inſcription: *To the memory of* Polybius, *whoſe counſels would have ſaved* Achaia, *if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her diſtreſs* [l].

Mummius on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which was embelliſhed with all the fineſt paintings and ſculptures that *Greece* had ever produced; and as he had made an abſolute conqueſt of *Achaia*, he ever after bore the ſurname of *Achaicus*. Thus the *Romans* deſtroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themſelves; which was making war, notwithſtanding their boaſted politeneſs, after the manner of *Barbarians*. From this time *Achaia* was governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor ſent thither annually from *Rome*, till the reign of *Nero*, who reſtored all *Greece* to the enjoyment of its antient liberties, reducing at the ſame time *Sardinia* to a *Roman* province, and laying on that wealthy iſland the tribute which *Achaia* had paid [m]. By this means he favoured the *Greeks* with-

[k] POLYB. in excerpt. p. 190. 192. [l] PAUSAN. in Achaic.
[m] SUET. in Nero. PAUSAN. in Achaic PLIN. l. 4. c. 6. EUTROP. c. 4.

out impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by *Vespasian* to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord, which could no otherwise be composed, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they no longer knew how to enjoy [n]. Under *Nerva* some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a *Roman* prætor, and also in *Trajan*'s time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the younger to *Maximus*, who was sent to govern *Achaia*, wherein, after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the *Achæans* of that faint image, that shadow which remained of their antient liberty [o]. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Constantine* the great, who in his new partition of the *Roman* provinces subjected *Achaia* to the *Præfectus prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Upon the division of the empire, *Achaia* with the rest of *Greece* fell to the emperors of the east. Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius* all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the *Goths*, who under their king *Alaric* laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins [p]. From that time we find no account of any thing that passed among them till the reign of the emperor *Emanuel* or *Manuel*, who, in the twelfth century parcelling *Peloponnesus* out into seven principalities, divided it among his seven sons, stiling them *despotes*, or lords of *Morea*. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek Morea*, and in *Latin Morus*, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time these dynasties were not only bestowed on the emperors children and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when *Constantinople* was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of *Peloponnesus*, with most of the islands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In the fifteenth century *Constantine Dracoses*, *despote* of *Morea*, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, bestowing *Sparta* on the former, and *Corinth* on the latter. These princes falling out and making war upon each other, *Mohammed* II. took advantage of their divisions, and under pretence of assisting the one against the other, stripped them both of their dominions.

[n] Pausan. ibid. [o] Plin. l. 8. epist. 24. [p] Synesius epist. 235. Claudian. in Ruffin. l. 2.

dominions. *Thomas* fled to *Rome*; but *Demetrius*, who had implored the assistance of the *Barbarians* against his brother, was carried captive to *Adrianople*. The *Mohammedans*, having thus got footing in *Morea*, soon drove the *Venetians* from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn driven out by the *Venetians*, under the conduct of general *Morosini* in 1687. By the treaty of *Carlowits* in 1699, the *Barbarians* yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*; but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a *Sangiack*, under the *Beglerberg* of *Greece*, who resides at *Modon* [q].

SECT. II.

The History of Ætolia.

The Ætolian confederacy.

THE republic of *Ætolia* (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a prætor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the ancients *Panætolium*, met usually only once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to summon it out of the stated time upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the *Panætolium* or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the *Ætolian* alliance, there was another called the council of the *Apocleti*; this was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the *demiurgi* among the *Achæans*, which we have spoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the dark. Their chief magistrates after the prætor the were

[q] Vide. P. CORONELLI. descrizion di Morea, ALASSANDRO LOCATELLI. raconto della Veneta guerra in levante.

(G) Under the name of *Ætolia* was formerly comprehended that country which is now called the *Despotat*, or *Little Greece*. It was parted on the east by the river *Evenus*, now the *Fidari*, from the *Locrenses Ozole*; on the west from *Acarnania* by the *Achelous*; on the north it bordered upon the country of the *Dorians* and part of *Epirus*, and on the south extended to the bay of *Corinth*. See the account we have given of the country and its inhabitants, Vol. V. p. 561, & seq.

the general of the horſe, the public ſecretary, and the *Ephori*. The two firſt were held in great eſteem; for in the laſt alliance they concluded with the *Romans*, they allowed them to chuſe forty hoſtages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horſe and the ſecretary, as if the republic could not ſubſiſt without them. The *Ephori* were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many ages ſtraitly united, as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius* inform us; but as to their number the ancients are quite ſilent; their office was much the ſame as that of the *Spartan* ephori, but they acted in ſubordination both to the general diet and the prætor. The *Ætolian* confederacy was formed ſometime after that of the *Achæans*, whoſe example they followed, uniting ſeveral cities, which were before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby inabling themſelves to withſtand the attempts of the *Macedonian* princes, who aſpired to the ſovereignty of all *Greece*[r].

Character of the Ætolians.

THE *Ætolians* were a reſtleſs and turbulent people; ſeldom at peace among themſelves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter ſtrangers to all ſenſe of friendſhip or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the leaſt proſpect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in ſhort, they were looked upon by the other ſtates of *Greece* no otherwiſe, as our author informs us[s], than as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterpriſing in war; inur'd to labour and hardſhips; undaunted in the greateſt dangers; jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occaſions willing to venture their lives, and ſacrifice all that was moſt dear to them. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the other nations of *Greece* in oppoſing the ambitious deſigns of the *Macedonian* princes, who, after having reduced moſt of the other ſtates, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of *Greece* againſt thoſe powerful invaders, we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, as in a more proper place; our preſent province being confined to thoſe occurrences only that happened after they had formed themſelves into a republic. The conſtitution of the *Ætolian* republic was, as we have hinted above, copied from that of the *Achæans*, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance. For the *Ætolians* bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *Achæans*, and had conceived no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power of that ſtate. The *Gleonenic*

[r] POLYB. l. 2. [s] POLYB. l. 4.

war

war and that of the allies, called the *ſocial* war, which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Achaia*, were kindled by the *Ætolians* in the heart of *Peloponneſus*, with no other view, but to humble their antagoniſts the *Achæans*. In the latter they held out, with the aſſiſtance only of the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*, for the ſpace of three years, againſt the united forces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*; but were obliged at laſt to purchaſe a peace, by yielding up to *Philip* all *Acarnania*. As they parted with this province ſore againſt their will, they watched all opportunities of wreſting it again out of the *Macedonian*'s hands; and one very favourable for their deſign ſoon offered.

M. *Valerius Lævinus* had been appointed by the *Roman* ſenate to guard the coaſts of *Italy*, on the ſide of *Greece*, and to watch the motions of *Philip*, who, after concluding an alliance with *Hannibal*, was preparing to paſs over into *Italy*. The *Roman* had under his command a fleet of fifty ſhips of war, and a legion for land ſervice. But as he was no-way in a condition with ſo ſmall a force to oppoſe the deſigns of *Philip*, he caſt his eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were highly diſſatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the *Macedonians* and their allies. This general diſcontent *Lævinus* reſolved to improve to the advantage of his republic; and by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt *Philip* to divert him from any attempts upon *Italy*. As he was therefore then cruiſing with his ſquadron on the coaſts of *Greece*, he invited ſome of the *Ætolians* on board, and entering into private conference with them, found that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the intereſts of *Rome*. To this end he went to their general aſſembly, where he gave them an account of the victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the conqueſts of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*; he extolled the great generoſity and conſtant fidelity of the *Romans* towards their allies; adding, that the *Ætolians* might expect to be ever lookt upon with an eye of diſtinction by *Rome*, if they were the firſt nation beyond the ſeas that joined her; that *Philip* was a dangerous neighbour, and his over-grown power would prove fatal to them, unleſs they were ſupported by ſome more potent ſtate; that the *Romans* in conjunction with the *Ætolians* would eaſily oblige him to quit *Acarnania*, which he had uſurped, and keep himſelf upon the defenſive in his own dominions. He concluded his ſpeech by aſſuring them, that if they entered into engagements with *Rome*, *Philip* ſhould never obtain a peace, without reſtoring *Acarnania* to its former owners [t].

[t] Faſt. capit. Liv. l. 26. c. 24—26.

Sepas,

Scopas, at that time prætor of the *Ætolians*, and *Dorimachus*, a man of great authority, ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes made by *Lævinus*, expatiating in commendation of the *Romans*, with all the eloquence which they were maſters of; for *Lævinus* out of modeſty had ſaid but little in commendation of his republic. Theſe two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, but for ſending deputies to the neighbouring ſtates, inviting them to accede to the ſame alliance. Accordingly they ſent ambaſſadors to *Elis* (H), *Lacedemon*, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* (I); to *Pleuratus* (K), and *Scerdelaidas* king of the beſt part of *Illyricum*. In the ſenate of *Lacedemon* two orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciſcus*, made long harangues, the firſt in favour of the *Ætolians* and *Romans*, the other in favour of king *Philip* [u]; but the *Ætolians* carried their point, and *Lacedemon* with *Elis* declared for *Rome*; the kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* followed the example of *Lacedemon*; ſo that the treaty was drawn up in theſe words: "If the Inhabitants of "*Elis*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerde-*"*laidas*, think fit to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, "let them immediately arm, and make war upon *Philip*. "The *Romans* ſhall furniſh the confederates with twenty "ſhips at leaſt; all the conqueſts that ſhall be made between "the confines of *Ætolia* and the ſea of *Corcyra* ſhall belong "to the confederates, and the captives and booty to the *Ro-*"*mans*. The latter ſhall do their utmoſt to put the *Æto-*"*lians* in poſſeſſion of *Acarnania*. The *Ætolians* ſhall not "conclude a peace with *Philip*, but upon condition that he "withdraw his troops from the territories of *Rome* and her "allies, nor the *Romans* with *Philip*, but upon the ſame "terms [w]."

The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.

[u] Vide Polyb. l. ix. c. 22—23. [w] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

(H) See an account of this country *Vol. V. p.* 552, & *ſeq.* The greateſt part of this province bears now the name of *Belvedere*, as does *Elis* its capital. This country was antiently dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, whence to commit there any acts of hoſtility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) *Attalus* mentioned here is *Attalus* the firſt, who ſucceeded his father *Eumenes* the firſt, brother to *Philetærus*. *Philetærus* was treaſurer to *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*; but afterwards acquired the dominion of *Pergamus*, which he erected into a little ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of the kings of *Pergamus*.

(K) *Livy* (13) makes this *Pleuratus* one of the kings of *Thrace*; but *Polybius* ſpeaks of him as king of a country in *Illyricum* (14).

(13) *Liv. l.* xxvi. *c.* 24. (14) *Polyb. l.* ix. *c.* 23.

These

THESE articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the senate at *Rome*. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the *Romans* in sending ambassadors into *Ætolia*. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a lasting monument of their first alliance with the *Greek* nation. However, hostilities began as soon as the treaty was concluded: *Lævinus* seized on the island and city of *Zacynthus* (L), took *Æniadæ*, and also *Nasus* (M), two cities of *Acarnania*, and restored them to the *Ætolians*. After this he returned with his fleet to *Corcyra*, where he wintered, fully persuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading *Italy*.

Year of the Flood 2788. Before Christ 211.

THE king was at *Pella*, making preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*. Whereupon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next summer. Accordingly he took the field early in the spring, laid waste the *Ætolian* territories, and then marched back his forces into *Macedon*, in order to oppose the *Mædi* (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence *Scopas*, then prætor and general of the *Ætolians*, entered *Acarnania*, in hopes of reducing that country before *Philip* could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Æniadæ* and *Nasus*, and was now near enough to assist the

[x] Liv. ibid.

(L) This is an island in the *Ionian* sea over-against *Peloponnesus*, and is now called *Zante*. It is said to have borrowed its name from *Zacynthus* the son of *Dardanus*. We must not confound it with another island bearing the same name in the *Archipelago* or *Ægean* sea (15).

(M) *Nassus* or *Nasus* was a city of *Acarnania* not far from the mouth of the *Achelous*. There were two cities that bore the name of *Æniadæ*; one in *Acarnania* on the *Ionian* sea near the mouth of the *Achelous*: This city, according to our modern travellers, is now called *Dragomesto*; the other was, according to *Stephanus*, in *Thrace*, not far from mount *Oeta*.

(N) The *Mædi* possessed a part of *Thrace* beyond mount *Rhodope*, and therefore *Ptolemy* calls their country *Medica*, but others give it the name of *Macedonian Greece*, because it bordered on *Macedonia* on the side of the *Ægean* sea.

(15) *Pausan. in Arcad. Strabo, l.* x.

Ætolians

Ætolians with his fleet and legion. The *Acarnanians* were sensible, that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but nevertheless resolved to stand to their defence, and sell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly having sent into *Epirus* all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained from the age of fifteen to threescore bound themselves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætolians*. They only desired the *Epirots* to place the ashes of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph: *Here lie the* Acarnanians, *who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the* Ætolians. This resolution so terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of *Acarnania*, or to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer or die [y].

The *Ætolians*, not daring to invade *Acarnania*, turned their arms against *Anticyra* (O), a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they invested by land, and *Lævinus* at the same time by sea; as it was battered night and day on all sides, it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. *Lævinus*, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reserving for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The *Ætolians*, flushed with this success, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticyra*, entered *Achaia*, and there committed such ravages as obliged *Philip* to leave *Demetrias* (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to *Greece*. On his march he met the *Ætolian* army

[y] Idem, l. xxvi. c. 25.

(O) *Anticyra* stood near the river *Sperchius* over-against mount *Octa*. Its territory bordered upon *Thessaly*, and near it was an island of the same name, abounding, as *Pliny* informs us (16), with hellebore. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* mention another city bearing the same name in *Phocis*, near *Crissa* on the confines of *Bœotia* (17).

(P) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* on the sea coast of *Thessaly*, near the territory of the *Magnesians*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pegasæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pegasæus sinus*, now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for some time the seat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(16) *Plin. l.* xxv. *ibid.* (17) *Strabo, l.* ix. (18) *Strabo,*

commanded by *Pyrrhias*, prætor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as *Theſſaly* to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis* in the *Ætolian* intereſt. *Pyrrhias* had been reinforced with a ſtrong detachment of king *Attalus*'s troops, and a thouſand legionaries ſent him by *P. Sulpicius*, who had ſucceeded *Lævinus* as pro-prætor of *Greece*. Nothwithſtanding this reinforcement the *Ætolians* were twice defeated, and forced to ſave themſelves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara* near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a deſign to ſurprize a ſtrong detachment of *Ætolian* cavalry, which was to return from *Theſſaly*, and paſs that way. But while he was encamped here, ambaſſadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopater* king of *Egypt*, attended with a great number of deputies from the iſlands of *Chios* and *Rhodes* and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an end to the war. This was not ſo much out of good will to the latter, as jealouſy of the former, who, by reducing the *Ætolians*, might eaſily enſlave all *Greece*, and have a ready acceſs to the cities which *Ptolemy* poſſeſſed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. In this interval *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preſide at the *Heræan* (R) and *Nemæan* games. This was a diſtinction

(Q) The prætorſhip of the *Ætolians* was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*; the general aſſembly of the *Ætolians* having beſtowed that honour upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then abſent.

(R) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* feſtivals, were celebrated by the *Argians* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan* from the *Greek* word Ἥρη, ſignifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worſhipped as their tutelary goddeſs, and in whoſe honour this feſtival was firſt inſtituted. The ceremony conſiſted in a pompous proceſſion made by the *Argian* youth under arms. The ſtatue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the beſt performances of the famous *Polycletus*, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's ſeat was placed the image of one *Trochilus* the ſon of *Callithea*, who was the firſt prieſteſs of *Juno Argiva*. This miniſtry, which was granted to none but women of great diſtinction, was held in ſuch eſteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the prieſthoods of the prieſteſſes of *Juno*, as we do by

(19) *Liv. l.* xxvii. *c.* 30.

Ætolians with his fleet and legion. The *Acarnanians* were ſenſible, that they could not oppoſe two ſuch powerful nations at the ſame time; but nevertheleſs reſolved to ſtand to their defence, and ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Accordingly having ſent into *Epirus* all their women, children, and ſuch as were not able to bear arms, thoſe who remained from the age of fifteen to threeſcore bound themſelves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly deſtroyed the *Ætolians*. They only deſired the *Epirots* to place the aſhes of thoſe, who ſhould fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph: *Here lie the* Acarnanians, *who died fighting for their country, in oppoſition to the violence and injuſtice of the* Ætolians. This reſolution ſo terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of *Acarnania*, or to do any thing that might provoke a people reſolved to conquer or die [r].

The *Ætolians*, not daring to invade *Acarnania*, turned their arms againſt *Anticyra* (O), a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they inveſted by land, and *Lævinus* at the ſame time by ſea; as it was battered night and day on all ſides, it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Lævinus*, purſuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reſerving for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The *Ætolians*, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticyra*, entered *Achaia*, and there committed ſuch ravages as obliged *Philip* to leave *Demetrias* (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to *Greece*. On his march he met the *Ætolian* army

[r] Idem, l. xxvi. c. 25.

(O) *Anticyra* ſtood near the river *Sperchius* over-againſt mount *Octa*. Its territory bordered upon *Theſſaly*, and near it was an iſland of the ſame name, abounding, as *Pliny* informs us (16), with hellebore. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* mention another city bearing the ſame name in *Phocis*, near *Criſſa* on the confines of *Bœotia* (17).

(P) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* on the ſea coaſt of *Theſſaly*, near the territory of the *Magneſians*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pegaſæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pegaſæus ſinus*, now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for ſome time the ſeat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(16) *Plin. l.* xxv. (17) *Strabo, l.* ix (18) *Strabo, ibid.*

commanded

commanded by *Pyrrhias*, prætor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as *Theſſaly* to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis* in the *Ætolian* intereſt. *Pyrrhias* had been reinforced with a ſtrong detachment of king *Attalus*'s troops, and a thouſand legionaries ſent him by *P. Sulpicius*, who had ſucceeded *Lævinus* as pro-prætor of *Greece*. Nothwithſtanding this reinforcement the *Ætolians* were twice defeated, and forced to ſave themſelves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara* near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a deſign to ſurprize a ſtrong detachment of *Ætolian* cavalry, which was to return from *Theſſaly*, and paſs that way. But while he was encamped here, ambaſſadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopater* king of *Egypt*, attended with a great number of deputies from the iſlands of *Chios* and *Rhodes* and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an end to the war. This was not ſo much out of good will to the latter, as jealouſy of the former, who, by reducing the *Ætolians*, might eaſily enſlave all *Greece*, and have a ready acceſs to the cities which *Ptolemy* poſſeſſed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. In this interval *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preſide at the *Heræan* (R) and *Nemæan* games. This was a diſtinction

(Q) The prætorſhip of the *Ætolians* was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*; the general aſſembly of the *Ætolians* having beſtowed that honour upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then abſent.

(R) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* feſtivals, were celebrated by the *Argians* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan* from the *Greek* word Ἥρη, ſignifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worſhipped as their tutelary goddeſs, and in whoſe honour this feſtival was firſt inſtituted. The ceremony conſiſted in a pompous proceſſion made by the *Argian* youth under arms. The ſtatue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the beſt performances of the famous *Polycletus*, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's ſeat was placed the image of one *Trochilus* the ſon of *Callithea*, who was the firſt prieſteſs of *Juno Argiva*. This miniſtry, which was granted to none but women of great diſtinction, was held in ſuch eſteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the prieſthoods of the prieſteſſes of *Juno*, as we do by

(19) *Liv. l.* xxvii. *c.* 30.

a distinction, which the *Greeks* had shewn him, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending that the first king of *Macedon*

the reigns of our kings. The *Argian* youth marched in good order from the city of *Argos* to the temple of *Juno*, which stood at a small distance, and was one of the most stately edifices of *Greece*. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. When the religious ceremonies were over, the sports began, and the youth entered the lists, disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked through the city for several days successively, amidst the acclamations of his fellow-citizens, making a shew of the buckler he had gained. Some ascribe the institution of these games to *Archinus* tyrant of *Argos*, and others to *Lyncæus*, who is said to have reigned in *Argolis* in the year of the world 2558. The *Heræan* games were common to some other nations of *Greece*, and also to the islanders, namely to the inhabitants of *Samos*, *Ægina*, and *Cos*. At *Corinth* this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that *Medæa*, after having killed her children, instituted the *Heræan* games by way of atonement for her crime. The *Corinthians* therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by sacrificing a goat to *Juno* (20).

As to the *Nemæan* games, most of the antients agree, that they were instituted in honour of *Archemorus*, the son of *Lycus*, according to some, or of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of *Argians*, commanded by *Adrastus* king of *Argos*, being in great distress for want of water as they were marching towards *Thebes* to assist *Polynices*, addressed the nurse of the young prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met, and that she laying down the child she had in her arms, on a branch of smallage, out of compassion led the thirsty soldiers to a fountain. But in the mean time a serpent attacked and put to death the child, before *Adrastus* and his *Argians* could bring him any relief. However, to allay the grief of *Lycurgus* for the death of his son, they instituted solemn games in honour of the deceased, which were first celebrated near *Nemæa*, a city of *Argolis*. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were instituted before the *Theban* war; but all agree, that they were revived by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter* in thanksgiving for his victory over the *Nemæan* lion (21). *Eusebius* is of opinion, that they were instituted in the fifty-first olympiad (22). This festival was celebrated with sports, namely chariot-races, foot and horse-races, tournaments,

(20) *Pausan. in Corinth. Suidas, Polyæn. Athenæus*, &c. (21) *Pausan. ubi supra.* (22) *Euseb. in Chron.*

boxing,

cedon was a native of *Greece*. In this ſtation the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and purſued debauchery to exceſs. But at laſt the diet was held, which drew him from his pleaſures to *Rhium*, the place appointed for the aſſembly. The negotiations began, and moſt of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their diviſions, and get footing in *Greece*. At the opening of the aſſembly one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord, in a ſpeech, which is preſerved to this day, and may be looked upon as a maſter-piece of the kind[z]. The diſcourſe moved the whole aſſembly, and it was no ſooner ended but *Philip*'s ambaſſadors were introduced, who declared, that their maſter was ready to give peace to *Greece*, if the *Ætolians* would conſent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the proſecution of the war. The *Ætolians*, however, came to no reſolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that *Attalus* was arrived with his fleet at the iſland of *Ægina* (S), and *Sulpicius* with his at *Naupactus* (T), which made the *Ætolians* put an end to

[z] POLYB. l. 11. c. 4.

boxing, wreſtling, &c. The conqueror in any of theſe exerciſes was rewarded with a crown of olive, and alſo of ſmallage, which was made uſe of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of *Archemorus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that on this occaſion an orator uſed to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the young prince, and that the judges, appointed by the cities of *Greece* to diſtribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. Theſe games were common to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, who had a right to chuſe the preſident by turns (23).

(S) *Ægina*, now *Engia* and *Legina*, or *Lalona*, is an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea, between the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronic* gulf, to which it gives its name. It is about thirty ſix miles in circumference, and was antiently famous for the ſkill of its inhabitants in ſea affairs, and its athletæ or wreſtlers. *Stephanus* takes it for one of the *Cyclades*, and *Tzetzes* for one of the *Sporades*; but they are both miſtaken, as is plain from *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* (24).

(T) *Naupactus* or *Naupactum* was formerly a conſiderable city in *Ætolia*. The preſent inhabitants call it *Epactos* or *Nepactos*, the *Turks Einebacti*, and the *Italians Lepanto*. It ſtood near *Antir*

(23) *Pauſan. Athenæus, Polyæn.* &c. *ubi ſupra.* (24) *Strabo*, l. 8. *Pauſan. in Corinth.*

to the conferences. For they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless *Pylos* (U) was restored to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* (W) to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* (X), to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas*. This was giving law to all *Greece*, which so incensed *Philip* that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the *Ætolians*, from those he had conquered [2].

Year of the Flood 2791. Before Christ, 208.

THE assembly being dismissed, the king went to *Argos* to preside in the *Nemæan* games, as he had lately done in the *Heræan*. But while he was giving himself up, without re-

[2] Liv. l. 27. c. 29—33. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612.

rhium, within the *Crissæan* bay, and was called *Naupactum*, because the *Heraclidæ* built there the first ship that carried them into *Peloponnesus*. It first belonged to the *Locri Ozolæ*; but they were driven out by the *Athenians*, who gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the *Lacedemonians* had obliged to abandon *Peloponnesus*. After the battle of *Ægos Potamos* the *Lacedemonians* took it from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to the *Locri*. Afterwards *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, having seized it, bestowed it upon the *Ætolians*, and from that time it was always deemed a city of *Ætolia* (25).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of *Pylos*. The first stood on the western coast of *Messenia* over-against *Sphagia* or *Spacteria*, now *Sapienza*, a small island in the *Ionian* sea. The second was situate more to the north in *Tryphilia*, a province of *Elis*. The third stood more to the northward of the other two. Not far from the mouth of the river *Peneus*. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor* the son of *Neleus*. It is very plain, that the city of *Pylos* in *Messenia* was the subject of dispute between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*; for the *Messenians* could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the *Eleans*, in whose territory they stood (26).

(W) The *Atintanes*, according to *Thucydides* (27), inhabited part of the country of the *Molossi*; but *Livy* and *Polybius* place them on the confines of *Macedon* towards *Illyricum*.

(X) The *Aryæans* or *Ardians* inhabited the eastern part of *Illyricum*; they had been conquered by *Philip*, who united their country to *Macedon*.

(25) *Strabo, l.* 9. *Pausan. in Phocicis.* (26) *Vide Pausan. in Messen. & Eliac. secundo Thucyd. l.* 4. (27) *Thucyd. ibid. Polyb. l.* 11. *c.* 40. *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 30.

straint,

ſtraint, to the enjoyment of ſuch diverſions as were no-ways ſeaſonable in times of war and alarms, the proconſul *Sulpicius* ſetting out from *Naupactus* landed between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and being joined by the *Ætolians* laid waſte all that fertile country. This unexpected invaſion obliged the king to interrupt his diverſions and take the field. His arrival ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they haſtened to their ſhips, and re-embarked for *Naupactus*. *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with an univerſal applauſe, the circus, the theatre, and all the ſtreets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the ſhews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other enſigns of royal dignity; a ſight very pleaſing to the inhabitants of free cities [b].

SOME days after the games, news was brought him that the city of *Dyme* on the confines of *Elis* had declared for the *Ætolians*, though it ſtood in *Peloponneſus*, and had received an *Ætolian* gariſon. Hereupon *Philip* croſſing the *Lariſſus* (Y) entered the territory of *Elis*, ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was ſoon obliged by the *Romans* and *Ætolians* to retire at a greater diſtance, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Achaia*. However, he took by ſtorm, in ſight of the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, a ſtrong hold of great importance, where he found a very conſiderable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his ſoldiers, advice was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had entered *Macedon*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſmall diſtrict called *Oreſtida* (Z); that the *Daſſaratæ* had revolted, and that ſeveral cities were ready to join the rebels. The *Barbarians* had been encouraged to ſhake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of *Macedon*, by a falſe report of the king's death.

[b] POLYB. & LIV. ibid.

(Y) The *Lariſſus*, now the *Riſo*, divided *Elis* from *Achaia propria*; it watered the territory of *Dyme*, and fell into the *Ionian* ſea.

(Z) *Oreſtida* was a country in the ſouth-weſt part of *Macedon*. *Oreſtes*, having fled into this country after the murder of his mother *Clytemneſtra*, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic* ſea (28).

(28) *Thucyd. l. 2. Liv. l. 27. c. 31.*

death. *Philip*, in purſuing the *Roman* and *Ætolian* foragers between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, had ſtruck his head againſt a tree with ſuch violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. Theſe pieces were gathered up by an *Ætolian*, and brought to *Scerdelaidas*, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence aroſe the report, that *Philip* had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage, His preſence therefore being neceſſary in his own dominions, he haſtened home, leaving only a body of three thouſand men to protect his friends in *Greece* c.

During his abſence, the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, and king *Attalus* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*, and *Drymus*. Whereupon ambaſſadors being diſpatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he ſettled the affairs of *Macedon* in the beſt manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into *Greece*. Upon his arrival *Attalus* re-embarked his forces and returned to *Pergamus*, *Sulpicius*, having but one legion on board, retired to the iſland of *Ægina*, and the *Ætolians*, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to ſhelter themſelves in their ſtrong holds, not being able to make head againſt the united forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedemonians* alone. *Philip* being thus left maſter of the field, retook moſt of the cities which had been reduced in his abſence, laid waſte great part of *Ætolia*, put the *Lacedemonians* to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into *Macedon*. Early in the ſpring he returned into *Greece*, and, entering *Ætolia* at the head of a numerous army, obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very diſadvantageous terms. The *Romans*, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in *Greece* to ſhift for themſelves; but nevertheleſs took it very much amiſs, that they had made a peace without their conſent and approbation. *Sempronius* the pro-conſul endeavoured to ſtir them up anew againſt *Philip*, but to no purpoſe, they were quite exhauſted with ſuch an expenſive war, and no ways in a condition to lend the pro-conſul any aſſiſtance. He therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was ſoon agreed on by the mediation of the *Epirots* d.

A general peace concluded Year of the Flood 2795. Before Chriſt 204.

This peace was not of long continuance; for the *Romans* having, a few years after, reſolved upon a war with *Philip*, ſent *Furius Purpureo* into *Ætolia* to engage that na-

c Polyb. & Liv. ibid. d Liv. l. 30. c. 7.

tion

tion a-new in the intereſts of *Rome*. *Furius* was attended by the envoys of *Athens*, a city greatly addicted to the *Romans*; and at the ſame time ambaſſadors from *Philip* arrived with very advantageous propoſals, in caſe the *Ætolians* would either join their maſter, or ſtand neuter. The *Ætolian* nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they ſaw their friendſhip and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the ambaſſadors an extraordinary diet was convened at *Naupactus*, whither the envoys from *Rome*, from *Athens*, and from *Philip*, immediately reſorted. *Damocritus* preſided in the diet in quality of prætor; and as he had been bribed by *Philip*, he directed, that the *Macedonians* ſhould be heard before the *Romans*; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet freſh, and had been but lately concluded. The ſpeech made by the *Macedonian* ambaſſadors was full of invectives againſt the *Romans*, they enlarged on their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as inſtances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the *Ætolians* to obſerve the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with *Philip*, The *Athenians*, who ſpoke next, endeavoured to efface the impreſſions which this diſcourſe had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of *Philip*, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had ſhewn no regard to the auguſt temples of the Gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the *Romans*; and, laſtly, conjured the *Ætolians* to join in the common cauſe of the two moſt formidable powers, *Heaven* and *Rome*. Afterwards *Purpureo* was heard, and his ſpeech chiefly turned on juſtifying the conduct of the *Romans*, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the *Macedonian* orator; he expatiated on the lenity and moderation ſhewn by his republic to the *Carthaginians*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; he did not forget the advantages, which the conſular army had already gained over the king; and, laſtly, adviſed the *Ætolians* to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the *Romans*, unleſs they choſe rather to periſh with *Philip*, than conquer with *Rome* [c].

THE diet was inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* ſuſpended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be reſolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful pre-

[c] Liv. l. 31 c. 29.

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tor made a merit with his countrymen of his addreſs in this affair, pretending, that his deſign was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was moſt likely to prevail, and then join the ſtrongeſt [f].

The Ætolians again join in alliance with the Romans, *and invade* Macedon. Year of the Flood, 2802. Before Chriſt, 197.

In the mean time, the proconſul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Octolophum*, the *Ætolians* at laſt determined to ſide with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes*, (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Cercinium* a city of *Magneſia* (B). This ſudden invaſion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; ſo that the *Ætolians* finding no more booty there fell upon the province of *Peræbia*, took the city of *Cyretiæ* (D) by aſſault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up arms, and join them againſt the king of *Macedon*.

[f] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

(A) The *Athamanes* had then a ſeparate diſtrict of their own, ſurrounded by *Theſſaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*; whence ſome have made it a part of *Theſſaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Stephanus* makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolemy* it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and according to *Strabo* (30) from *Ætolia*, by the river *Achelous*.

(B) *Magneſia* was a ſmall country, lying at the eaſtern extremity of *Theſſaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro*, and the *Saronic* gulf. *Cercinium* ſtood at the foot of mount *Oſſa*, near the lake *Bœbis*, between *Sotbuſſa* and the *Macedonian* ſea (31).

(C) The lake *Bœbis*, which ſome place in *Bœotia*, was near the confines of *Magneſia*, not far from mount *Oſſa*. It is now called the lake of *Eſero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretiæ* among the cities of *Eſtiotis*, a country of *Theſſaly*. *Sanſon* places it between the rivers *Pamiſus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamiſus*, now called *Pontigna Maranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*, now *Onocero*, riſes in the province of *Pelaſgiotis*, and empties itſelf into the ſame *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia* was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta*, and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus* in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(29) *Ptol. l.* 4. (30) *Strabo, l.* 10. (31) *Strabo, l.* 9.
(32) *Strabo, l.* 10. *c.* 13.

From

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THE next year they entered *Theſſaly* again, and took the cities of *Cymines* and *Angea* at the firſt onſet. From thence they advanced to *Theuma*, *Calathana*, *Acherra*, *Xinia*, and *Ephara* (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of *Theſſaly* fell a prey to the moſt cruel and avari-

[g] LIV. l. 31. c. 40.

(F) The city of *Gomphi* was ſituate in that part of *Theſſaly* which the antients call *Eſſiotis*, near the ſprings of the *Peneus* (33). According to *Livy* it was the neareſt city of *Theſſaly* to the confines of *Epirus* (34).

(G) All theſe cities belonged to *Theſſaly*, but we cannot give any certain account of their ſituation.

(33) *Strabo*, *l.* 9. *Plin. l.* 4. (34) *Liv. l.*

tor made a merit with his countrymen of his addreſs in this affair, pretending, that his deſign was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was moſt likely to prevail, and then join the ſtrongeſt [f].

The Ætolians again join in alliance with the Romans, *and invade* Macedon. Year of the Flood, 2802. Before Chriſt, 197.

In the mean time, the proconſul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Octolophum*, the *Ætolians* at laſt determined to ſide with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes*, (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Cercinium* a city of *Magneſia* (B). This ſudden invaſion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; ſo that the *Ætolians* finding no more booty there fell upon the province of *Peræbia*, took the city of *Cyretiæ* (D) by aſſault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up arms, and join them againſt the king of *Macedon*.

[f] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

(A) The *Athamanes* had then a ſeparate diſtrict of their own, ſurrounded by *Theſſaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*; whence ſome have made it a part of *Theſſaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Stephanus* makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolemy* it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and according to *Strabo* (30) from *Ætolia*, by the river *Achelaus*.

(B) *Magneſia* was a ſmall country, lying at the eaſtern extremity of *Theſſaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro*, and the *Saronic* gulf. *Cercinium* ſtood at the foot of mount *Oſſa*, near the lake *Bœbis*, between *Sotbuſſa* and the *Macedonian* ſea (31).

(C) The lake *Bœbis*, which ſome place in *Bœotia*, was near the confines of *Magneſia*, not far from mount *Oſſa*. It is now called the lake of *Eſero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretiæ* among the cities of *Eſtiotis*, a country of *Theſſaly*. *Sanſon* places it between the rivers *Pamiſus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamiſus*, now called *Pontigna Maranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*, now *Onocero*, riſes in the province of *Pelaſgiotis*, and empties itſelf into the ſame *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia* was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta*, and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus* in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(29) *Ptol. l.* 4. (30) *Strabo, l.* 10. (31) *Strabo, l.* 9.
(32) *Strabo, l.* 10. *c.* 13.

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(33) *Strabo*, *l.* 9. *Plin. l.* 4. (34) *Liv. l.* [illegible].

cious of all the nations that were in alliance with *Rome*. For the *Ætolians*, wherever they came, left nothing in the cities or houſes but the bare walls, deſtroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the ſword the inhabitants, or ſelling them for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war [i].

The *Ætolians* continued ſteady in the intereſt of *Rome* during the whole courſe of the war, and were favoured by the *Roman* commanders above the other nations of *Greece*, as being the firſt that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, in which *Philip* was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and *Flaminius*, who commanded in that action, to treat the *Ætolians* in a quite different manner from what he had done formerly. They without all doubt gave ſome occaſion with their boaſting ſpeeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in diſorder at the firſt onſet, gave them time to rally, and ſaved them the ſhame of a diſhonourable flight. Hence they aſcribed to themſelves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely aſſiſtance the *Romans* had been defeated and cut in pieces. In the ſongs which they diſperſed all over *Greece*, they named themſelves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries (H). *Flaminius*, who was already diſguſted with the *Ætolians* for plundering the enemy's camp, while the *Romans* were buſy in making priſoners, was now more fired at theſe inſolent reports, which greatly leſſened his reputation among the *Greeks*. His reſentment was ſtill warm, when three envoys came from *Philip*, under pretence of aſking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ſollicit a peace; the pro-conſul received them, and gave them an an-

[i] Liv. l. 32. c. 13.

(H) *Thirty thouſand Theſſalians*, ſaid one of their poets, *were killed on the ſpot. The* Ætolians *ſubdued ſo powerful an enemy with the aſſiſtance of the* Latins, *whom* Flaminius *had brought to ruin* Ematia. The author of this diſtich was one *Alcæus*, an *Ætolian* by nation. He was far inferior to the famous *Alcæus*, who was cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th Olympiad, and is famous for the *Alcaic* verſes which took their name from him (35).

(35) *Plut. in vita Flam.*

ſwer

ſwer, without conſulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The *Roman* was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have diſſembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved ſo uſeful to him on all occaſions. *Flaminius* agreed with the deputies of *Philip* upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the *Roman* army; and even promiſed to grant their maſter an interview during that time. This air of abſolute authority and independence on the other allies ſhocked the *Ætolians* to ſuch a degree, that they ſpread a report in all the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common cauſe, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*. But notwithſtanding theſe reports, the pro-conſul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king's ambaſſadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their maſter, that he deſired him not to deſpond. This meſſage highly offended the *Ætolians*, who were utter ſtrangers to all humanity and politeneſs, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the *Roman* had ſold himſelf to *Philip*. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow paſs, which led into the vale of *Tempe*. Thither *Flaminius* reſorted, after having invited all his allies to aſſiſt at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had conſulted the heads of the confederates, upon what terms they thought it proper to grant *Philip* a peace. *Aminander* and the *Achæans* ſpoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged that he would conclude ſuch a peace as might enable *Greece* to preſerve her liberties in the abſence of the *Romans*: as to the particulars of ſuch a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians*, riſing up, haughtily addreſſed the pro-conſul in the following terms: "You have "done wiſely to call us to the conference: you have at laſt "thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. "But, pray, what do you propoſe by granting a peace to "*Philip*? *Greece* will never enjoy its liberties ſo long as he "enjoys the throne of *Macedon*. You are greatly miſtaken "if you fancy it will. *Philip* muſt be driven out of his "kingdom, before *Greece* can promiſe herſelf a laſting tran-"quility. You *Romans* have flattered us with hopes of li-"berty; but there is no liberty for the *Greeks* till *Philip* is "dead, and his dominions entirely ruined". When *Alexander* had done ſpeaking, *Flaminius* directing his ſpeech to him; "You are unacquainted, *ſaid he*, with the character and

" ſentiments of the *Romans*; my republic does not carry her
" reſentment to exceſs: ſhe knows how to revenge injuries;
" but upon the firſt appearance of ſubmiſſion her anger is ap-
" peaſed; *Hannibal* and *Carthage* are convincing proofs of
" our moderation. As to myſelf, I never intended to car-
" ry on an irreconcilable war with *Philip*; but was always
" inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he ſhould yield
" to the conditions that my republic thought fit to preſcribe
" him. You yourſelves, O *Ætolians*, never once men-
" tioned the driving of *Philip* from his throne till our late
" victory. Shall we then be inexorable, becauſe we are
" conquerors? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty
" to repel him with all poſſible bravery; but if he yields, it
" is the part of a generous victor to uſe him with gentleneſs
" and humanity; for animoſity dies after victory, and brave
" men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it
" is not your intereſt to deſtroy the kingdom of *Macedon*,
" which ſerves you as a barrier againſt the *Thracians* and
" *Gauls* (I), who, were they not checked by it, would cer-
" tainly over-run all *Greece* [k]". *Flaminius* concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the *Roman* army, " That a peace ought to be granted to *Philip*, if he com-
" plied with the conditions which the other allies ſhould pro-
" poſe, *adding*, that if the *Ætolians* did not like it, they
" might take what reſolutions they pleaſed on that oc-
" caſion". *Phineas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, anſwered *Flaminius*, and repreſented to him in very ſtrong terms, " That
" *Philip*, if he were left in poſſeſſion of *Macedon*, would ſoon
" kindle a new war in the heart of *Greece*". But before he ended his harangue, the pro-conſul roſe from his ſeat in a paſſion, and ſaying with a loud voice, " That he would put

[k] Liv. l. 33. c. 14. Polyb. l. 17. c. 29.

(I) It is uncertain, whether *Livy* ſpeaks here of thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled in that part of *Aſia*, which was from them called *Galatia*, or of another *Gallic* nation which was nearer to *Greece*, and had made a new ſettlement about the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*. Theſe new comers took the name of *Scordiſci*, as *Juſtin* informs us. *Strabo* (36) places them about *Sirmium*, between the *Danube* and *Macedon*. About fourſcore years before the time we are here ſpeaking of, the *Gauls* had ſpread terror and deſolation in all the countries of *Macedon* and *Greece*, not ſparing even the famous temple of *Delphi*.

(36) *Strabo*, *l.* 10.

" it

" it out of *Philip*'s power to make any further attempts upon " *Greece*", dismissed the assembly [l].

BUT after all, it was not good nature or compassion that prompted *Flaminius* to urge the conclusion of a peace with the king of *Macedon*, but the advice he received, that *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, was ready to march out of *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption into *Europe*. This prince had long kept a correspondence with *Philip*; and if these two monarchs should join their forces, such an alliance might prove of dangerous consequence to the *Roman* republic. Besides, *Philip*, tho' conquered and driven out of the field, might shut himself up in his strong holds, and dispute inch by inch the conquest of his kingdom. This *Flaminius* dreaded, being sensible, that in the mean time another might be sent to succeed him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories [m].

THE next day *Philip* appeared at the congress, with an air of submission suitable to his present circumstances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the *Roman* senate. After he had uttered these words, there was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were present being touched with compassion. But *Phineas* the *Ætolian* prætor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to restore to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Larissa*, *Pharsales*, *Thebes*, in *Phthiotis*, and *Echina*. I do restore them to you, reply'd *Philip*. *Flaminius* was greatly offended at the pretensions of the *Ætolians* to the city of *Thebes*, and replied with some warmth, " It " belongs to the *Romans*. I was the man who appeared be- " fore it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become " subject to the *Romans*". *Phineas* insisted, that, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between *Ætolia* and *Rome*, it belonged to the former, the dispute grew warm, but at length the assembly determined in favour of *Flaminius*. By these steps the *Ætolians* began to raise that violent storm, which we shall soon see gather and discharge itself upon that unhappy nation [n].

A peace concluded with Philip, Year of the Flood 2803. Before Christ, 196.

THE king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flaminius* demanded his son *Demetrius* with some of the chief lords of his court for hostages, and moreover 200 talents

[l] Idem, ibid. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 15. [n] Liv. l. 32.

talents, upon condition, nevertheleſs, that both the money and hoſtages ſhould be reſtored if the peace did not take place [o]. *Philip* comply'd, and immediately diſpatched his ambaſſadors to *Rome*, as alſo did the *Ætolians*; the former to ſollicit a peace, and the latter to obſtruct it. When they arrived at *Rome*, the republic had juſt choſen new conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The latter being deſirous of having *Macedon* for his province, and there finiſhing the war, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the peace, and, being ſeconded by the *Ætolians* in his oppoſition, had like to have prevailed in the ſenate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimouſly voted for granting *Philip* his requeſt [p].

The Ætolians diſſatisfied with the peace,

The *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* diſſatisfied with the peace, they had been refuſed ſome cities which they claimed, and thought their ſervices very ill rewarded by the *Romans*, who could not have conquered, ſaid they, whithout their aſſiſtance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all *Greece*, called the *Pylaicum* (K), and there

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

(K) *Livy* by the *Pylaicum concilium* means that aſſembly of the *Amphictyones* which met every year at *Thermopylæ*, to deliberate on the common intereſts of *Greece*. Theſe diets were eſtabliſhed by *Amphictyon* the third king of *Athens*, in order to unite all the *Greeks* in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reaſon, that if he could ſucceed in this point, he ſhould render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after *Acriſius* king of *Argos*, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewiſe added ſeveral deputies of other provinces, who had not till his time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different ſorts of *Amphictyones*, or general aſſemblies; the one inſtituted by *Amphictyon*, the other by *Acriſius*; whereas the king of *Argos* only improved what the king of *Athens* had begun. *Æſchines* ſpeaks of twelve *Amphictyonic* nations, (for ſo the *Greeks* called thoſe that had a right to ſend deputies to this aſſembly) but names only eleven, *viz.* the *Theſſalians*, *Bœotians*, *Dorians*, *Jonians*, *Perrhœbes*, *Magneſians*, *Locrians*, *Oeteans*, *Phthiotes*, *Maleans* and *Phocians*: the name of the twelfth has been probably loſt by the negligence of the tranſcribers. The *Dolopes*, not mentioned by *Æſchines* in this enumeration, are ſaid by the antients to have enjoyed the *Amphictyonic* right. Each of theſe nations choſe two deputies, whom they ſent to the general aſſembly; one of thoſe was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence ſtiled *Hieromemon*; the other was called *Pylagoras*, or the orator ſent

there endeavoured to ſtir up new enemies againſt *Rome*. But finding that the free ſtates of *Greece* were all well pleaſed with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourſe to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedemon*, and even to their ſworn enemy *Philip* king of *Macedon*. It was natural enough for them to ſuppoſe, that *Macedon* and *Lacedemon* would readily enter into a league againſt the *Romans*, who had lately impoſed very hard conditions upon them. And as for *Antiochus*, his intereſt, his honour, the ſteps he had already taken, and the advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay paſſing over into *Europe*, and declaring war with *Rome*. Nor did they deſpair to ſee *Carthage* alſo join ſo many confederate nations, and make ſome efforts to ſhake off the yoke which *Rome* had laid on her. All theſe conſiderations encouraged the *Ætolians*, and gave them no ſmall hopes of ſeeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They choſe for their prætor one *Thoas*, a man fit for their deſign, being an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, and a ſanguine oppoſer of the peace lately concluded with the *Macedonians*. *Thoas* immediately aſſembled a general diet at *Naupactus*, and there conveyed into the breaſts of all the deputies the irreconcileable averſion which he bore to the *Romans*. A decree paſſed without oppoſition, impowering him to ſend ambaſſadors to all the princes who were diſſatisfied with the *Romans*, and ſtir them up to war againſt the common enemy. Purſuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was diſpatched to *Lacedemon*, *Nicander* to *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* to *Syria*. The firſt was ordered to make *Nabis* ſenſible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the *Romans*. His ſtate was reduced to a ſmall territory, and *Achaia* was ſole miſtreſs of *Peloponneſus*. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the

ſent to *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*. Sometimes each nation ſent three and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the aſſembly. The *Phocians* were formerly excluded from the aſſembly for having plundered the temple of *Delphos*; but afterwards wiped off this diſhonour by ſaving the ſame temple from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who invaded *Greece* under the conduct of the ſecond *Brennus*. This ſupreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at *Thermopylæ*, in a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and ſituate in a large plain watered by the *Aſopus*; in the ſpring at *Delphos* in the temple of *Apollo* (37).

(37) *Polyb. l.* 8, *Pauſan. in Achaiac.*

neighbouring

neighbouring nations, and being shut up within the walls of *Lacedemon* he had only the empty title of king. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the *Roman* tyranny. The conquests of *Alexander* the great, and his glorious exploits were also deemed proper topics to awake his jealousy. *Nicander* was likewise ordered to assure him, that the propositals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical, that *Antiochus* was ready to cross into *Europe* with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great *Hannibal*, whose very name struck the *Romans* with terror, assisted him with his advice, that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces, and that *Rome* could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third ambassador was directed to persuade *Antiochus* to pass over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know, that the conquests of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*, and assure him, that their troops were numerous and well disciplined, and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets. Nay, *Dicæarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lie, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the confederacy [q].

Philip and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* senate thought it advisable to send ambassadors into *Greece* to defeat the measures of the *Ætolians*, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with *Rome*. At their arrival they found, that *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The ambassador (L), who had been sent to *Antiochus*, was returned, and had brought with him an ambassador from the king of *Syria* to the *Ætolian* diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of *Antiochus*. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exagge-

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rated beyond measure the number of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into *Ætolia*; and above all the immense treasures, which the king would distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands belonging to the *Roman* republic. The minds of the *Ætolians* were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assembled to give audience to the king's ambassador. The *Roman* deputies, among whom was *Flaminius*, highly respected by all the other states of *Greece*, had regular notice sent them of whatever was transacted in *Ætolia*; and they suborned some of their chiefs to thwart as much as possible the designs of the factious *Thoas*. *Flaminius* also engaged the *Athenians* to send deputies to the assembly of *Ætolia*; and there to support the interests of his republic. *Thoas* opened the diet by acquainting his countrymen, that an ambassador was come from the mighty monarch of *Syria* to court their friendship, and propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances. He told them, that it had been happy for *Greece*, that his master had concerned himself in their affairs before *Philip* was reduced so low; that if he had joined his forces to those of the *Macedonian*, *Greece* would not now groan under the tyrannical oppressions of *Rome*. "But still your case, said he, is not "without remedy, the wound is not incurable; if you put "in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a "deliverer in the great *Antiochus*; he, with your assistance "and that of the gods, will be able to restore *Greece* to its "antient splendor [r]".

THE *Ætolians* were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the *Athenian* ambassador prevailed upon the assembly to hear the *Romans* before they came to any resolution. Accordingly *Flaminius* being sent for and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with *Rome*; and after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the senate, than fill all *Greece* and *Asia* with them, he concluded thus: "*Ætolians*, are you then determined out of mere wanton-"ness to light a fire in *Greece*, which it will not be in your "power to extinguish? Will you arm the nations of the east "for their mutual destruction? What a dreadful storm are "you bringing upon yourselves! you are the first on whom "it will fall". The *Ætolians*, who had already laid their

[r] LIV. l. 35. c. 31—34.

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complaints before the ſenate, and had been by the ſenate referred to *Flaminius*, ſeeing themſelves now referred back by *Flaminius* to the ſenate, grew outragious, and in the preſence of the *Roman* paſſed a decree conceived in the following terms: Let *Antiochus* be called into *Europe* to reſtore *Greece*, oppreſſed by the *Romans*, to its antient liberty. *Flaminius* demanded a copy of the, decree but the prætor refuſed it him, anſwering with a haughty air, that he had buſineſs of much greater conſequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very ſoon on the banks of the *Tyber*, with all the forces of *Syria*. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon *Flaminius* returned to *Corinth*, there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the ſenate with the ſteps they ſhould take [f].

The Ætolians invite Antiochus into Greece. Year of the Flood, 2808. Before Chriſt, 191.

The Ætolians form a deſign of ſeizing Chalcis, Demetrias, and Lacedemon.

In the mean time the privy council of the *Ætolians* formed a deſign of ſeizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of *Greece*; theſe were *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, and *Lacedemon* in the heart of *Peloponneſus*. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary deſign. *Thoas* was appointed to take *Chalcis*, *Alexamenes* to ſurpriſe *Lacedemon*, and *Diocles* to make the attempt upon *Demetrias*. They all three ſet out at the ſame time on their reſpective expeditions, but were not attended with the like ſucceſs. *Diocles* approaching the city of *Demetrias* with a ſmall body of choſen troops, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with no other deſign, but to attend *Eurylochus* to his native country, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his rank and merit. *Eurylochus* had been chief magiſtrate of *Demetrias*, and in that poſt diſobliged the *Romans*, whoſe partizans had forced him to leave his country and take ſanctuary among the *Ætolians*. However, the *Demetrians*, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had conſented to recal him; and his return *Diocles* made uſe of for the execution of his deſign, *Eurylochus* himſelf being privy to the whole plot. Both *Diocles* and *Eurylochus* arrived at the gates of the city with a ſmall body of horſe, the reſt of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a diſtance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, *Diocles* ordered his troop to diſmount, and enter on foot, leading their horſes by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horſe-men to be ready to fall on the citizens, if they ſhould offer to ſhut it when the reſt of the cavalry appeared. Thus *Diocles* was admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion; but while he was leading *Eurylochus* by

[f] Liv. ibid.

the

the hand to his houſe, news was brought him that the whole body of the *Ætolian* cavalry was arrived, and had got poſſeſſion of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that ſurpriſe making himſelf maſter of the moſt important poſts in the city, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the *Roman* party. Thus the *Ætolians* poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the moſt important places of *Theſſaly* [t]. Demetrias *taken.*

BUT *Lacedemon* was not to be ſo eaſily ſurpriſed. *Nabis* was a cunning and ſuſpicious prince, and as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council therefore of the *Ætolians*, in the inſtructions they gave *Alexamenes*, had recourſe to treachery. *Nabis* had been lately defeated by *Philopœmen*, and apprehending that the brave *Achæan* deſigned to beſiege him in his capital, ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to his friends and allies the *Ætolians*, acquainting them with the danger that threatened him, and earneſtly entreating them to ſend him without delay ſuch a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and ſtraits, which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous *Ætolians* thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid deſign, which was to aſſaſſinate their ally, and ſeize on the city of *Lacedemon* for themſelves. *Alexamenes*, therefore, a man well qualified for ſuch a work, was ordered to ſet out with a thouſand foot and thirty horſemen. The latter were all young men, choſen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the moſt fit for any deſperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horſemen were introduced by the prætor *Demetrius* to the council of the apocleti, and there told, that it was not their buſineſs to think what expedition they were ſent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever *Alexamenes* ſhould enjoin them; and that how deſperate ſoever the thing he commanded might ſeem, and repugnant to reaſon, yet, unleſs they readily performed it, they ſhould not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With theſe inſtructions they began their march to *Lacedemon*, where they were received by *Nabis* with the greateſt tranſports of joy. *Alexamenes* encouraged him not to be under any apprehenſion of danger either from the *Achæans* or the *Romans*, ſince *Antiochus* had already paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and would ſoon enter *Greece* with a prodigious army, and ſuch an immenſe number of elephants as would be ſufficient, without any other help, to tread down the *Romans*. As for the *Ætolians*, ſaid he, they would have ſent you all their

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 35.

troops, if they had not thought it neceſſary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of *Syria*, before whom they were deſirous to make the beſt appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of *Lacedemon* if he could ſhew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well diſciplined. *Nabis* was highly pleaſed with this ſoothing diſcourſe, and uſed every day to exerciſe his ſoldiers in the plains of the *Eurotas* near the capital; *Alexamencs* attended him at the head of his *Ætolians*, whom he drew up apart from the *Lacedemonians*, and then keeping cloſe by the tyrant's ſide, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he deſigned. He obſerved, that *Nabis* uſed to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other, guarded only by three or four horſemen. This made him form a deſign of aſſaſſinating him in ſight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himſelf a day for the execution of ſo deſperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while *Nabis* was buſy in exerciſing his phalanx, he ſtept aſide to his thirty horſemen, and told them, that he ſhould ſoon ſtand in need both of their courage and addreſs; Keep your eyes, ſaid he, fixed upon me, and whatever you ſhall ſee me take in hand, be ſure to finiſh it, if you care to ſee your country again and your relations. He ſaid no more, but returned to attend the king as uſual. At length, as *Nabis* was riding from one place to another with great ſpeed, guarded only by two or three horſemen, *Alexamenes* ſeized on the deſired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horſe. Then the thirty *Ætolians*, without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and diſpatched him before any one could come to his aſſiſtance. His guards were ſo ſurpriſed, that, inſtead of ſeizing the aſſaſſins, they ſtood gazing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But *Alexamenes* heading the *Ætolian* infantry, which was poſted in the left wing of the *Lacedemonian* phalanx, haſtened to the capital, and entering it without oppoſition began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As *Nabis* was equally hated by his citizens and ſoldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the *Ætolian* had convened the aſſembly, and made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other conſiderations; and *Alexamenes*, contrary to all rules of prudence, ſpent the remainder of the day and the whole night in ſearching for the treaſures of the murdered king. In the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, recovering themſelves from their ſurpriſe, were highly provoked to ſee the antient palace of their kings

Nabis *murdered by the Ætolians.*

ranſacked

ranſacked by a treacherous aſſaſſin, as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. Wherefore the whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the *Ætolians*, who were ſtraggling about the city in queſt of booty, and put them all to the ſword. *Alexamenes* was killed in the palace, and thoſe few that made their eſcape were ſeized by the magiſtrates of *Arcadia*, and condemned to ſlavery. Such was the reſult of the attempt upon *Lacedemon*. *Philopœmen* no ſooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his aſſaſſin, but he haſtened to *Lacedemon*, and finding all things there in the utmoſt confuſion, he aſſembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their antient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the *Achæan* league. Thus the antient kingdom of *Sparta* became a member of a commonwealth, whereof the name was ſcarce known when the *Spartans* ruled over all *Greece* [u].

Lacedemon *joins in the* Achæan *league.*

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, the magiſtrates of that city, who were ſtrongly attached to the *Romans*, having received timely notice of the deſign, and put the city in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege. The inhabitants of *Chalcis*, hearing that *Thoas* had hired a great many tranſports in order to carry over troops to their iſland, ſent a meſſenger to him; deſiring to know for what reaſon he was going to commit hoſtilities in their territories; the *Ætolian* anſwered, that his only deſign was to deliver *Eubœa* from the *Romans*, who domineered more inſolently over it than the *Macedonians* had ever done. But the inhabitants replied, that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the *Romans*, ſince they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Ætolian*, who had placed all hopes of ſucceſs in a ſudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much diſſatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him maſter of the whole iſland, and opened a way for *Antiochus* into *Attica* [w].

The Ætolians fail in their attempt upon Chalcis.

Flaminius, who then reſided at *Corinth*, being informed, that the *Ætolians* had made themſelves maſters of *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, took upon him to recover it to the *Roman* party. He firſt wrote to *Eurymus*, prætor of *Theſſaly*, deſiring him to arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himſelf upon the ſpot of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Accordingly *Villius*

[u] Liv. l. 35. c. 37. Plut. in Philop. [w] Liv. ibid. c. 33.

embarked

embarked on a quinqueremis, and came in ſight of *Demetrias*. The report of his arrival raiſed a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crouds to the port to ſee him. But the *Roman*, without any concern at ſeeing crouds about him, addreſſed *Eurylochus* the chief magiſtate in this manner: Can the *Romans* reckon the people of *Demetrias* among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magiſtrate anſwered, that his fellow citizens were attached to *Rome*; but at the ſame time he let him know, that his preſence might diſturb the repoſe of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect telling him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed *Eurylochus* had already declared for *Antiochus*, and the inhabitants, ſeduced by his counſels, had juſt then concluded a league with the *Ætolians* againſt *Rome*. *Villius* underſtood by *Eurylochus*'s diſcourſe, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with ſevere reproaches on both ſides; the *Roman* upbraided the *Demetrians* with ingratitude, ſince they owed their liberty to *Rome*, and the *Demetrians* reproached the *Romans* with injuſtice, haughtineſs, and ambition. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to ſea again; but before he re-embarked, turning to the multitude that were purſuing him with great noiſe and menaces, "I plainly ſee, ſaid he, the ſtorm that will fall upon your "heads; your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too "late, that none, who provoke the *Romans*, eſcape with "impunity". *Flaminius*, upon the return of *Villius* and his report, laid aſide all thoughts of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old alliance [x].

On the other hand, *Thoas*, having failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis* went ſtrait to *Antiochus*, and preſſed him to delay no longer his ſetting out for *Greece*. At the ſame time he diſſuaded him from ſending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, inſinuating, that the *Carthaginian* would aſſume to himſelf all the glory of ſuch an enterprize. As this fell in with the *Syrian*'s ſuſpicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the deſign, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being reſolved, that *Greece* ſhould be the only ſeat of war, the king pitched upon *Demetrias* for the place where he ſhould land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he embarked with an army conſiſting only of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, ſuch a ſmall body of troops as by no means ſuitable to the majeſty of ſo great a king, nor anſwered the expectations of his Greek allies: but

[x] Liv. ib. l. c. 39.

the

theſe were all the troops he had ready; *Polyxenidas* indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into *Aſia* to draw together the reſt of his forces, and lead them into *Europe*. The king landed at *Pteleum* in *Phthiotis*, and from thence marched to *Demetrias*. Here the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and invited him to *Lamia*, one of their cities, where a general aſſembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerneſs to comply with their requeſt had induced him to leave *Aſia*, before he had made the neceſſary preparations for ſuch an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations ſhould be fully anſwered next ſpring; and that as ſoon as the ſeas were paſſable, they ſhould ſee all *Greece* covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with theſe words; "I will ſpare neither fatigues nor expences, I will expoſe my perſon, to "the greateſt dangers, to re-eſtabliſh you in the full enjoyment of your liberties: *Rome* has enſlaved you, but *Syria* "offers you a deliverer; let us then ſhare the trouble between us; do you furniſh proviſions, I will find men and "arms[1]". Antiochus *arrives in* Greece.

THIS ſpeech was received with great applauſe, and when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the aſſembly, what title they ſhould give him, and in what character he ſhould act in *Ætolia*. The moſt judicious ſaw plainly, that *Antiochus*, inſtead of a real and preſent aſſiſtance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promiſes, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed, which was, that the king ſhould be honoured with the title of generaliſſimo or commander in chief of all the *Greek* armies againſt *Rome*. Then a council of thirty perſons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourſe on all occaſions. The firſt ſtep he took by their advice was to enter into a negotiation with *Chalcis*, a city which was famous for its affection to the *Romans*. In a conference which was held between the *Ætolians* and *Chalcidians* at *Salganea*, the former uſed their utmoſt efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with *Antiochus*, but without renouncing the friendſhip of the *Romans*; they declared, that the king of *Syria* was come into *Greece*, not to make it the ſeat of war, but to deliver it from ſlavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of *Greece* than to live in ami-

[1] Idem, ibid. c. [illegible]

ty both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Romans* on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates [z].

Micio, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied; that he could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and crossed over into *Greece*; that as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans* [a].

This answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it advisable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Amynander* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bœotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and ambassadors dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *Syrian* ambassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horse-men were crossing the *Hellespont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Caduſii*. &c. names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would over-spread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of *Greece*: concerning money, it was, he said, needless

[z] Liv. ibid c. 45. [a] Idem, ibid. c. 47.

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Archidamus, the *Ætolian* ambaſſador, ſpoke to the ſame effect, adviſing the *Achæans* to ſit only as ſpectators of a war, which muſt bring utter deſtruction upon *Rome*; then growing inſenſibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches againſt the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the ſafety of the army. "For what great exploits, continued "he, has *Flaminius* performed during this war? his whole "time has been ſpent in conſulting the auſpices, in ſacrificing "victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur "or a prieſt, while I expoſed my ſelf to the enemy's darts "for his ſake". *Flaminius* heard all theſe reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleaſantry thus. "Attempts "have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you, with an "enumeration of thoſe nations of *Aſia*, which are to pour "in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*. This puts me in mind "of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of "mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his "gueſts very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a "time of year when veniſon was very ſcarce, and yet there "ſeemed to be great plenty of it ſerved up at his table. I "was ſurprized; but my friend ſmiling told me, that what "I took for veniſon was nothing but hog's fleſh diſguiſed ſe-"veral ways, and ſeaſoned with different ſauces. The ſame "may be ſaid of this mighty king's troops, which have been "ſo pompouſly extolled and magnified. The *Dahæ*, the "*Medes*, the *Cadiſii*, the *Elymæans*, names indeed that are "not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation, and "a nation of ſlaves. Whatever diſguiſes may be uſed, they "are all but one ſort of men; let the ſauce be what it will, "the meat is the ſame. And as for the *Ætolians*, they are "brave only in words; they may amuſe the king of *Syria*

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Speech of Flaminius.

[b] Idem, ibid. c. 43.

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[b] Idem, ibid. c. 48.

" with their bragging diſcourſes, but both you, *Achæans*,
" and I are better acquainted with their character than to
" be impoſed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a
" poor figure is he come to make in theſe parts? His whole
" army is not equal to two of our ſmalleſt legions. And
" where are the riches which he promiſes you? He has
" been obliged, at his firſt arrival, to beg of the *Ætolian* diet
" proviſions and money. From thence he rambled to *Chal-*
" *cis*, which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. The
" *Ætolians* have very injudiciouſly given credit to *Antiochus*,
" and *Antiochus* ſhewed as little judgment in believing the
" *Ætolians*. This ought to teach you not to be impoſed
" upon, but to put all your confidence in the *Romans*, the
" effects of whoſe friendſhip you have ſo often experienced.
" When they demand of you a neutrality, they invite you
" to become a prey to both parties, and to ſuffer all the
" evils of war without ſharing the advantages of vic-
" tory[c]."

The *Achæans* without heſitation declared for the *Romans*, and reſolved to make war upon *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*. They immediately ſent five hundred men to reinforce the gariſon of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began to waver.

Antiochus and the *Ætolians* received no greater ſatisfaction from the *Bœotians*, who told their ambaſſadors, that they would come to no reſolution till *Antiochus*'s army was on the frontiers of *Bœotia*[d].

The king of *Syria* having thus ſolicited in vain, either by his ambaſſadors or in perſon, moſt of the *Greek* ſtates to join in alliance with him, retired at laſt to *Demetrias*, where he held a council of war on the operations of the enſuing campaign. *Hannibal*, who was invited to it with all the chief commanders of the army, being aſked his opinion firſt, adviſed the king, before he undertook any thing elſe, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon*; which, he ſaid, was ſo important a ſtep, that could they but ſucceed in it, they might without much ado become maſters of all *Greece*. But if *Philip* ſhould refuſe to take up arms againſt *Rome*, in that caſe he was of opinion, that the king ſhould ſend his ſon *Seleucus* at the head of an army into *Macedon*, and by that means prevent him from lending any aſſiſtance to the *Romans*. He inſiſted on a ſtill more important point,

[c] Idem, ibid. c. 49.

[d] Idem, lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

and

and maintained, as he had always done; that the only way to defeat the *Romans* was to ſend an army into *Italy*[c].

THE council could not but approve of what *Hannibal* ſaid, but at the ſame time the *Ætolians* diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending that if he purſued the *Carthaginian*'s plan, all the glory would be aſcribed to him, and that ſince *Antiochus* had already taken another courſe, and was in *Greece*, it would be highly diſreputable in him to alter his meaſures. In the council it was reſolved, that the king ſhould again attempt the winning over of *Chalcis*, and accordingly he ſet out again for that place. On his march he detached *Menippus*, one of his generals, with three thouſand men to intercept a body of five hundred *Romans* which *Flaminius* had ſent, under the command of *Mictio* the *Chalcidian*, to reinforce the gariſon of *Chalcis*. *Menippus* came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amuſing themſelves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Tanagra* (M). Neither the ſanctity of the place, which enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, nor the friendſhip that ſtill ſubſiſted between *Antiochus* and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the *Syrians*; they were attacked in the very temple and grove of *Apollo*, moſt of them put to the ſword, and fifty taken priſoners; a few of them eſcaped with their leader *Mictio*, who in a ſmall boat got ſafe to *Chalcis*. This was the firſt time *Antiochus* drew his ſword in theſe parts; but by ſhedding *Roman* blood he made himſelf the aggreſſor, and gave *Rome* a new right to declare him an enemy. The *Syrian*, fluſhed with this ſmall advantage, became more bold and enterprizing; he advanced at the head of ſix thouſand men to the *Euripus*, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the ſecond time before *Chalcis*. This city was rent into factions, and, now the *Ætolian* party prevailing, *Mictio* and *Xenolcides*, with ſuch other citizens as perſiſted in their attachment to the *Romans*, were commanded to depart, and the city opened her gates to *Antiochus*. The

Antiochus *diverted by the Ætolians from following the advice of* Hannibal.

[c] Idem, ibid. c. 4.

(M) *Tanagra*, a city of *Bœotia* on the banks of the *Aſopus*, five miles diſtant from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*. The temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and called *Delium*, was built on the coaſt of *Bœotia*, between the city of *Aulis* and the mouth of the *Aſopus*, about five miles from *Tanagra* (4).

(4) *Strabo*, *l.* ix.

example of the capital was followed by the whole iſland, and all *Eubœa* ſubmitted to the *Syrian*, who from that time made *Chalcis* the place of his reſidence. He ſpent the winter there, ſending deputies to all the free ſtates of *Greece* to court their friendſhip. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the *Athamanes* readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with *Rome*. The *Athamanes* were prevailed upon to join him by *Philip* the regent of *Athamania*, who was a pretender to the crown of *Macedon*[t] (N).

The progreſs of Antiochus's *arms in* Greece.

And now the time drawing near to take the field, *Antiochus* advanced to *Lariſſa*, and from thence ſummoned his allies to ſend their troops to the neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic ſtep, which was the taking the regent of *Athamania* with him to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, where the *Macedonians*, who had been killed when *Philip* was overcome, lay ſtill unburied. He thought, that the pretended king of *Macedon*, by procuring their obſequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the *Macedonians*. But this ſerved only to exaſperate the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progreſs *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*[u].

The king of *Syria* being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to reſiſt him, laid ſiege to *Pheræ*, which after a vigorous reſiſtance was forced to ſurrender. From *Pheræ* he advanced to *Lariſſa*, and while he was deliberating whether he ſhould lay ſiege to it or not, news was brought him, that a body of *Romans* was arrived at *Gonni*, a city about twenty miles from *Lariſſa*. *Claudius*, who commanded this ſmall detachment, in order to deceive *Antiochus*, encamped in a much larger camp than was neceſſary for ſo ſmall a number of troops, and kindled ſo many fires,

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 5. Polyb. legat. 12. [u] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

(N) *Amynander*, king of the *Athamanes* had married at *Megalopolis*, a woman named *Apamia*, a native of *Macedon*, who was ſaid to be deſcended from *Alexander the Great*. The father of *Apamia*, who alſo bore the name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of *Macedon*. The brother of *Apamia*, whoſe name was *Philip*, governed the kingdom of *Athamania* under *Amynander*, who was a weak prince: And *Antiochus* gained over *Philip*, by promiſing to reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors.

that

that *Antiochus*, believing a numerous army of *Romans* was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to *Chalcis*, which city proved as fatal to him as *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*. For there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king's, made *Cleoptolemus* fear, that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But *Antiochus* to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquiesce; and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the most peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unseasonable love was become a standing topic of rallery in all conversations, his allies made loud complaints, the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the *Ætolians* themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king, insensible to every thing but his passion, which engrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers, of the *Syrian* army:] discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery [h].

Chalcis proves fatal to Antiochus.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus lost in pleasures at *Chalcis*, *Rome* kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas, and after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against *Antiochus*. Then the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *A. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces, and *Greece* fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of *May* for *Brundusium*, whence he set sail for *Greece*, and, crossing the *Ioni-*

[h] LIV ibid. Appian. c. 96.

au ſea, landed his forces, without the leaſt oppoſition, to the number of twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. He immediately ſent his infantry to *Bœbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Theſſaly*, and with his cavalry he marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Theſſaly*, which the king of *Macedon* was beſieging. Both theſe places ſurrendered to the conſul at diſcretion, and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the pretender to the crown of *Macedon*. The king in deriſion called him brother, ordered him to be ſaluted king, and conducted him to the conſul, who put him in irons and ſent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* parted, to ſpread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himſelf maſter of all *Athamania*, *Aminander* having retired with his wife and children into *Epirus*; and the conſul ſoon reduced all *Theſſaly*. This ſurprizing progreſs of the *Romans* rouſed at laſt *Antiochus* out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife *Eubia* to adoration; but his reaſon, pointing out to him the ſhameful figure a man of his years and character muſt make in being thus taken up with youthful pleaſures, at laſt got the better of his paſſion; and he determined to leave *Chalcis* and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This obliged him to aſſemble all the troops he had diſperſed over *Greece*, and join them in one army. All the *Syrian* troops amounted to no more than ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. With theſe he advanced to the confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful ſuccours from thence; but he was diſappointed; for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raiſe above four thouſand men, who were for the moſt part their own clients and vaſſals. *Antiochus* was then ſenſible that he had been impoſed upon by *Thoas*; but, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, he purſued his meaſures. He knew, that the *Roman* army had paſſed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*. To prevent therefore their entering *Achaia* by way of *Locris*, and at the ſame time to ſecure himſelf againſt the attacks of the enemy, he ſeized a paſs already famous in hiſtory, called *Thermopylæ*. This paſs was not above twenty-five foot broad, and bounded on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by mount *Oeta*. The king ſtrengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was not ignorant, that *Xerxes* would not have been able to force the *Lacedemonians*, if he had not ordered ſome of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence ruſh down upon the enemy, he detached two thouſand *Ætolians* to ſeize the ſummits of mount *Oeta*, which were neareſt his camp. [1].

The progreſs of the Romans *rouzes* Antiochus.

Antiochus *ſeizes* Thermopylæ.

[1] Liv. ibid. c. 15, Appian. in Syriacis. c. 96.

The

THE *Roman* general was informed of the prudent precautions which *Antiochus* had taken, and was under no ſmall concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from paſſes, where ſcarce ten armed men could march a-breaſt was a dangerous attempt; to follow the example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the tops of the mountains being guarded by two thouſand *Ætolians*. In this perplexity he had recourſe to the famous *Cato*, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, had rouſed up his martial ſpirit, and now ſerved in the troops in no higher a ſtation than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the conſul out of his difficulties, by offering to diſlodge the *Ætolians* from their advantageous poſt. As this enterprize was of no leſs difficulty than importance, the conſul thought proper to join *L. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, with *Cato* in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march againſt that body of *Ætolians*, which was encamped on the ſummit, called *Tichius*, and the latter againſt thoſe who were on the other, named *Callidromus*. *Valerius* was repulſed by the *Ætolians*, and forced to retire; but *Cato*, after undergoing inexpreſſible fatigues and dangers, got at laſt to the top of the mountain, and charged the *Ætolians* with ſuch reſolution, that he obliged them to abandon their poſt and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly engaged with *Antiochus*, but could not with all their valour force the *Syrian*'s entrenchment. *Acilius* did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the reſt began to be diſheartened, when the conſul all on a ſudden ſpied *Cato* half way down the hill, and the *Ætolians* flying before him. This ſight inſpired the *Romans* with new vigour, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the *Syrians*, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and ſtill maintained their ground, till *Cato*, attacking the camp in its weakeſt part, put an end to the diſpute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a ſtone, turned his horſe about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one ſhifting for himſelf, and leaving the paſſes open for the *Romans*, who did not purſue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rith booty [k].

But is diſlodged and defeated.

THE next day early in morning the conſul marched to *Elatia*, whither *Antiochus* had firſt retired. But before the arrival of the *Romans* the king was fled from thence, and had

[k] LIV, ibid, c. 19.

got

got safe to *Chalcis* with five hundred horse. All the infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were surprised by the *Roman* horse and cut in pieces; so that *Antiochus* may be said to have lost his whole army, in the action of *Thermopylæ* and in the pursuit (O). The consul continued his march through *Bœotia* to the *Euripus*, with a design to drive *Antiochus* from *Chalcis*, and recover the island of *Eubœa*. The *Bœotians* had declared for *Antiochus*, and therefore being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army, they appeared before *Acilius* in the attire of supplicants, and the consul spared both their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except at *Coromæa*, where, by a public edict of the *Bœotian* diet, a statue had been erected to *Antiochus*. At this sight the legionaries were so provoked, that *Acilius* could not restrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus*, embarked with his new queen, set sail for *Asia*, and retired to *Ephesus*. Upon his departure *Chalcis* opened her gates to the *Romans*, and all *Eubœa* followed the example of the capital. *Acilius* then returned to *Thermopylæ*, and from thence continued his march to *Heraclea* (P); which two thousand *Ætolians* still kept for *Antiochus*[1].

Antiochus leaves Chalcis.

Before the consul besieged the city in form, he summoned the garison and the inhabitants to surrender; representing, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all *Greece* had a-new declared for *Rome*; that it was not too late to have recourse to the clemency of the *Romans*; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. *Damocritus*, who had told *Flaminius* that he would give him on the banks of the *Tyber* a copy of the decree inviting *Antiochus* into *Greece*, was governor of the place; and by his means the *Ætolians*, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The consul therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made him-

[1] Liv. ibid. c. 20.

(O) *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, greatly magnified the king's loss; for he wrote that forty thousand *Syrians* were killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners (5).

(P) This city, called *Heraclea Trachynia*, stood between the *Sperchius* and the *Asophus*, near the gulf of *Zeiton*, and about forty furlongs distant from *Thermopylæ* (6).

(5) *Liv. l.* 36. *c.* 19. (6) *Strabo l.* 9. *Thucyd. l.* 3.

ſelf maſter of it. *Heraclea* was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The conſul having inveſted the city on all ſides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which diſcharged ſhowers of darts and ſtones on the beſieged. The *Ætolians* on the other hand maintained their poſts with inexpreſſible courage, haraſſed the *Romans* with frequent ſallies, ſet fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their battering rams quite uſeleſs. The aggreſſors no ſooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the beſieged made vigorous ſallies, keeping the *Romans* employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days againſt the inceſſant attacks of the whole conſular army. The great number of the beſiegers leſſened their fatigues; but the beſieged were employed night and day, the whole gariſon being ſcarce ſufficient for the conſtant defence of the place. The conſul being ſenſible that the *Ætolians* could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, reſolved to give ſome relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a ſtop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The *Ætolians*, being perſuaded that the *Romans* were as much exhauſted as themſelves, retired at the ſame time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreſhed themſelves with ſome hours reſt. They continued this practice for ſome time; but the conſul all on a ſudden ordered *Sempronius* to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noiſe would draw all the gariſon thither. Accordingly the *Ætolians* being waked, haſtened to the caſtle, and the *Romans* at the ſame time aſſaulted with great vigour the town, but were repulſed by the *Ætolians* in three ſucceſſive attacks. *Acilius* had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all ſides, except that which joined the ſuburbs. There he had placed a ſtrong detachment among the ruins of the demoliſhed houſes, with orders not to ſtir till they heard the ſignal. He imagined, that the beſieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And ſo it happened, the beſiegers left this place quite undefended, which the conſul perceiving, gave the ſignal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any oppoſition. The beſieged hearing a ſhout on the rampart believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. *Acilius* ſuffered the city to be plundered, not ſo much out of a ſpirit of revenge, as to reward the ſoldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken.

The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the conſul marched againſt the citadel, which, as it was not ſufficiently ſtocked with proviſions to maintain ſuch a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The *Ætolians* threw themſelves upon the clemency of the *Romans*, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the conſul's hands their leader *Damocritus*, who probably was ſent to *Rome*, with the other captives of the conquered nations [m].

From *Heraclea* the conſul marched to *Lamia*, a ſtrong place ſituated on a rock about ſeven miles diſtant. The troops of king *Philip* had begun the ſiege at the ſame time that the *Romans* ſet down before *Heraclea*. As the two cities were near each other, and *Lamia* ſtood on an eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could diſcover, each from their own camp, what progreſs was made in the other. Hence aroſe an emulation between the two armies, which ſhould reduce their city firſt. The works were carried on by both with the utmoſt vigour; but as the *Macedonians* could not, according to their cuſtom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the *Romans* took *Heraclea* before the *Macedonians* had made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege of *Lamia*. *Philip* indeed did not at firſt aſſiſt in perſon, being prevented by an indiſpoſition; but he no ſooner recovered, than he went to pay a viſit to *Acilius*, who was then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his victory. From the conſul's camp *Philip* haſtened to *Lamia* to purſue the ſiege; but he had not the ſatisfaction of taking the place, the *Lamians* chuſing rather to ſubmit to the *Romans*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the *Macedonian* yoke [n].

Before *Heraclea* and *Lamia* were beſieged, the *Ætolians* had ſent an embaſſy to *Antiochus* then at *Epheſus*. *Thoas*, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, purſuant to his inſtructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into *Europe*. He repreſented, that if the war was not carried on with vigour in *Greece*, he would ſoon ſee the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. What he ſaid was not improbable, and therefore determined *Antiochus* to ſend immediately into *Ætolia* conſiderable ſums, and give orders for the aſſembling of his forces. *Thoas* he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of preſſing the king to fulfil his promiſes. Thus the *Ætolians* were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduc-

[m] Liv. ibid. c. 25. [n] Idem, ibid. c. 26.

tion

tion of these abated their ardor, and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but of concluding a peace. They sent ambassadors to the consul to make proposals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. "I have other business "on my hands, said he, than to hear you; go back to your "diet at *Hypata*, whither I will send *Valerius Flaccus* to "treat with you: make your proposals to him, and in the "mean time I grant you a ten days truce o".

Valerius and the ambassadors set out together for *Hypata*, where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honour; held their sessions at his house, and to shew that they reposed an entire confidence in him, they desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. Our alliance, said they, with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we shewn our attachment to *Rome*? Here *Valerius* stopped them, and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they had so often broken. An humble submission, said he, will have more effect on the consul and senate, than a vain ostentation of your services. The diet seemed to pay a great regard to the wholesome advice of *Valerius*, and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before the consul. *Phæneas*, who was their speaker, addressing the consul in a mournful tone, began his speech by telling him, that all *Ætolia*, repenting her late conduct, threw herself on the honour and clemency of the *Romans*. The consul, without suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied; you say, *Ætolia* surrenders herself to the *Romans*; if so, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt; put into my hands *Menetas* the *Epirot*, *Amynander* king of *Athamania*, and such of the *Athamanians* as have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in *Ætolia*. While he was yet speaking, *Phæneas* interrupting him, answered with a quite different air and tone of voice; You demand more than we promised; we threw ourselves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery. What you require is neither consistent with the honour of the *Ætolian* nation, nor with the laws and customs of *Greece*. What is that to me, replied *Acilius* haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the *Romans*, and that is enough. *Phæneas* was offering to speak, when the consul rising up, What, said he, do you refuse to obey my orders, and plead your customs or laws with me? Then turning to the lictors, he ordered them to bring

o Idem, ibid. c. 27.

in iron chains and collars, and threatened to put the ambaſſadors in irons that inſtant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unleſs they promiſed to perform what he required. The ſight of the chains, and the threats of the angry conſul ſo terrified them, that neither *Phœneas* nor his collegues durſt utter one word. *Valerius*, taking their part, deſired the conſul to remember that they were ambaſſadors, and conſequently ought not to be treated with all the ſeverity, which their inſincerity perhaps might deſerve. This encouraged *Phœneas* to repreſent to the conſul in terms of great ſubmiſſion; That neither he, nor the council of the apocleti who had ſent him, could obey his orders, without the conſent and approbation of the general aſſembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promiſed to bring him a poſitive anſwer. *Acilius* heard him now with patience, and granted the ſuſpenſion of arms he required [p].

Upon the return of the ambaſſadors, and the report which they made of the ſevere treatment they had met with, a general aſſembly was convened, to which all the cities of *Ætolia* ſent their deputies. Theſe were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries propoſed by the *Romans*, and all cried out, We are then reduced to ſlavery: Is the king of *Athamania* our ſubject? Can we diſpoſe of him as we pleaſe, and deliver him up to the *Romans?* Warm debates aroſe, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themſelves. On one ſide the *Romans* were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities: on the other *Antiochus* was a wealthy prince, powerful by ſea and land, and a declared enemy to the *Romans*. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened which determined them to chooſe the worſt part. One *Nicander*, an active and buſtling man, had gone from *Ætolia* to *Epheſus*, where *Antiochus* reſided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large ſums of money with him from the king of *Syria*, and aſſured the diet, that early in the ſpring all the forces of *Syria* would be ſent to their aſſiſtance. He added, that the king of *Macedon* was highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the *Romans*, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he ſaid with relation to *Philip* had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the aſſembly. *Nicander* on his return to *Greece* had been obliged to paſs between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* camps, and keeping as far as he could

[p] Liv. ibid. c. 28.

from

from the *Romans* fell upon an advanced guard of the *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The priſoner expected no good treatment from *Philip*, and was under no ſmall apprehenſion of being delivered up to the *Romans*. But, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the *Macedonian* in a very friendly manner, and even invited to ſup with him. After the repaſt, the king ordered the reſt of the company to withdraw, and then addreſſed *Nicander* thus: "You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a "friend, and therefore diveſt yourſelf of all fear. Are you "not at laſt ſenſible, that the *Ætolians* your countrymen are "the authors of all our misfortunes? They firſt brought the "*Romans* into *Greece*, and aſſiſted them in the reduction of "my dominions. Then they grew weary of their new "maſters, and drew *Antiochus* into theſe parts. However, "I forget all that is paſt, and will not inſult you in your mi-"ſery. Only let the diet at *Hypata* know, that it is high "time for them to lay aſide their hatred to me. As for you, "*Nicander*, remember, that I now give you your life, and "be grateful [q]." Accordingly *Nicander* acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in *Philip*'s camp, and the *Ætolians* inferred from thence, that the king might be eaſily drawn off from the *Romans*. This perſuaſion, with the money which *Nicander* brought from *Aſia*, and the reports which he ſpread, that *Antiochus* was ready to paſs into *Europe* at the head of a powerful army, made ſuch impreſſions on the aſſembly, that all thoughts of peace vaniſhed, and nothing was now talked of but war. They reſolved to draw all their forces to *Naupactus*, and preſerve at all events that important city againſt the return of *Antiochus* [r].

Acilius on the other hand look'd on the taking of *Naupactus* as the moſt fatal blow he could give the *Ætolian* nation, and therefore reſolved to attempt it. In the firſt place he ſent four thouſand men under the command of *Appius Claudius* to guard the roads through which the army was to paſs. The conſul did not begin his march, till he had implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, by offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Hercules* on the top of mount *Oeta* (Q). Having thus conſecrated

[q] LIV. ibid. POLYB. legat. 13. [r] LIV. ibid. c. 30.

(Q) Mount *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the ſummits of this mountain was called *Pyra*, that is *a funeral pile*, becauſe *Hercules* had there burnt himſelf, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The fame of the place drew the conſul to it, and before his departure he offered ſacrifices to the deity there worſhipped.

his

his departure by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to *Corax* (R), the highest mountain of *Ætolia*, which he was obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden, and many of the soldiers were lost in the precipices. Not one single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with the consul, which might have been defended by a handful of men against an army how numerous soever. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived greatly fatigued before *Naupactus*, which the consul immediately invested. But as the *Ætolians* defended themselves with incredible vigour and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer, while *Philip* and the *Achæans* reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of *Demetrias*, but extended his conquests to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia* and *Perrhæbia* (S); and thus by degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him [t].

But *Flaminius*, who resided at *Chalcis* (T), not being at all pleased with the progress which the consul suffered *Philip* to make, contrary to the interest of *Rome*, hastened to *Nau-*

[r] Idem ibid. Appian. in Syriac. 99. [t] Liv. l. 36. c. 32.

(R) According to *Ptolemy* this mountain lay between mount *Callidromus*, and mount *Parnassus*, *Livy* places it between *Naupactus* and *Callipolis*.

(S) *Dolopia* was part of *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Thessaly*, near mount *Pindus*. *Aperantia* was another province of *Epirus*, lying near the springs of the *Achelous*. *Perrhæbia* was properly the mountainous country about *Olympus* in *Thessaly*, extending from the city of *Atrax* as far as *Tempe* (7).

(T) *Flaminius*, after having conquered *Philip*, and settled the affairs of *Greece*, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to *Flaminius*, referring the whole to his arbitration He had chose *Chalcis* for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for *Acilius*, when it surrendered to him after the departure of *Antiochus*, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but *Flaminius* had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* (8).

(7) *Strabo. l. 9. Herodot. l. 7.* (8) *Plut in Flamin.*

paulus,

pactus, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great ſtraits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the conſul, whom he abruptly addreſſed thus; Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic? *Acilius* ſurprized at theſe words, deſired him to explain his meaning; and then *Flaminius* told him, that ever ſince his victory at *Thermopylæ* he had ſpent his whole time in taking two cities, while *Philip* had not contented himſelf with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. "You are endeavouring, continued *Flaminius*, to leſſen the "power of *Ætolia*, and at the ſame time ſuffer a far more "dangerous enemy to increaſe his beyond meaſure: conſider "better the true intereſt of *Rome*; raiſe this troubleſome "ſiege, leave *Naupactus*, and deliver *Greece* from impending "ſlavery [a]".

As the authority of *Flaminius* was great at *Rome*, and his reaſoning very juſt, *Acilius* was unwilling to diſoblige him; but on the other hand he conſidered, that the raiſing the ſiege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no ſmall diſhonour on his conduct, and therefore was ſometime in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould follow the advice of *Flaminius*, or contrary to his opinion purſue the ſiege. But at length he yielded, *Flaminius* taking upon him to juſtify his conduct to the ſenate, and to perſuade the *Ætolians* to make ſome kind of ſubmiſſion. Accordingly he immediately ſhewed himſelf to the beſieged, who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his aſſiſtance with mournful cries. *Flaminius* ſeemed at firſt not to give ear to their entreaties, but as they redoubled their cries, beſeeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compaſſion on an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to underſtand, that they might ſend deputies to confer with him. Hereupon *Phæneas* and the chief men of the nation came out and threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet. *Flaminius* ſeeing them in this humble poſture, "I will not inſult you, ſaid he, in this condition, nor "aggravate your ſorrow with unſeaſonable reproaches. Your "misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you of "them, and you have the further mortification to know, "that you have by your imprudent conduct brought them "upon yourſelves. But as I am appointed by the gods to "preſerve *Greece*, your ingratitude ſhall not get the better of "my propenſion to mercy. Go, throw yourſelves at the "conſul's feet, and beg a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to ſend "ambaſſadors to *Rome* to negotiate a peace; I will intercede

Acilius prevailed upon by Flaminius to raiſe the ſiege of Naupactus.

[a] Liv. ibid. & Plut. in Flamin.

"with

" with the conſul in your behalf". They followed the advice of *Flaminius*; ambaſſadors were ſent to the *Roman* ſenate, and *Acilius*, breaking up the ſiege, marched his army back into *Phocis* [w]. The city of *Naupactus* muſt have been reduced to great ſtraits, ſince the beſieged ſued ſo earneſtly for the protection of *Flaminius*. But, on the other hand, if *Acilius* had believed he could carry it in a ſhort time, he would not have let it ſlip out of his hands; the whole flower of the *Ætolian* nation was ſhut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their ſubmiſſion more hearty and ſincere.

Acilius being diſengaged from this troubleſome ſiege, made the beſt uſe he could of the ſhort time he was to ſtay in *Greece*. He gave audience to the ambaſſadors of the *Epirots*, who came to excuſe the ſteps they had taken with regard to *Antiochus*. They had not indeed ſent any troops to his aſſiſtance, but were ſuſpected to have ſupplied him with money and proviſions. The conſul told them, that he was in doubt, whether he ſhould call them friends or enemies, but that the ſenate of *Rome* knew how to explain their myſterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themſelves before the ſenate. At *Rome* they were received very coldly; but as it did not appear that they had committed any hoſtilities, the ſenators choſe rather to ſhew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic [x].

As for the *Ætolian* ambaſſadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an audience of the ſenate. They were, however, admitted at laſt, and endeavoured to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate; they gave a long, but modeſt, account of the ſervices they had rendered the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged, that in conſideration of them the conſcript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many queſtions were put to them; but the ſenators obſerved, that, inſtead of giving any poſitive and direct anſwer, they had recourſe to ſupplications and entreaties. This made them ſuſpect their ſincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw, and warm debates aroſe among the fathers, ſome being for granting them a peace, and others for purſuing the war. Some days were ſpent in theſe diſputes, and as the ambaſſadors artfully declined giving ſatisfactory anſwers, the ſenate long continued in ſuſpence between peace and war. At

[w] Idem, ibid. c. 35. [x] Idem, ibid. c. 36.

laſt

last the ambaſſadors were told, that they muſt chuſe one of theſe two conditions, *viz.* either to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate, or to pay the republic a thouſand talents, and neither make war nor peace with any other power, without the conſent and approbation of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* had not ſo much money; and, on the other hand, if they implicitly ſubmitted to the will of the ſenate, they were perſuaded, that *Rome* would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they deſired to know in what points, and how far, they were to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate. But they could have no certain anſwer, and therefore openly declared, that they would not conſent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropt, and the ambaſſadors ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight [y].

Hard conditions offered by the ſenate to the Ætolians.

THE *Ætolians*, upon the return of their ambaſſadors, finding that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it neceſſary to guard *Naupactus* againſt a new attack. They were afraid, that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece*, would again ſit down before the place and carry it. To prevent this, they poſted themſelves in the narrow paſſes of mount *Corax*, in order to ſtop his march. But this precaution only ſerved to make the conſul turn his arms againſt another city, of no leſs importance than *Naupactus*. *Lamia*, after having been the laſt year very near reduced by *Philip*, had ſubmitted to *Acilius* upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the conſul was employed in the ſiege of *Naupactus*, that city declared a-new againſt the *Romans*. *Acilius*, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon *Naupactus*, ſet out for *Lamia*, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be ſcaled on all ſides; but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon *Acilius*, deſpairing to take the city by aſſault, ſounded a retreat. The *Romans* returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he deſigned to renew the aſſault the next morning; Don't expect, ſaid he to his troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the attack with ſuch vigour, that the beſieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After the reduction of *Lamia* the conſul was for returning to *Naupactus*; but in a council of war,

Lamia taken by the Romans.

[y] LIV. l. 37. c. 1. POLYB. Legat. 16.

which was held on that occaſion, not one of the officers approved of ſo hazardous an attempt. A ſteep mountain covered the place, and the paſſes were all guarded by numerous bodies of *Ætolians*. The conſul therefore marched his troops with all poſſible expedition, his conſulate being ready to expire, to *Amphiſſa*, a city of *Locris*, which had joined the Ætolians (U). He did not attempt to take it by ſtorm, but beſieged it in form; the beſieged made a vigorous reſiſtance, and held out, till news was brought to *Acilius*, that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *Scipio Africanus*, was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly* to take upon him the command of the army. The new conſul brought with him an army of thirteen thouſand men, and the great *Africanus* ſerved under him in quality of his lieutenant (W). *Cornelius* viſited all the coaſts of *Epirus* quite to the *Maliac* gulf. From thence he ſent to ſummon *Hypata*, which was one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Theſſaly*. But the inhabitants anſwering that they were not their own maſters, and that they could not ſurrender without the conſent of the *Ætolian* diet, he turned towards *Amphiſſa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was beſieging, having already taken the town. The conſul encamped eight miles from the town, and was ſoon viſited by deputies from *Athens*, who came to pay their reſpects to him, and intercede for the *Ætolians*. They firſt imparted the chief buſineſs, which they were come upon, to

(U) *Amphiſſa* was a city of the *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*, ſituated near the territories of *Criſſa*, diſtant a hundred and twenty furlongs from *Delphos*. It was ſo called, according to *Pauſanias*, becauſe it was ſurrounded by mountains on all ſides. Some modern geographers tell us, that it ſtill retains the ſame name; but *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina* (9).

(W) The conſuls choſen for this year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*, the firſt the brother, the ſecond the friend, of the great *Scipio Africanus*. *Lælius*, being reckoned the beſt general, artfully propoſed to his collegue, that inſtead of drawing lots, as was uſual, they ſhou'd leave the matter to the determination of the conſcript fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; but he deſired time to conſider of it, and then conſulted his brother. *Scipio Africanus* deſired him without any heſitation to accept the propoſal; and when the ſenate ſeemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great ſurprize of all, offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the ſenate immediately aſſigned *Aſia* to the two *Scipios* as their common province.

(9) *Herodot. l.* 8. *Strabo l* 9. *Pauſan. in Phocicis.*

Scipio

Scipio Africanus, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their intereſts into his hands. *Scipio* told them, that he would intercede for the *Ætolians* with a great deal of pleaſure, and procure them the beſt terms he could. This raiſed the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately aſſembled a diet at *Hypata*, and ſent deputies to the conſul, not doubting, but *Africanus* would obtain favourable terms for them. But *Cornelius*, having conceived ſome ſort of jealouſy, in ſeeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himſelf, though veſted with the conſular dignity, gave the ambaſſadors the ſame anſwer which the ſenate had given before. He again inſiſted, that the *Ætolians* ſhould either pay a thouſand talents, or implicitly ſubmit to the will of the *Romans*. This unexpected anſwer threw the whole nation into the utmoſt conſternation. However, they ſent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the ſum demanded, or at leaſt that, if they ſubmitted to the will of the conſul, their lives in general ſhould be ſaved. But *Cornelius* was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon *Echedemus*, the chief of the *Athenian* embaſſy, adviſed them to demand a ſix months truce, and once more apply to the ſenate. They followed his advice, and being backed in their requeſt, both by *Echedemus*, and *Scipio Africanus*, they obtained at length the truce they deſired. The ſame ambaſſadors who had been driven from *Rome* were ſent back thither, and the ſiege of the citadel of *Amphiſſa* was raiſed. Then *Acilius*, reſigning up the command of the army to the new conſul, left *Greece*, and returned to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* themſelves were not more overjoyed at this truce than *Scipio Africanus*, who was impatient to paſs over into *Aſia*, and once more enter the liſts with *Hannibal* [z].

The Ætolians obtain a ſix months truce.

THE conſular army was ſcarce withdrawn from *Greece*, when the *Ætolians*, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a deſign to reſtore king *Amynander*, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had ſided with the *Ætolians*, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by *Philip*, whom the *Romans* had put in poſſeſſion of all the baniſhed king's dominions. They ſoon drove all the *Macedonian* gariſons out of *Athamania*, and placed *Amynander* again on the throne of his anceſtors. But this did not content the reſtleſs *Ætolians*, inſtead of humbling themſelves to *Rome*, as *Amynander* did, for diſpoſſeſſing *Philip* of the

[z] Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 17.

dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they purſued their conqueſts, and entering *Amphilochia*, a province of *Epirus*, formerly ſubject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*, reconquered almoſt the whole country. From thence they advanced to *Aparantia*, which had likewiſe belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had loſt during the war, they fell upon *Dolopia*, a country which had always belonged to the kings of *Macedon*, and to which they could lay no claim. The *Dolopians* were eaſily prevailed upon to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſubmit to the *Ætolians*. All theſe conqueſts were ſo many inſults offered to the republic, in the perſon of a king, who was joined in alliance with *Rome*, and had rendered her eminent ſervices during the late war. Thus the *Ætolians* employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appeaſe, by their ſubmiſſion, the wrath of the ſovereign republic.

The Ætolians invade the territories of Philip, *though in alliance with* Rome.

However, when they heard that the ſenate, upon an embaſſy from *Amynander*, had confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, they reſolved at laſt to apply to the ſenate, not only for a peace, but for their conſent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no leſs favourable to them, than ſhe had been to their ally *Amynander*. Their ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the election of the new conſuls, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulſo*, and before the news of the famous victory at *Magneſia* had reached *Italy*. Wherefore, the better to ſucceed in their negotiations, they ſpread a report, that the two *Scipios* had been made priſoners by *Antiochus* at a conference, and that the *Roman* army was entirely defeated. Being queſtioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from ſome perſons of their nation in the conſul's camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they ſeemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But theſe bad appearances did not abate the pride of the ſenate, or bring them to ſhew any indulgence to *Ætolia*: The ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and ordered not to return without the expreſs conſent of the generals, whom the republic ſhould ſend to carry on the war in their country [a].

Their inſincere proceedings with the Senate.

The conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Greece* fell to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who immediately ſet out, and landing at *Apollonia*, a city of *Macedon* near the borders of *Epirus*, aſſembled there a council of the *Epirots*, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. Theſe adviſed him

[a] Val. Antias apud Liv. xxxvii.

to

to begin with the ſiege of *Ambracia* (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of *Ætolia*. Herein they conſulted their own intereſt; for *Ambracia* belonged formerly to the *Epirots*, and was now to be reſtored to them. However, *Fulvius* followed their advice, and, croſſing *Epirus*, ſat down before *Ambracia*. He no ſooner ſaw the town, and obſerved its ſituation, but he concluded that it would be no eaſy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one ſide by a great river (Y), and on the other by ſteep and craggy hills, and ſurrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compaſs. The conſul began the ſiege by forming two camps ſeparated by the river, but with a communication between them; the *Epirots* were poſted in one, and the *Romans* in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation, and built over-againſt the citadel, which ſtood on a hill, a wooden tower in the form of a caſtle. When the *Ætolians* underſtood, that *Fulvius* had begun the ſiege of *Ambracia*, they aſſembled all their troops, and marched to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed *Stratos*, a city of *Acarnania* on the banks of the *Achelous*, for the place of the general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, *Nicander* the prætor and moſt of the officers were at firſt for attacking the *Romans*. But being afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finiſhed, it was thought more adviſeable to throw troops into the city, and ſtrengthen the gariſon. *Eupolemus*, a man of great reſolution, took upon him to perform this, and ſucceeded in the attempt, entering *Ambracia* at the head of a thouſand *Ætolians*, where the lines were not finiſhed. As for *Nicander*, he marched againſt the *Epirots*, with a deſign to attack them in their camp; but, finding them ſtrongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous, and therefore he led his army into *Acarnania*, and laid waſte the whole country. In the mean time the *Romans* and *Epirots* began to batter the place. The conſul ordered five attacks to be made at the ſame time, three on the ſide

Ambracia *beſieged by the* Romans.

(X) *Ambracia* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Epirus*. It ſtood at the bottom of the *Ambracian* bay, upon the river *Arachthus*, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. The ſituation of *Arta* in upper *Albania* agrees with that of this antient city (10).

(Y) The city of *Ambracia* ſtood on the *Arachthus*, which *Livy* here calls *Arethon*. *Le Noir* tells us, that the natives call this river *Spagnagmuriſi*.

(10) *Strabo, l.* vii. *Polyb. l.* viii.

of

of *Pyrrheum*, a small fortress without the city, one over-against the temple of *Æsculapius*, and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides, and the *Romans*, from their moveable towers, pulled down the battlements with a kind of scythes, which they fastened to long beams. This did not at all dishearten the *Ætolians*, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and scythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pullies, by which they let down beams, large stones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes. They guarded themselves against the scythes by pulling the beams, to which they were fasteeed, into the city with large hooks contrived for that purpose [b].

While *Fulvius* was thus carrying on the siege, *Nicander*, after having pillaged *Acarnania*, returned to *Stratos*, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the garison of the besieged city. These got safe in under the conduct of one *Nicodamus*, with whom *Nicander* agreed to attack the *Roman* camp at a time appointed, not doubting, but, if the garison within, and the army without fell upon them at the same time, and in the night, the *Romans* might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. *Nicodamus* narrowly watched the time in which he was ordered to sally, and at the hour appointed, though *Nicander* did not appear, marched out at the head of the garison, armed with fire-brands and torches. The *Roman* centries were not a little surprized at this sight, and running to wake their companions, spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy, whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the side of *Pyrrheum*. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back, but the third, commanded by two *Ætolian* generals, maintained their ground, made a great slaughter of the *Romans*, set fire to their tents, and then, not finding themselves seconded by *Nicander*, retired in good order into the city. If *Nicander* had at the same time attacked the *Romans*, as he agreed to do, the siege would have been probably raised; but he did not lend the besieged the least assistance, which some ascribe to timorousness, while others tell us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night against *Perses*, who had invaded *Dolopia* [c].

[b] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 4. [c] Idem, ibid. c. 5.

Nicander

Nicander had ſo much to do elſewhere, that he could not bring any relief to the beſieged. On one hand *Perſes* was to be driven out of *Dolopia*; and on the other the coaſts of *Ætolia* were to be defended from the ravages of *Pleuratus*, king of *Illyricum*, who aſſiſted the *Romans* with a numerous fleet, and committed great devaſtations in the *Ætolian* territories. The beſieged being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of ſuccours, did not, however, deſpond, but defended themſelves with incredible vigour and reſolution. The *Romans* had no ſooner made a breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The conſul therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making breaches with the ram, began to undermine the wall in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once, and entering the city before the beſieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not obſerved by the gariſon, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they ſuppoſed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the ſtrokes of the pick-axes of the *Romans*. In a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had ſapped, and ſupported with wodden props. When the two mines met, a battle enſued under ground, firſt with pick-axes and ſpades, and then with ſwords and ſpears. But this attack did not laſt long, each party making themſelves a kind of rampart with the looſe earth. But the *Ætolians*, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow veſſel with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with ſpikes at proper diſtances, to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This veſſel they filled with feathers, which they ſet on fire, and with bellows driving the ſmoke on the beſiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being ſuffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made uſe of to repair the foundations of the walls [d].

THIS vigorous reſiſtance did not raiſe the courage of the *Ætolians* in general; they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*, and to reſiſt ſo many enemies at once ſeemed impoſſible. The prætor therefore thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the diet, that the heads

[d] Idem, ibid. c. 8. POLYB. legat. 28.

of

of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most proper in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, said they, was on *Antiochus*; but, now that he is confined to the other side of mount *Taurus*, we can expect no assistance from him; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a resolution was taken to send *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the consul with full power to conclude a peace. *Fulvius* received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The preliminaries he insisted upon were, 1*st*, that they should lay down their arms; 2*dly*, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; 3*dly*, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the ambassadors begged leave to return and consult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return they were checked by the assembly for leaving the consul without signing the articles. We must have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving *Fulvius* time to reflect. They therefore immediately set out again for the *Roman* camp, but on the road were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of *Acarnanians*, who carried them to *Tyrrheum* a city of *Acarnania*. *Fulvius*, being informed of what had happened, ordered the *Acarnanians* to set them at liberty; and in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle *Ætolia* in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the interceſſions of the *Athenians*, *Rhodians*, and of king *Amynander*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*. As *Amynander* had great interest in *Ambracia*, having long resided there, the consul made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterously, prevailing upon them to surrender on the following terms; that the *Ætolian* garison should have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants should pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the rest at six equal payments; that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles were agreed to by the *Ambracians*, and approved of by the *Ætolian* diet. *Ambracia* opened her gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which *Pyrrhus* had made his capital and inriched with many able monuments [c].

Ambracia *capitulates.*

[c] Liv. & Polyb. & ib.

†

After

AFTER the surrender of *Ambracia*, *Fulvius* entering *Ætolia* encamped at *Argi*, the capital of *Amphilochia*, then subject to the *Ætolians*, who had reduced all that province. There *Phæneas* and *Damotcles*, being set at liberty, acquainted him, that the *Ætolian* diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the senate, and for this purpose *Phæneas* and *Nicander* set out attended by the ambassadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, who went to intercede for them with the senate. In the mean time the consul granted the *Ætolians* a truce, and retired to the island of *Cephalenia*. When the ambassadors arrived at *Rome*, they found both the senate and people highly exasperated against the *Ætolian* nation. *Philip* of *Macedon* had represented to the senate, and magnified, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with *Rome*, and bitterly complained of them for unjustly detaining from him *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilochia*. His complaints were of such weight with the senate, that the ambassadors were even refused an audience. But the *Athenian* deputies were received very favourably, and the speech which *Damis*, who was at the head of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the conscript fathers. The good offices of *Valerius* likewise, who accompanied the *Ætolian* ambassadors, did not a little contribute towards appeasing the clamours which were every-where heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by the *Macedonian* deputies. *Caius Valerius* was brother to the consul *Fulvius*, and the son of *Lævinus*, who concluded the first treaty of alliance between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. This *Valerius* remembered, and used his utmost endeavours to procure them a favourable reception. But nevertheless *Phæneas* and *Nicander* were kept a long time in a painful uncertainty whether they should obtain a peace or not. At length, by the assiduous and joint application of the *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and *Valerius*, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the following; 1*st*, The majesty of the *Roman* people shall be revered in all *Ætolia*; 2*dly*, *Ætolia* shall not suffer the armies of such as are at war with *Rome* to pass through her territories, and the enemies of *Rome* shall be likewise enemies of *Ætolia*; 3*dly*, she shall in the space of an hundred days put into the hands of the magistrates of *Corcyra* all the prisoners and deserters she has, whether of the *Romans* or their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or contrary to her alliance with *Rome*; 4*thly*, the *Ætolians* shall pay down in ready money to the *Roman* general in *Illyria* two hundred *Italic* talents of the same value as the

A peace concluded between the Ætolians and Romans.

Athenian talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the six years following; 5*thly*, they shall put into the hands of the consul forty such hostages as he shall chuse, none of which shall be under twelve, or above forty, years of age; the prætor, the general of the horse, and such as have been already hostages at *Rome*, are excepted out of this number; 6*thly*, *Ætolia* shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories which the *Romans* have conquered since the consulate of *Flaminius*, though these cities and territories had formerly belonged to the *Ætolians*; 7*thly*, The city of *Oenias* and its district shall continue subject to the *Acarnanians*; 8*thly*, *Cephalenia* shall not be included in this treaty f.

How treated by the Romans *after the conquest of* Macedon.

From these articles we may judge, how far the *Ætolian* republic was abridged of her antient liberties by this peace. However, after the conquest of *Macedon* by *Paulus Æmilius*, they were reduced to a much worse condition. For not only those among them, who had openly declared for *Perses*, but such as were only suspected to have favoured him in their hearts, were sent to *Rome* in order to clear themselves before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarously assassinated by the partisans of *Rome*, for no other crime but that of being suspected to wish well to *Perses*. The *Ætolians* appeared before *Paulus Æmilius* in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment, but could obtain no redress; nay the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the senate to settle the affairs of *Greece*, enacted a decree, declaring, that those who were killed had suffered justly, since it appeared to them that they had favoured the *Macedonian* party. From this time those only were raised to the chief honours and employments in the *Ætolian* republic, who were known to prefer the interest of *Rome* to that of their country. And as these alone were countenanced by the sovereign republic, all the magistrates of *Ætolia* were her creatures, and mere tools of the *Roman* senate. In this state of servile subjection they continued till the destruction of *Corinth*, and dissolution of the *Achæan* league, when *Ætolia*, with the other free states of *Greece*, was reduced to a *Roman* province, commonly called the province of *Achaia*. Nevertheless each state and city was governed by its own laws, under the superintendency of the prætor, whom *Rome* sent annually

f Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

to *Achaia*. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to poſſeſs lands any-where, but in their own country [g].

IN this ſtate, with little alteration, *Ætolia* continued under the emperors, till the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the weſtern parts of *Greece* from the reſt, calling them *New Epirus*, and ſubjecting the whole country to the *Præfectus Prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Under the ſucceſſors of *Conſtantine*, *Greece* was parcelled out into ſeveral principalities, eſpecially after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the weſtern princes. At that time *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble *Grecian* of the imperial family, ſeized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*; the former he left to *Michael* his ſon, who maintained it againſt *Michael Paleologus*, the firſt emperor of the *Greeks* after the expulſion of the *Latins*. *Charles*, the laſt prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful iſſue, bequeathed *Ætolia* to his brother's ſon named alſo *Charles*, and *Acarnania* to his natural ſons *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*. But great diſputes ariſing about this diviſion, *Amurath* II. after the reduction of *Theſſalonica*, laid hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The *Mohammedans* were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Caſtriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who with a ſmall army oppoſed the whole power of the *Ottoman* empire, having defeated thoſe barbarians in twenty two pitched battles, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. This hero at his death left great part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*; but they not being able to make head againſt ſuch a mighty power, the whole country was ſoon reduced by *Mohammed* II. whoſe ſucceſſors hold it to this day.

[g] Idem, l. xxxix. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

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